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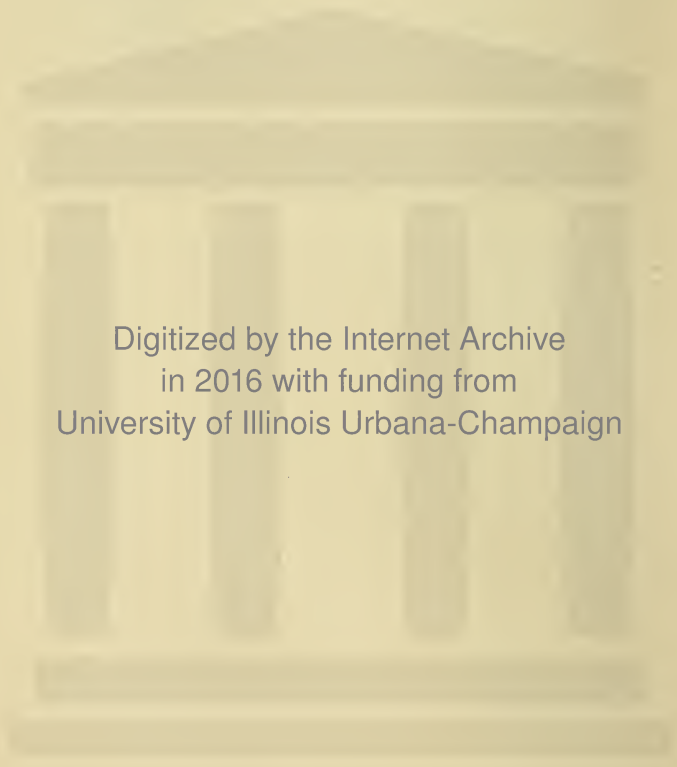
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Our Day

A RECORD AND REVIEW

OF

CURRENT REFORM

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ASSOCIATE EDITORS

WITH THE COÖPERATION OF EMINENT SPECIALISTS IN
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OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. IV.—JULY, 1889.—No. 19.

BERLIN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS.

CHURCH AND STATE IN GERMANY.

AN ADDRESS BY COUNT BERNSTORFF, OF THE PRUSSIAN DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION AND EDUCATION. — REPORTED EXPRESSLY FOR OUR DAY.

THE relations of the Protestant churches in Germany to the empire are chiefly the result of the treaty of Westphalia of 1648. In the Thirty Years' War the Church of Rome had endeavored to regain her exclusive hold on Germany. But fortunately she did not succeed. Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, died on the battle-field of Lutzen for the great cause of the liberty of Protestantism. When at last the long war, which greatly devastated Germany, came to an end, the official right of existence was secured for the two Protestant Churches, the Lutheran and the Reformed. Legally these two churches were on an equal footing with the Roman Catholic Church. The only difference is, that the interference of the government is much greater in the Protestant churches — the sovereign being "summus episcopus."

At the time of the Reformation, Luther had evidently hoped that one or more of the bishops would join in the new movement. He would then have given to the church that bears his name an episcopal constitution. But this was not to be. On the other hand, the adherents of the new doctrine were persecuted,

and it was only through the help of some German princes, the Elector of Saxony, the Prince of Hesse, and others, that they found protection against pope and emperor. Luther therefore intrusted these princes, as an act of necessity, or rather expediency, with the government of the church. It is not probable that Luther expected this state of things to be permanent. It has now remained virtually unchanged for more than three and a half centuries.

The truly pious king, Frederick William IV. of Prussia, recognized the anomaly of this system. He looked out for the right hands in which to place the care of his ecclesiastical rights. He did not find them. On the whole the government of the sovereign was most strongly felt in Prussia. In this largest of the German states the government was the most powerful, and the kings of Prussia always showed great interest for the cause of the Protestant church. Since the electors, now kings, of Saxony had abjured the Protestant faith in order to obtain the crown of Poland, the kings of Prussia were regarded as the patrons of Protestantism, and they truly were so.

The greatest change in the state of the Protestant churches was made in 1817 by King Frederick William II. He, like his forefathers, professed the reformed, or Calvinist faith; his consort, the well-known Queen Louise, a princess of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, was Lutheran. The king and the queen were therefore not allowed to receive the Lord's Supper together. This seemed intolerable to the king. The narrow view of the Lutheran clergy in this respect was not much in accordance with the indifferent spirit of the age. The king did not see the differences between the Lutheran and Calvinist doctrines in such a light as to justify the separation. Therefore, at the festival of the third centenary of the Reformation, he, by a simple royal order, combined the Lutheran and Reformed churches of his country into one "Evangelical" Church.

The religious indifference of the age greatly facilitated this measure. At the present time it would no more be possible. The late Emperor William has, therefore, wisely abstained from introducing the "Union" into the territories which he annexed in the year 1866. The consequence is that there are now eight

established churches in the Kingdom of Prussia, the United or "Evangelical" Church of the old provinces, the Lutheran Church of Hanover, the Reformed Church of Hanover, the Lutheran Church of Schleswig-Holstein, the United Church in the former Duchy of Nassau, the church of the former electorate of Hesse, comprising Lutheran, Reformed, and United Protestant, placed with full maintenance of their distinctive characters under one consistory at Cassel, the Lutheran Church of Frankfort-on-the-Main and the Reformed Church of that city. The two consistories of Frankfort, as well as the consistories at Kiel, Hanover, Aurich (for the Reformed Church of Hanover), Cassel, and Wiesbaden are under the minister for public worship, while in the old provinces the provincial consistories are placed under a special ecclesiastical authority, "The Evangelische Oberkirchenrath."

The introduction of the Union in 1817 was combined with some severe conflicts. A number of Lutherans opposed the measure, and according to the spirit of the age their opposition was crushed by means which it is not possible fully to approve. It was only the large-hearted King Frederick William IV. who gave to the dissenting Lutherans, that is to those persons who left the established church on account of the introduction of the Union in 1842, a concession.

The conflicts between Lutheranism within the establishment and the tendencies to make the amalgamation of the two churches a complete one, lasted until about ten years ago. Now they begin to be forgotten, since questions of greater importance have risen, and since the Lutherans and the "Friends of Positive Union," as they are called, have learned to fight shoulder to shoulder in the synods. But as yet there are four parties in the national church of Prussia, the strict Lutherans, the "Friends of Positive Union," — the name being taken from the fact that they wish to maintain the Union, without letting it become an excuse for religious indifference and for negative tendencies, — the Middle Party, and the "Liberals." The Middle Party is composed of very heterogeneous elements. Some are very earnest Christians, others leaning to negative tendencies. Their basis, that which keeps them together, is a question

more of ecclesiastical policy than of religion. They want to act as mediators between the different parties, and to establish a synodal coöperation between the orthodox and the liberal Christians. It must be acknowledged that they greatly facilitated the introduction of our Synodal Constitution.

Though the introduction of the Union gave rise to many difficulties, it must on the whole be considered as a great blessing for Prussia. Larger views were fostered by it, and therefore Prussia was generally ahead of the rest of Germany in all religious movements. The different works of home mission, especially those connected with lay work, like Sunday-schools, have begun in Prussia, because they find freer scope there. But the negative movement is not stronger in Prussia than anywhere else. In Mecklenburg it has been possible to crush all heterodoxy in the pulpits, but generally the "Liberal" party is just as strong in the smaller German countries, which are purely Lutheran; for instance, in the Kingdom of Saxony. These religious liberals — I hardly like to accord to them their beautiful name — are partly followers of the old rationalism, partly very advanced infidels. What keeps them together is their common opposition to orthodoxy. The Grand Duchy of Baden and the free city of Bremen are their chief Eldorado, and in those two countries the church government is on their side. Of the churches of the new Prussian provinces it is only the Lutheran Church of Hanover which takes a very exclusive position. Between the others and the old provinces there is intercourse and even exchange of clergymen. For Hanover, the question of the officials has been a very difficult one. Every official transferred into Hanover from any other part of the country acquires his domicile there, and therewith becomes a member of the established church. In some cases the officials coming from the old provinces joined the Reformed Church, but in most cases they declared themselves Lutherans, and claimed admission to the Lord's table. This is very unpleasant to the extreme Lutheran pastors.

The churches in Prussia are divided into state churches, recognized churches, and tolerated churches. Since 1849 there is full religious liberty in Prussia. Everybody may hold meet-

ings, and therefore no obstacle whatsoever is put in the way of the merely "tolerated" churches. Among these tolerated churches I can mention the Methodists, the Irvingites (apostolic congregations, they call themselves), the "free congregations" (a kind of Unitarians, advanced liberals), a great number of smaller so-called sects, and the Anglican Church. As the latter depends upon church authorities in a foreign country, it has not been thought desirable to give it further rights. These tolerated churches are considered as associations, and no difficulty whatsoever prevents the gathering and religious work of these denominations, only they cannot acquire property as such. For the English Church in Berlin the difficulty has been solved by the emperor having allowed it to be built on his own private property.

The recognized churches are such as have received corporate rights through special laws. They can acquire property in their own name. Otherwise their position is not very different from the merely tolerated churches. Such a recognition has been granted to the dissenting Lutherans, to the Baptists, and to the Mennonites. The state has even gone far towards respecting the religious views of the latter body. As the Mennonites object to the oath and to military service, their simple word is taken for an oath before the courts of justice, and they are allowed to serve in the military hospitals.

The state churches are the Roman Catholic and the different Protestant churches already mentioned. Toward the Roman Church the state in fact only exercises the "*jura circa sacra*," that is the rights which the state must exercise against all denominations. The attempt that was made in 1873 to interfere in the inward management of the church has been given up after a sharp struggle. Of the Falk, or May laws, as they are termed, after the minister who inaugurated them, or after the month in which they were promulgated, hardly anything is left. It was the intention at the time to enforce academical study for the priests, and to make them pass a scientific examination. But the Church of Rome remained steadfast, and she has only gained by the conflict of nearly ten years. All differences between pope and bishops, between priests and laity, were for-

gotten. There is even now in the House of Parliament a strong Roman Catholic party, which has great influence, as it can throw its weight into the scales wherever it likes. The state finally had to give way. Only two things remained, namely, that all nominations of priests must be announced to the president of the province, and that the Jesuits are not tolerated in Germany. The Church of Rome has in fact all the privileges of an established church—her buildings are respected as churches, her priests receive the necessary addition to their salary from the state without all the drawbacks of state government and interference.

The Protestant Church was originally governed entirely as a department of the state. The office for public worship was part of the home office. Frederick William III. changed this by appointing a special minister for public worship and instruction. His son, Frederick William IV., went a step farther: he instituted an Upper Consistory, the “*Evangelische Oberkirchenrath*,” for the management of the inner affairs of the church. This body was also appointed by the king, but the members had not to think of political reasons; they were placed in their position only to rule the church. The most important change was made in 1873, when the Synodal Constitution was introduced into the church. In every parish “elders” are elected by the congregation, and with the pastor they form the parochial council. These councils elect the members of the district synods; the members of the latter chose the representatives for the provincial synods, and these again for the General Synod. Distinct rights have been given to each of these bodies. The laws for the church can be promulgated without the consent of the General Synod. Herr Falk had the confidence of the House of Deputies at that time, and therefore he succeeded in a thing which his predecessors had attempted in vain. To satisfy the liberal majority of the House of Deputies, it was decided that in all synods two thirds should be laymen and only one third clergymen. There was much opposition against this in religious circles. But it is now generally recognized that the constitution has worked much better than was expected. Many people have been drawn by it into religious interest, and the influence of the

synod has been felt. On the other hand, the rights of the state have been maintained, or rather determined anew by the new constitution. The permission of the state is necessary for many things: for example, for building new churches, for levying church taxes, and for selling or buying landed property for churches. The state does something for the churches. Donations are granted where new churches are required, and where the parish is not able to raise the money, and every pastor receives an increase to his salary, if necessary. That is, each clergyman is entitled to an annual income, graded according to his years of service, beginning at 2,400 marks for five years, and ending with 3,600 marks after twenty years of service. To secure this income, the state pays supplies where the living is not sufficient and the parishioners are not able to increase it.

There is at present a movement in our church to obtain greater independence from the state, but there is little chance of success at present. Prince Bismarck is a decided opponent of this movement. He has had enough trouble from the Church of Rome, and he does not wish to put the Protestant Church into a position of similar independence. The movement will, however, gain ground gradually. The point where the dependence is most keenly felt is in the appointment of professors of theology. This is done by the state. It is true that the vote of the Upper Consistory has to be taken, but last year the Upper Consistory for the first time protested against a professor on account of heterodoxy, and the state took no notice of this protest. And yet these professors are to train the future ministers of the church! In the same way, the members of the Upper Consistory and of the provincial consistories and the general superintendents are appointed by the king on the advice of his minister, who is constitutionally responsible to parliament. This shows that our churches are as yet almost entirely in the hands of the political government.

The appointment of the ministers takes place in a different way. This is generally done by the "patron." The rights of the patron are to appoint, or in some cases to furnish the pastor. The patron's duty is to pay towards the expenses of church buildings. How far this duty goes is fixed differently in the

different parts of Germany. This patronage belongs to many landed proprietors in the country. In cities it is often exercised by the town council. In all the churches where the king is patron the appointment is made by the consistory.

The consistories have the management of all church affairs under the Upper Consistory. The synod takes part in some decisions through its committees, especially in cases where a pastor is to be removed on account of heterodoxy. In the cases where the consistory has the appointment of the pastor, the choice is now exercised alternately, once by the consistory, and once by the congregation. This very different mode of appointing the pastors is a kind of security for the congregations. The church authorities have in fact very few places to fill now.

The pastor cannot be removed from his office without a trial for some offense. This secures his own liberty to preach according to his convictions. The state of church affairs in Germany is certainly not perfect, but on the other hand a decided progress is visible. The clergy of our day are perhaps in advance of those of former generations in learning, piety, and zeal. We see also interest and activity slowly and gradually increasing among the laity.

THE AMERICAN BOARD AND ITS PATRONS.

AT the time of the origination of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, there was a new, peculiar, earnest spirit of prayer bringing together, here and there, devout persons to pray for the conversion of the Jews and the heathen. No way was then open for action, but there was an earnest appeal to God to prepare the way. There seems to have been, antecedent to the organization, a divinely coördinated movement among parties unknown to each other.

In the mean time a few young men, Samuel J. Mills, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell, James Richards, Luther Rice, and Gordon Hall, became associated in a common and deep sympathy for the heathen world as perishing without the gospel. They were ready to go forth as missionaries ; they only waited for the means to depart.

These were the antecedents of the formation of the American Board at Farmington, Connecticut, in 1810.

The General Association of Massachusetts took the lead in answer to the petition of four of the above-named students. "After much deliberation and prayer," a Board of nine gentlemen were appointed and a Prudential Committee of three. In 1812 an act of incorporation was obtained from the Massachusetts legislature, one provision of which was, that not less than one third of the corporate members should be laymen, and not less than one third clergymen.

The charter has been amended at various times to conform to the enlarged work of the Board. The corporate members have increased from nine to two hundred and twenty-two, distributed through all the States, the Prudential Committee from three to ten. Like the corporate members, they are part clergymen and part laymen.

The duty committed to them was to decide upon the fitness

of all applicants for service, to select their fields of labor, to send them forth, to suspend for reason those on the field and withdraw them from it. Their duties from the first were administrative. They were not required to collect funds, but to use them with all carefulness and wisdom.

As to the missionaries, not every one who should offer himself was to be accepted. The committee must decide both upon his field and his fitness for it. They must, moreover, hold him up to duty, or recall him, should he prove unfaithful or incompetent.

The duties of the Prudential Committee and the secretaries became more and more weighty and difficult as the work opened and enlarged. The whole heathen world was to be studied, a special library collected, extensive explorations made, and the unevangelized world laid open to the Christian church. No book of travels or research must escape their notice.

The necessary characteristics of the Prudential Committee were thus self-defined. They must be gentlemen distinguished for sound judgment, for extensive information, for business capacity, and for missionary zeal. They must meet often for consultation, and must be able and disposed to sacrifice much time in solving difficult questions. The Prudential Committee must be a continuous body, not subject to frequent changes. Age and death will change them fast enough unless one becomes unfaithful to his trust, and then it will be the duty of the Board to remove him by non-election at the annual meeting.

In the development of the work the one corresponding secretary found his duties too great, and a second was appointed, and finally a third, two giving themselves to the foreign fields and one to the home. Their duty is to hold correspondence or personal intercourse with their fields and candidates, and present to the committee for consideration and decision whatever subject of interest has met them in the discharge of their official duties. The Prudential Committee and the secretaries are students of the whole field of missions in all its interests. They know more of it than other men can know, for each one has the advantage of the collective wisdom and experience of all the rest, and of the antecedent history. Has there ever been a body of

wiser or better men than the Prudential Committee, with the secretaries and treasurer?

The corporate body is what is called a "close corporation," that is, it perpetuates itself. The wisdom of the founders of the American Board was most conspicuously shown in this. It takes the body out of church politics, and the domination of restless and ambitious spirits who are never happy unless they can transform or destroy something. The organization must be such as will secure the confidence of the contributors and of those churches that are interested in the prosecution of foreign missionary work. It must be such as will be most likely to carry forward the work on the line of its beginning without yielding to the rationalistic movements that afflict certain portions of the Congregational ministry. Suppose the Congregational churches should undertake to prosecute a great railroad enterprise by agents properly chosen and subject to annual change. Or suppose that a great financial scheme of any kind should thus be intrusted to the churches, would anybody have confidence in it? Would its stock sell at par? Would it sell at all? Among all the diverse agents properly chosen at annual meetings would there be unanimity enough for the prosecution of any foreign financial scheme whatever? Under the present system, the financial reputation of the Board — its credit on the market — is unsurpassed. During our great war of the slaveholders' rebellion, a missionary carried a check of the American Board to an English banker, fearing it might be discredited, as the papers were almost daily announcing "The Great Republic is in its last gasp." But the check was readily taken at the highest price of exchanges on London. When surprise was expressed, he replied that the American Board was not engaged in financial operations, like merchants and bankers, and it could not fail. He had known its paper for nearly thirty years, and never had a check been protested, etc. No institution of a floating uncertain character, subject to the schemes of a restless minority, could have such substantial credit all over the world.

It is now the plan of the rationalistic party to break in pieces this solidity. It is hoped that the cry of "close corporation "

will do it. The Board has proved its catholicity all along its history by harmonious action with all evangelical bodies. Early in its history, in 1825-26, a union was formed with the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed churches, and corporate members from these bodies were chosen at the annual meeting in Middletown, Connecticut, — five from New York, four from Pennsylvania, two from Virginia, one each from North Carolina, Tennessee, and Ohio. In 1831, of the sixty-two corporate members, thirty-four were Congregationalists, thirty-one Presbyterians, six Reformed Dutch, and one Associated Reformed. There was then a majority of four with the Presbyterians. Of seventy ordained missionaries thirty-nine were Presbyterians, twenty-nine Congregationalists, and two Reformed Dutch. Two thirds of the funds were contributed by Congregationalists, but a majority of the missionaries and of the corporate members were Presbyterians. Reports were made equally to the three bodies. Thus the Board of Missions became not only unsectarian but non-sectional, and in that respect truly national.

In this coöperative work the spirit of missions penetrated so widely the great Presbyterian Church that it naturally wished to have its own organization. An amicable division of the occupied fields was made, greatly to the advancement of the work on the whole. There are still Presbyterian missionaries in the service of the Board, and there are Presbyterian contributors to its funds, but the society is now Congregational, without any strictly ecclesiastical relations. The churches are just as free as individuals to choose the Board as their agent in sending the gospel to the heathen. If they have confidence in the Board, and are in accord with the principles that have guided it, and do still guide it, they will work through it. They will take up collections, free-will offerings, for its funds. They will also make life members of such persons as they can trust, and thus will have a legitimate share in its councils. Any individual may do the same. Any church of any denomination may come into the same connection with the Board as contributors. A Presbyterian, Unitarian, or Methodist church will just as readily be received as a Congregational in the bestowment of

funds. A Mohammedan may make himself a life member, and speak in its annual meetings. The Sheikh ul Islam, bringing his 24,79 Turkish liros, may become a life member, and speak to any subject before the meeting.

The acts of the Board are all open to inspection and criticism. It stands in the closest possible relations to its patrons, whether individuals or churches. It has confided to its Prudential Committee the most difficult and responsible duty of selecting out of the candidates the men for the foreign field. In this duty they are in danger of making serious and most injurious mistakes. Probably an average of one half the candidates are, for very various reasons, unfit for the service. It requires not only wisdom and discrimination, but experience, gained by having many cases in hand, and keeping track of them after a decision has been made. Zeal to enter upon the work of evangelizing the heathen is a reason for carefully considering a person's fitness, but it is no proof that the candidate has any fitness for it at all. The whole make-up of character must come under examination. Physical, intellectual, and spiritual characteristics must be considered. The candidate may be eminent in one department but wanting, to deformity, in another. To claim that a man's belief in the doctrines of the Bible should not be considered as of importance, and that the Prudential Committee has no right to examine him on that point, is senseless to the degree of being silly, as well as malicious and treasonable to the truth. It is wisdom like that of a man who, wishing to drill by steam power a ledge for blasting, should send an agent to buy a machine and let the agent take everything he comes across and get a sewing-machine, a cotton-gin, and a patent cider-mill. That is just what the Prudential Committee would often do, if it were not to inquire into a man's belief.

The outcry that has been so persistently made by the Andover or rationalistic party because the Prudential Committee makes a man's Christian or evangelical faith of some consequence in receiving him as a missionary to the heathen is a phenomenon in the history of missions. The committee is a selective agency. Its members must satisfy themselves that the

candidate has true Christian experience, that he is a converted man, that he has passed from death unto life by the indwelling Spirit of God, and that he receives the Bible, and the whole Bible, as the authoritative word of God, dominant in his mind and conscience both as to faith and practice. The Andover party in the Congregational body, "the progressives" in theology, the party of the "new theology," or more correctly the rationalistic party, do not accept the Bible in this way. "The higher criticism" enables them to dispose of such parts of it as they please. They are themselves fully equal to the Bible. The church has as much inspiration now as it had in the days of the apostles. They are clamorous for a Prudential Committee who shall believe with them. They are resolved to upset the present organization of the Board in order to have one.

In the prosecution of this object they have borrowed from partisan politics one of the worst modes of action. It is, in order to crush a party, to direct all their guns upon some one individual of that party, and by an incessant fire of months, and years even, pulverize him, so that in his fall the party will be involved. The home secretary has been selected as the object of attack and nothing has been omitted that imagination or invention could furnish against him.

Although he has no vote in the committee, and the ten gentlemen composing it are men of high position and independent character, they have been persistently treated as though they were the puppets of the home secretary.

The attack has thus far been in vain. The work of the Board is founded upon the Bible as the word of God and upon the Sabbath as the day of God. Adhesion to the claims of this new theology would cut the connection between the Board and its patrons who hold still to the Bible and the Sabbath and who will allow nothing to be true missionary work that discredits them. The great crime of the home secretary is that he is faithful to the principles that have governed the Board from the beginning and which are taught in the word of God. It is pitiful to see men professing to be disciples of Christ and friends of missions descend to the lowest and worst tricks of partisan politics,

hoping to accomplish, by the endless repetition of false accusations, what could not be accomplished by adhering to truth.

If in examining a candidate he is found to deny the rightful authority of human government, and if he denies that obedience to human laws is a Christian duty, and if the Prudential Committee refuses to send him out as a missionary, do they become politicians by so doing? The question of fitness for his work and field is the single question before them. They would naturally say to him, "You would not be in accord with your associates. Your opinions while you are one of their number would exceedingly embarrass them and endanger their work. To suppress your opinions would make you a hypocrite."

The candidate thus rejected goes his way and the committee have nothing further to do with his political faith. He may preach it where he can. He is furious and tries to raise a storm against the home secretary, but the world only laughs at him.

And just so if one should express those views of the inspiration of the Scriptures and of the redemptive work of Christ which our rationalistic brethren of Andover and Yale express, it requires nothing but common sense to see that here is indeed a "new departure" from the uniform teachings of the missionaries of the Board for the seventy-eight years of its existence. When a candidate holding these views is rejected, it makes no difference by whom or where he was ordained, or whether he was ordained at all. The question is one of fitness for the work.

The Prudential Committee are to judge of this. They are chosen for that purpose. They are intelligent Christian men. They are students of the Bible. They know the whole history of the Board, and it is not only their solemn duty to select suitable men and to recall those who have proved themselves unsuitable, but they are of all men qualified to do it. They have the age, experience, and responsibility requisite to the discharge of such duties. No better scheme has ever been devised for the administration of a work so weighted with solemn trusts.

We can easily understand why the Prudential Committee is so unpopular with our rationalistic brethren. They have started out on a new scheme. They have justly named it a "new de-

parture," a "new theology." They have to bear the stigma of its rejection by the Board. They have been unable to control the action of the Board by browbeating or by gaining over corporate members so as to have a majority. The Prudential Committee has stood firm. If one or two have been gained over, the minority is too small to embarrass action very seriously.

What is to be most feared is that kind of insidious encroachment by which Andover has been sacrificed and perverted from an evangelical faith. For years the trustees were quietly and skillfully changed. When one resigned or died his place was filled in a manner to make sure of the ultimate ends of the manipulators. The success has been admirable. The grand old seminary is betrayed to the enemy by those who were trusted as its guardians.

If now by silent, constant, unwearied skillful working, a majority of the corporate members or a powerful minority can be brought over to toleration of the rationalistic errors, the character of the Board will be entirely changed. The character of the missionaries will be of necessity changed. Those who do not believe in the exclusive inspiration of the written word, who do not believe in the depravity of the natural heart so that it is under condemnation, nor in a vicarious atonement made by Jesus in his redemption and work of incarnation, death and resurrection, will be sent into the field. It is not difficult to see how this change will affect all the fields of foreign missions. It must also change the contributors. They are in the closest possible connection with the Board, but will drop away from it the moment confidence is lost.

As the "close corporation" stands in the way of any immediate change, it is proposed to hasten it by some newly invented way of choosing candidates from whom the corporate members must make choice of all additions. The candidates are not to be chosen by the contributors. The active and skillful agency of the rationalistic party and the tolerationists will have a chance for triumph on this field. Candidates will be secured, of highly respectable character, whose sentiments will be known only to that party. In this way, after much confusion and party strife,

the Board will find itself transformed and in the hands of the Andover party.

Once committed to the sway of popular politics, will the credit of the Board remain, as it now is, equal to that of any banking house in Europe or America? In its early history it was compelled to export silver dollars to pay its foreign expenses. Now its paper is everywhere honored. Mohammedans and heathens alike trust it. Under this proposed transformation, should great national complications occur, would the credit of the institution, floating on the wave of party divisions, be what it was in the case before mentioned? By no means. Whatever injures the confidence of business men will injure the confidence of contributors. When there is a doubt as to the future of an enterprise like this, the multitudinous gifts will cease to flow. The givers will seek other channels and the movement, instead of being onward, will become retrograde.

The Andover party cannot be justified in its persistent attack upon the Board, because it has perfect freedom of action outside of the Board. It cannot of course have any harmonious coöperation. It is not reasonable to expect it or require it. It is a "new departure." Let it depart and go its own chosen way. The American Board will not change its course.

There was a beam of light from the organization at the Berkeley Street Church in sending forth Mr. Noyes. The whole rationalistic party could express its zeal for missions in that movement. It proved itself, however, not to be an honest missionary movement. In defiance of all the principles that govern foreign missionary societies, it sent its agent directly into one of the missions of the Board, revealing at once its partisan and malign character. Mr. Noyes, of course, has instructions how to *coöperate*. There will be no immediate manifestation of rationalistic views of the Bible, of the atonement, of probation, of the condition of the race, *et cetera*. But the poison will work all the more surely and the result will be all the more disastrous for its quiet and crafty working. It is to be sincerely regretted that the movement should assume this hostile character. There are wide unoccupied fields where the harvest is great and the laborers are none. This movement

to show what the rationalistic party and their friends the tolerationists, who care for no creeds, can do, would have secured the good wishes of Christendom if it had not assumed this hostile and unjustifiable attitude toward the American Board. This attitude is a violation of every principle of Christian comity and of what is considered honorable among men.

It is now the duty of the Board to stand firm and true to the work which God has signally blessed during the last seventy-eight years. The minority can inflict great evils and raise certain obstacles to the work of missions. To yield to the minority in the hope of peace is a fatal delusion. It would be moral cowardice. It would be casting dishonor upon the providential history of the Board and upon the sainted dead who gave up their lives in its service. We trust that every corporate member will feel the responsibility that rests upon him in this crisis.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

CHARACTER AND ELOQUENCE OF JOHN BRIGHT.

BY R. W. DALE, D. D., IN THE "CONTEMPORARY REVIEW."

To those who had known Mr. Bright by his public reputation only, it was often a surprise to discover, when they met him in private, how gentle he could be in his speech and temper, and how courteous and gracious in his manners. There was nothing rugged about him, nothing coarse. Occasionally, indeed, he was brusque and peremptory in his conversation, as well as in his speeches ; and, if he was provoked to political discussion, he was strenuous and sometimes stern. But he did not care to be always fighting, and when he had taken off his armor he could be as playful as a child and as charming as a woman. On the platform the volcano might have been fiercely active ; an hour after he had done speaking, the mountain which had poured forth streams of angry fire was covered to the very crater with vines and flowers. Some men in their combative moods show great strength, but in their kindly hours their strength disappears, they seem to *lapse* into a more gracious temper when their force is spent, and then they are positively weak. With Mr. Bright the strength was always present. It was always apparent that beneath the gentleness and the kindliness there were foundations of granite.

He had a robust conscience. He cared for plain and homely virtues. He had an intellectual and moral scorn for the subtleties of casuistry. For him the line between right and wrong was strongly and firmly marked ; on one side there was light, and on the other darkness. He had no eye for the fine gradations with which to men of a different genius and culture good shades off into evil. There was a noble austerity in him. This austerity was the result, in part, of his temperament, in part of the traditions and manners of that remarkable religious society into which he was born, and from which he never separated ; but it was the result, I think, in part, of a noble moral austerity in his conception of God.

Although his speeches are penetrated with a religious spirit, and contain many passages which derive their dignity and splendor from the recognition of the Divine and eternal order which environs the conflicts and vicissitudes, the misery and injustice of human history, it was only on rare occasions that Mr. Bright gave explicit expression in public to his deep religious faith. . . .

In private he was also reticent — perhaps too reticent, as is the manner of most devout Englishmen — on religious subjects. But when he spoke — as he did occasionally — on the great objects of faith, and on the deeper experiences of the heart, it was with a simplicity and depth of feeling which showed how large and constant a place they held in his thought and life.

He used to talk of his favorite religious books ; one of these was "The Jesus of the Evangelists," by Mr. Row ; another was "Catholic Thoughts on the Bible," by Mr. Myers. Copies of these he was in the habit of giving to his friends. His faith, I believe, was largely due to the religious influences which surrounded him in his childhood and youth, and to those silent hours which he had spent in the Friends' Meeting House at Rochdale waiting on God. But it was greatly deepened and strengthened after he reached manhood. . . .

The reverence with which it was his habit to speak of God was very impressive. It was apparent that he had known the fear — the fear in which there is no terror, and which, instead of paralyzing the soul, nerves it to the highest exertion of its moral energy and to the most courageous endurance — the fear which has filled the hearts of prophets and saints when in solitary hours they have seen the glory of God, and have learned that already, and during this earthly life, God is always near. To him God was infinitely great and august; the will of God was one with the eternal law of righteousness — commanding obedience and submission, whatever may be the cost — not to be resisted, not to be forgotten, either by individual men or nations, except at their infinite peril. And, as I have said, the noble austerity of his moral and political life was, in part, the result of the noble moral austerity of his conception of God.

For very many years Mr. Bright was assailed incessantly and with extraordinary vehemence and rancor, as an incendiary agitator who provoked the poor to regard the rich with envy, jealousy, and hatred; as a reckless demagogue who wished to destroy all those ancient institutions which had made England great ; as the friend and ally of the worst enemies of his country ; as a traitor who cared nothing for her safety and honor. Now that the stormiest of those stormy times are sufficiently remote to be recalled without bitterness and passion, even those who were Mr. Bright's most loyal supporters may see that it was natural, perhaps inevitable, that he should have been regarded as a revolutionist. For, during the greater part of his political life, he was the strenuous assailant of laws and institutions which were protected by the interests, by the affections, by the convictions, and by the traditions of the wealthiest and most powerful classes in the state.

He became known by the energy and vehemence with which he attacked the Corn Laws. He did not merely argue against them as economically indefensible ; he denounced them as criminal. He insisted that while they enriched the landholders they impoverished the nation, and he attributed to them a large part of the misery from which the great masses of the people, both in the manufacturing towns and in the agricultural districts, were suffering. But the Corn Laws were supposed to be necessary to the maintenance of the prosperity and the social and political influence of the country gentlemen and the landed aristocracy. If that influence was broken — if it was very much diminished — the growing political power of the great towns would be unchecked ; and the economic change — so men believed — would be the prelude of political disasters. After the Corn Laws were repealed,

the next great agitation in which Mr. Bright engaged was for the extension of the franchise ; and this was regarded with terror by the same classes in the state that had opposed free trade in corn. No great harm had come from the Reform Bill of 1832, which granted a vote to ten-pound householders and gave representatives in the House of Commons to the great manufacturing towns in the Midlands and in the North. The throne was still secure. Property and life were as sacred as they had ever been. The material prosperity of the country was advancing under the policy of free trade. But what might not be feared if all adult householders or even all six-pound householders, were added to the register ? When Mr. Bright was first returned for Birmingham the constituency numbered about 8,000 ; only one householder in five or six had the franchise. It was contended that to give a vote to those who were not prosperous enough to pay ten pounds a year rent would be the certain ruin of the country ; that it would confer dangerous political power on the idlest, the most improvident, and the most vicious members of the community ; that it was dangerous to intrust the franchise even to the honest and industrious poor ; that they had not sufficient political knowledge to use it wisely ; and that they would be under strong temptation to endeavor to enrich themselves at the cost of the wealthier classes of the community. The fears were genuine, however ill-founded ; and the name of Mr. Bright was a name of terror. He was also hostile to the relations which have existed in England for many centuries between the church and the state. While he was still a youth he had stood on a tombstone in Rochdale churchyard and denounced church rates. In his maturer life he was a frank and vigorous supporter of the policy of Disestablishment. He condemned the system of patronage under which the clergy are appointed to their livings. He condemned the presence of the bishops in the House of Lords. He protested against the legal appropriation of tithes to the maintenance of a church whose worship has been forsaken by a majority of the nation. Every measure for removing the legal disabilities imposed on Dissenters received his support. And so he was branded as the enemy of all that is most sacred, as well as of all that is most venerable and stately, in our ancient institutions. In his advocacy of other political measures, such as the reform of the Land Laws and the abolition or reform of the Game Laws, and in the earnestness and energy with which he insisted on the necessity of great changes in Irish policy, he also came into sharp and incessant collision with those who desired to maintain the ancient order.

In his foreign policy he had the same opponents — strengthened, in some instances, by the alliance of other classes in the state. Of the policy of Lord Palmerston, who for many years exerted an extraordinary personal fascination on the country, Mr. Bright was a relentless enemy ; and, as Lord Palmerston claimed to represent and support the authority of England in controlling and modifying the policy of European states, Mr Bright was condemned as unfriendly to the greatness and power of his country. He lost his seat for Manchester because he condemned the war with China and with Russia. During the great conflict in the United States he had to

renew the battle with his old opponents, though they were reinforced by the alliance of some Liberal politicians with whom, on questions of domestic policy, he was in general agreement ; and it was largely owing to the courage and eloquence with which he pleaded for the North, and the lasting unity of the great republic, that the Confederacy was not recognized by the English government. From first to last, during the tempestuous period of his political life, he had against him the immense majority of the aristocracy, and of the country gentry, and of the wealthier middle classes. It was not unnatural, therefore, and, as I have said, it was perhaps inevitable, that he should be called a revolutionist ; and since he protested strongly against a foreign policy, which commanded great popular enthusiasm, it was not unnatural, perhaps it was inevitable, that he should be called a traitor to the honor of England.

But he was never a revolutionary politician. He never had any sympathy, intellectual or moral, with those political theorists who are eager to break up the settled order of states, and to reconstruct political institutions on the basis of the abstract rights of man. He had as little faith as Edmund Burke in "paper constitutions." The make of his mind, as well as his moral seriousness, prevented him from desiring violent political catastrophies. His policy was always a policy of orderly and peaceful progress. It was his conviction that only as the political beliefs and the political temper of the majority of the people are changed can there be any real and enduring change of national policy. He had a true historic sense of the continuity of the national life. He saw that, if we are to make any sure approach to a wiser and happier political or social order, we must begin where we are ; that every advance must be from the point which we have already reached ; that the past history of the nation has determined its present condition, and that its present condition determines both the measure and the kind of progress which is attainable in the immediate future. And so it was his habit to claim to be, in the true sense of the word, a conservative politician. He saw that the noble stream of English freedom had been widening and deepening for many centuries ; and he had no desire to turn it out of its old course. All that he wished to do was to remove the obstacles which impeded its flow, and to give it a broader channel, that it might receive those new affluents which had their springs in new conditions of the national life.

The charge that he cared nothing for the "honor" of England rested on two grounds. He regarded war with the deepest abhorrence. He could admire the personal qualities of great soldiers ; but he seems to have been incapable of sympathizing with the pride of nations in their military glory. When he thought of battle-fields his imagination was filled with horror by the agonies of the wounded and the dying, and he saw thousands of darkened and desolate homes in which widows and orphans were mourning for their dead. He regarded with severe moral condemnation the anger, and distrust, and mutual hatred which separated nations whose duty and highest interest was to live in peace and in the exchange of friendly services.

He deplored the paralysis which great wars inflicted on industry — a paralysis which ruined the fortunes of manufacturers and merchants, and caused immense misery to the great masses of the people. He was fiercely indignant at the heavy burdens which the wars of past generations have imposed on this country, and at the enormous taxation which is necessary to meet the annual charge of the public debt.

He refused, indeed, to acknowledge that he ever insisted on the doctrine of non-resistance as containing a law which in the present moral condition of mankind can be a law to statesmen. His position was defined in one of the speeches which he delivered during the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with Birmingham.

Unless you can come to the time when men, in obedience, as they believe, to the will of God, will submit to every sacrifice, I do not see myself, and have never said, how war can be always escaped. I know that when I preach the doctrine of peace you are told I do not think war can be justified or ought ever to be carried on. I think it was Lord Palmerston, in his, I would say, rather ignorant manner, who said that what people of my opinion would do in the case of an invasion would be to bargain with the invader for a round sum, if possible, to get him to go home again. But what I say with regard to war, speaking of it practically, is this — that the case for it should be clear; not a case supported only when men are half crazy, but when they are cool; that the object of it should be sufficient; that the end sought for should be peaceable and should be just; and that there should be some compensation for, and justification of, the slaughter of 100,000 men.

These conditions would probably have been accepted by most of those who supported the wars which Mr. Bright regarded as criminal. It was in the application of them that differences of opinion arose and were inevitable. The whole temper in which he regarded war was different from that of the great majority of his countrymen. And so, when the blood of the nation was hottest, and men of all ranks and conditions were passionately resolved to break the power of our national "enemy," he was insisting that a wise and Christian statesmanship would regard all nations as our friends; and, when news of victory came, he, instead of exulting in the "glory," was mourning its awful cost.

The second reason which subjected him to the charge of caring nothing for the honor of England, was his settled conviction that nothing but evil had come from the forcible intervention of this country in the affairs of the European Continent. He thought that it was no part of our business, either on our own authority or in alliance with other Powers, to settle the map of Europe. He believed that nations should be left to find a solution for their own internal difficulties without the promise or the menace of the armed intervention of foreign states; and, when nations with which we were friendly quarreled with each other, he thought that we were exceeding our duty if we took part with either. It is unjust to say that his foreign policy was a policy of selfishness. Rightly or wrongly — and this is not the time to discuss the question — he had a deep and immovable conviction that, as a rule

and in the long run, intervention in the affairs of other countries, whatever its motive, is mischievous. He regarded with no admiration and no pride the great position in Europe which England held during the Napoleonic wars ; and resisted every attempt to resume it. Nor did he believe that uncivilized races, or races with a civilization different from our own, are to be civilized after our manner and Christianized, by taking possession of their country and subjecting them to our rule. The country which they occupy is theirs, not ours. We recommend neither our civilization nor our faith by depriving them of it. And he believed, rightly or wrongly, that the "little wars" in which we are almost incessantly engaged with the tribes which are living immediately beyond the boundaries of the empire in Africa and Asia are commonly the result of the violence, the injustice, or the reckless folly of our own people. With these views, which he expressed with the most resolute vigor, and sometimes with a stern severity, it is not surprising, I think, that he was charged with caring nothing for the "honor" of England. His uniform reply was a simple one : he cared for her righteousness and peace.

The "hurricanes of abuse" which once raged against him have long ago been still. At his death he was regarded with reverence by the whole nation.

This immense change of feeling with regard to Mr. Bright is commonly attributed to an immense change in the political mind of the country. Mr. Bright never renounced, he never modified, as far as I can remember, any article of his political creed. But it is alleged that, thirty years ago, he was very far in advance of both of the great political parties, and that, while he remained stationary, they gradually approached his position, and at last reached it.

It is true, no doubt, notwithstanding the recent reappearance of protectionist doctrines under a new name, that the great body of both Liberals and Conservatives have become Free Traders. It is also true that, with the immense extension of the suffrage under the two last reform bills, one of the old controversies between the two great political parties has been finally closed. The Crimean War is perhaps condemned as strongly by most living Englishmen as it was condemned by Mr. Bright when his condemnation of it made him the most unpopular man in England. And, as things have turned out, I suppose that those who were the most ardent friends of the Southern States are grateful that the English government refused to recognize their independence.

With regard to particular measures of domestic policy which Mr. Bright supported against the fiercest hostility, the country has come to be of his mind. And the country generally has also come to be of his mind in reference to particular questions of foreign policy on which he was at one time separated from the great majority of the nation.

But I have some hesitation in believing that the majority of the English people, or even the majority of either of the great political parties, have accepted Mr. Bright's characteristic political principles or inherited his characteristic political temper. In justifying my hesitation I might insist that Mr.

Bright believed in the Disestablishment of the church ; it is not certain that this article of his creed has been finally accepted either by Liberals or Conservatives ; that it has been finally accepted by the great majority of Englishmen is still less certain. I might insist on his deep and intense abhorrence of war ; it is not certain that the nation generally shares his abhorrence, or would condemn wars which he would regard as criminal. I might insist on his views concerning the relations of England to her colonies — views which he expressed with uncompromising definiteness and vigor in the last speech which he delivered in Birmingham. Fifteen or twenty years ago they were, I suppose, the views of the Colonial Office, and had the general concurrence of both Liberal and Conservative politicians. Now they are under revision, and by some conspicuous statesmen of both parties they are rejected with vehemence. But I am thinking of something deeper and more central, something which entered into the very fibre and substance of his mind, and which controlled his political views, not on one subject merely, but on all subjects.

The political creed which he held when he entered public life, and which he held to the last, was in formal agreement with the Radical creed of the first forty years of this century ; and on economic and social questions he was faithful to the teaching of Adam Smith and his orthodox successors. But the moral austerity in his conception of God and in his personal character, of which I said something earlier in this paper, appeared in his political faith and in his political temperament, and exerted a very powerful influence on his opinions upon all questions of legislation and policy.

He cared supremely for the industry, the providence, and the self-reliance of the individual citizen. Whatever was likely, in his judgment, to enfeeble these severe virtues, he regarded with apprehension. To him it was first of all necessary that the state should deal with the people as a community of men — not a community of children ; should do nothing for them that they could do for themselves. It was better, in his judgment, that the material prosperity and the material comfort of the people should advance slowly, as the result of their own independent efforts, than that they should advance more rapidly as the result of the interference of the state. He opposed the Factory Acts, because he believed that, whatever temporary evil they might check, they would not only interfere with the freedom of manufacturing industry, but would also induce among the people the habit of relying on the state rather than on themselves for the protection of their interests. He advocated the extension of the franchise for many reasons, but partly because he believed that to trust political power to the great masses of the people would discipline them to self-respect, and that a sense of responsibility for the fortunes of the state would contribute to the development of many other manly virtues ; it was better, he thought, that they should sometimes make grave mistakes in the management of their own affairs — and suffer from their mistakes — than that they should be saved from suffering, even if that were possible, by being treated as children whose affairs must be managed for them by wiser and more experienced per-

sons. His free trade policy was an extension of the same principle. He believed that the agricultural industry had suffered from the special protection which it had received from the state ; that if the protection were withdrawn, farmers would show more self-reliance and more inventiveness ; would be compelled to abandon traditional and imperfect methods in their treatment of the land, and would be more eager to adopt all improvements. He would not, I imagine, have founded his policy on the scientific law of the survival of the fittest, but I think that he substantially believed that the state could never disregard that law without inflicting injury both on the material interests and the moral life of the community.

He was not indifferent to human misery ; he was profoundly affected by it ; and when it was apparent that the misery was the result of injustice, he was moved to passionate indignation. But the organization of the state was, in his judgment, too coarse and too rigid to be an efficient instrument for the gracious works of charity. The state is incapable of carefully discriminating between the suffering which is the result of improvidence, indolence, and vice, and the suffering which comes upon the best of men through misfortune. Legislation intended to afford direct relief to large masses of people it would be his instinct to regard with distrust, as likely to lessen the penalties of recklessness and wrong-doing, and so to diminish the motives to virtue. It is for churches, it is for voluntary organizations of charitable persons, it is for individual men and women who have learned their kinship to the most wretched — yes, and to the most vicious — of mankind, to undertake the tasks for which the state is incompetent. It is for them to console the sorrowful, to relieve the destitute, to repair the fortunes of the despairing. They can discriminate as the law cannot ; they can support and strengthen, as the law cannot, the better purposes of those who are suffering through their own follies and vices, but who now desire to do better. They can rescue and enoble the man, while they are lessening the hardships of his condition. They can temper justice with mercy. But the state — this, I think, was Mr. Bright's judgment — should be inflexibly just. It exists for the punishment of evil-doers, and the praise of them that do well. It has fulfilled its duty when it has instituted such laws, and so administered them, that it can say to all its citizens, "What a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

It is not clear to me that in this conception of the state, which entered into the substance of all Mr. Bright's political beliefs, the nation has come to be of his mind. It is not clear to me that either of the great political parties has come to be of his mind. We are repelled rather than attracted by what I have called the moral austerity which characterized Mr. Bright's political faith. We are not more sensitive to suffering than he was ; but we are of weaker fibre. We are so distressed by suffering that, whatever may have been its cause, we are impatient to remove it. We are not always careful to remember that suffering may be only a symptom of disease, and that, unless the disease is cured, the suffering, though it may be temporarily lessened or removed, will return in an aggravated form. We have

even changed the meaning of great and sacred words, and appealed for justice when our fathers would have appealed for pity. To some of us the individual is always innocent and society always guilty. We are wanting, I say, in the moral austerity which distinguished Mr. Bright, and which controlled his conception of the true duty of the state and the limits of its powers.

Even those who believe, as I believe, that he contracted too narrowly the functions of the state, that he had too little confidence in what the state may accomplish even by direct legislation for the general elevation of the life as well as the improvement of the material condition of the people, must acknowledge that there was a certain nobleness and dignity in his more austere conception of public policy, and that among the immense losses that we have sustained by his death, this is not the least — never again shall we listen to that vigorous and impressive eloquence which derived a large part of its force from his sense of the immeasurable worth of the industry, endurance, courage, and self-reliance of private citizens ; never again shall we listen to the warnings of his sagacity when we are tempted to give alleviation to the hardships of any class of the community by measures which would enfeeble these masculine virtues.

As an orator his place was not merely first in the first rank of the English orators of his generation ; he belonged to a separate order ; in some of the highest qualities of eloquence none of them approached him. And it was the testimony of some who heard the great orators of the preceding generation that he excelled them too, even when they were at their best. Many of his contemporaries had far greater wealth of political knowledge ; some surpassed him as skillful debaters. In the clear and simple exposition of a great subject he was very felicitous, but he could never have explained the multifarious details of an intricate budget with the almost miraculous lucidity of Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Disraeli was his equal in wit, and in the art of inventing happy phrases which took the ear of the House of Commons and of the country, and which concentrated in an epigram an argument and a denunciation. Mr. O'Connell had a more abundant humor, but in that perfect blending of imagination, pathos, passion, and the noblest ethical feeling, which gave to the great passages of Mr. Bright's great speeches their dignity and their power, he stood apart and alone. And even when he did not touch the heights which were beyond the reach of other men, there was a unique charm in him.

Part of the charm consisted in the ease with which he seemed to speak. There was no appearance of effort. He never spoke beyond his strength. The only effort — and this sometimes produced an immense impression — was, not to give the most intense and energetic expression to his passion, but to restrain it. However fierce were his denunciations of a great injustice, his audience felt that behind the terrible and fiery words there were the fires of a fiercer wrath which he was struggling hard to subdue. This reserve, which was akin to the austerity of his personal character, gave elevation to his speeches. He always retained his self-command. It was not his

habit to "let himself go." He had a rich humor, but he never became riotously humorous : a sentence or two, sometimes a phrase, sometimes a word, satisfied him, and he became serious again. His scorn — what one of his critics called his "superb scorn" — was also held under firm restraint ; it sometimes made its presence felt in long passages of his speeches ; it penetrated the very substance of the thought and colored its expression ; but it was rarely permitted to break out except in a single epithet ; it was still more rarely suffered to have free and open course through a whole sentence. Nor did he ever throw the reins on the neck of his imagination ; it was his servant, or, at best, his friendly ally, not his master. In one of his speeches there was a passage in which he wanted to impress his audience with the enormous magnitude of our national expenditure, which, according to his calculation, was equal annually to the whole of the wages paid during the year to the agricultural laborers of this country. I cannot lay my hand upon the passage just now, but I remember that he introduced his statement by a sentence in which there was a charming but only a momentary glimpse of the loveliness and fertility of England — its pastures, its wheat fields, its orchards — fenced and cared for like a garden, every acre showing the results of careful labor ; and then he said that the men whose toil had brought the country to this perfection received no more wages in the course of the year than we were raising in taxes and spending for purposes of government. Nothing could have been more beautiful, nothing more vivid, than the picture ; but if the vision of England which he saw had come to almost any other speaker, the account of it would have extended through sentence after sentence of picturesque description : and if Mr. Bright's own intellectual habits had been less severe, he would have been betrayed into the creation of a passage of imaginative and poetic prose which would have been quoted through many generations for its music and its beauty. But he was intent upon his end. It was no part of his business at that moment to fill the minds of those who were listening to him with the loveliness of England. He said enough for his purpose, and then he passed on. Even in the use of his splendid intellectual powers, the austerity of his moral life prevented him from yielding to luxurious self-indulgence.

His noble English style was formed by a constant and affectionate study of the English Bible and the English poets. He once told me that for many years he almost always spent his Sunday evenings alone during the session of Parliament, and that every Sunday evening he read through Milton's "Paradise Regained." I said that I should have thought that the earlier books of "Paradise Lost," containing the debates in Hell, would have had more attraction for him ; but he answered that he valued the moral wisdom of the "Paradise Regained." His taste was catholic. He expressed great admiration for Pope ; and when asked whether he did not prefer the sinewy strength of the verse of Dryden, he acknowledged Dryden's force, but still seemed to assert a preference for Pope. He also admired Cowper, Scott, Byron, and Whittier ; and he had a curiously familiar acquaintance with the minor poets of the last century. Nor did he care only for poets who had

made their reputation. Very shortly after Mr. Lewis Morris's "Epic of Hades" was published, he quoted it in a speech and expressed his high estimate of its poetic qualities. . . .

The late Mr. Henry Fawcett told me of a delightful day that he once spent with Mr. Bright in Scotland. They were there to fish, and the weather was unfavorable. To pass the time Mr. Bright recited to him, for several hours, single verses and long passages from poets of every rank, famous and obscure, interspersing the quotations with comments. It must have been his habit for many years to commit to memory the lines which impressed him.

In his English style, thus formed, there was a consummate union of simplicity and dignity. Its resources were equal to every demand that he made upon it. It was perfect for all purposes, — for plain narrative, for homely humor, for picturesque description, for fierce invective, for pathos, for stateliness, for the expression of lofty moral sentiment, for imaginative splendor. To attribute its unique excellence — as is the habit of critics — to Mr. Bright's anxiety to adhere to an almost exclusive use of the Saxon elements of our language is an error ; and it is an error from which the critics should have been saved by Mr. Bright's delight in Milton, who, of all our great poets, did most to enrich our plainer speech with the spoils of Greece and Rome. He knew exactly the moment when the Saxon element of our tongue would not serve him. Mr. Hutton pointed out many years ago the illustration of his wonderful felicity which is afforded by the famous sentence in which he looked forward to the time when it will be possible to say that "England, the *august* mother of free nations, herself is free." It is the word "august," with its train of splendid imperial associations, that gives to the sentence its spell for the imagination and its impressive dignity. It was the distinction of his style that the most cultivated men and women admired it, and that the most uncultivated understood him and felt his power — though many of these, I suspect, were of opinion that they had heard much "finer" speakers.

His English was accurate as well as vigorous and beautiful. Twenty years ago three well-known parliamentary reporters told me that Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli were the only men in the House of Commons at that time whose speeches they could report *verbatim*. There were no formless sentences to complete or to reconstruct. The only kindly service which his speeches required from them was the elimination of an unnecessary "Now," or "Well now," with which he occasionally began a sentence.

His voice in his later years was often husky ; in the years of his great activity it was clear and strong, and could be heard without effort in every part of the largest buildings. It was musical in its quality, and he used it as naturally when addressing six or seven thousand people as when talking to a friend at the fireside. It was his habit to speak slowly, but in his more vehement and impassioned passages there was what might be called a restrained eagerness, a subdued intensity, which had all the effect of rapidity,

and which often created great excitement ; then there sometimes came a sentence declaimed in tones which thrilled his audience like the notes of a clarion ; or sometimes a phrase, or even a single word — not shouted — but suddenly projected, with enormous force, like a ball from the mouth of a cannon.

When Mr. Bright had to make a great speech he brooded over it day after day. But he did not care to do all his preparation at his desk or in solitude. As arguments and illustrations occurred to him he liked to try their effect by talking them over with his friends ; and when he was at home, if nobody else was within reach, he talked them over with his gardener. The speech took shape in conversation. Then he made the “ Notes ” which he intended to use when the speech was delivered. He gave an account of these “ Notes ” in a letter written to the Rev. G. E. Cheesman, who had asked his advice as to various methods of preparation for public speaking, namely, “ (1) writing speeches and reading them ; (2) writing, and committing to memory ; and (3) sketching the heads of the topic, and trusting to the inspiration of the moment for the words in which to clothe the thought.” Mr. Bright said in reply : —

As to modes of preparation for speaking, it seems to me that every man would readily discover what suits him best. To write speeches and then to commit them to memory is, as you term it, a double slavery, which I could not bear. To speak without preparation, especially on great and solemn topics, is rashness, and cannot be recommended. When I intend to speak on anything that seems to me important, I consider what it is that I wish to impress upon my audience. I do not write my facts or my arguments, but make notes on two or three or four slips of note-paper, giving the line of argument and the facts as they occur to my mind, and I leave the words to come at call while I am speaking. There are occasionally short passages which for accuracy I may write down, as sometimes also — almost invariably — the concluding words or sentences may be written. This is very nearly all I can say on this question. The advantage of this plan is that while it leaves a certain and sufficient freedom to the speaker, it keeps him within the main lines of the original plan upon which the speech was framed, and what he says, therefore, is more likely to be compact, and not wandering and diffuse.

It was his habit, when he spoke on the platform to place his Notes on the brim of his hat, which stood on the table before him ; they were written on half sheets of note-paper. Extracts of more than three or four lines in length, which he intended to quote in support of his statements, were usually written on similar half sheets, separately numbered, and were carefully placed on the table by the side of the hat. His annual speeches to his constituents rarely extended over less than an hour and they as rarely exceeded an hour and five minutes. But the sheets of Notes varied greatly in number ; sometimes he had only four or five ; sometimes he had eight or nine ; and I think that occasionally he had still more.

To those who listened to Mr. Bright with admiration these details may be interesting. But the secret of his eloquence is not to be discovered in his methods of preparation, or in the mechanical aids which he used to assist

him while speaking, but in himself. He had great gifts of many kinds,—the genius of the orator, masculine sagacity, and a certain largeness of intellectual manner in handling every subject that he discussed. These gifts he used, not for the ends of personal ambition, but in the service of his country. He loved the people well enough to face their anger and their insults. He never flattered them. His public life was laborious and honorable ; his private life stainless. He feared God, and had no other fear. Many years ago, when he sat down at the close of one of his speeches, which had deeply moved me, I said to him, “ I have been thinking what a preacher you would have made ; ” and he answered, “ I hope I have always been a preacher of righteousness.” The claim was a just one. It was his honest endeavor to apply the highest moral laws — the laws of God — to the solution of all political difficulties. It was the depth and energy of his moral and religious earnestness which gave him his immense power while he lived ; and this beyond his genius, beyond his eloquence, beyond the great material advantages which he has conferred on the country, constitutes his chief title to the enduring gratitude and reverence of the English people.

THE PREPARATION FOR JAPAN'S NEW PARLIAMENT.

THE constitution just proclaimed in Japan is in form a free gift from the sovereign to the people. Because it is so, the question naturally arises, "Is the nation prepared for it?" Without desiring to detract at all from the graciousness of the Emperor, it is my purpose to state, as briefly as I may, some of the steps more or less consciously taken by the Imperial Ministers in the direction of constitutional government. A consideration of these steps will lead to the conviction that these statesmen have shown unusual foresight, a quick apprehension of the lessons of experience, and a remarkable steadfastness of purpose, and that the result of all has been a degree of fitness on the part of the people for self-government calculated to inspire the largest hopes for the success of the new constitution.

The account must begin with the Revolution of 1868, which led to the downfall of the shogunate and the reëstablishment of the direct rule of the Emperor. That revolution was the work of the military class — the *samurai*, or *shizoku*, as it is now the fashion to call them. This class had become restive under the despotic rule of the shoguns, but was impelled in its attack upon the government largely by religious fanaticism. A revival of the Shinto faith, which had been in progress for more than a century, had sadly weakened the authority of the ruling dynasty of shoguns, and the treaties with the Western Powers furnished an occasion for the outbreak. The cry "Out with the barbarians" was heard on every hand. The divine right of the Emperor was the rallying cry of the great mass of the revolutionists. They had no conscious longing for constitutional government. There were, however, some far-seeing men connected with the movement, who recognized the need of a more solid basis for the new régime than Shinto fanaticism.

They saw that the task before them was not simply to strike

out the needless link which the shogunate interposed between the Emperor and the feudal lords, but that the Emperor must be brought into still closer relations to his subjects. Instead of ruling in their own right, these lords were henceforth to be considered as hereditary governors, the agents of the Emperor ; but there was apparently no purpose to make a complete break with feudalism, and in a modified sense the clan was still looked upon as the unit of the state. Influenced by much the same considerations, probably, that prevailed in Southern Germany after the close of the Napoleonic wars, the Emperor's advisers secured the promise of a constitution, as the readiest means of overcoming the opposition to the régime which still existed in certain quarters. In the following year an assembly of 276 representatives of the various clans was summoned. About 200 came together. The experiment was not satisfactory and seems to have convinced the government that the clan system must be given up. The assembly never met again, and in 1871 the idea of a government by clans was abandoned. The whole country was broken up into prefectures,¹ of which, after some changes, there are now forty-five. The feudal lords were henceforth, with a few exceptions, required to reside in the capital, where they lived in dignified retirement, though a few have of late years received more or less important appointments under the government. This was a very necessary step and led to a homogeneity of administration before impossible.

Another step needed to be taken. The privileges of the military class must be curtailed, or constitutional government would simply serve to emphasize those privileges. The hereditary pensions received by this class were accordingly commuted under a scheme which was to free the state of its obligations at the end of a definite term of years. A public-school system was

¹ The term prefecture is intended as a translation of the Japanese words *fu* and *ken*. The distinction in these terms is rather one of dignity than of methods of administration. Some writers translate *fu* by the word city, but it is better not to attempt to preserve the distinction. Both Kyōto Fu and Osaka Fu include a wide extent of territory — quite as large as a New England county. In Kyōto Fu, the rural population is about five sevenths of the whole ; in Osaka Fu it is about seven tenths.

organized which broke up the partial monopoly of education enjoyed by the *samurai* and the priests, and brought the children of all classes more closely together than ever before. All classes were also made almost equally amenable to the civil and criminal law.

In 1872 a deliberative body called the Genroin, or Senate, was established. Its members were appointed from among the distinguished men of the empire. This body had no authority to decide questions of public policy, but simply gave its advice upon measures submitted to it by the different departments of government. It became the object of some ridicule, being looked upon by many as a high shelf on which unacceptable officials could be kept in honorable harmlessness, but, nevertheless, it served as a good school in practical politics for some eminently worthy men who will yet make their mark in the Diet.

In 1875 the Emperor summoned a council of the officers of the different prefectures, in order that "the feelings of the people might be made known and the public interest consulted." Owing to the Satsuma rebellion and other troubles, this council was not called together again until 1878. This assembly, though it did not directly represent the people, was of benefit to them, in that it brought the liberal influences of the capital more strongly to bear upon the local officials. It is to the Council of 1878, which met under the presidency of Mr. (now Count) Ito, that the Japanese owe the most important step which had up to that time been taken in preparation for the National Diet. As a result of its deliberations, an edict was issued providing for the organization of prefectural assemblies, through which the people might share in the administration of local affairs. These assemblies met for the first time in 1879. At the outset they, like the Senate, were hardly more than mere deliberative bodies, without power, it would appear, to initiate business; but they found a way to exert a marked influence upon public affairs. The prefects at first looked askance at them, and sought sometimes to override their opinions, but on appeal to the Home Minister a series of decisions was secured, which gradually formed a constitution of great value to the

people and which gave to their representatives the almost unquestioned right to control some of the more important branches of local administration. These representatives soon learned how to embody in their financial debates intelligent and effective criticism of matters nominally outside their province. They did not hesitate to propose amendments to the local budgets which struck at the very root of institutions which the government sought to foster, and when disappointed, they prepared with imperturbable good-nature for new assaults at more vulnerable points. The prefects, as well as the Home Minister, early came to recognize the value of the aid they derived from these *quasi* legislatures. A sense of community of interest has sprung up which is full of promise. Through the committees of the local assemblies a means has been found for watching the expenditure of the prefectural governments, and it is claimed that, as a result of the vigilance of these committees, very considerable economies have been secured. It has been the privilege of the writer to make the acquaintance of many members of these assemblies. He has talked much with them upon public affairs, and desires to record his high estimate of their intelligent interest in governmental questions, and of their practical wisdom. It is from among these men who have been trained in such schools of practical politics that the non-hereditary members of the House of Peers, as well as the members of the House of Representatives of the National Diet, will be for the most part taken. They are the men who are to give character to the Diet.

We must not fail to notice the reorganization of the peerage a few years ago. The old nobility consisted of two, perhaps we may say, parallel lines: the nobles of the Imperial Court, who traced their descent back into the dim regions of legendary history, and the old feudal barons, some of whom at least belonged to families by no means old. The nature of the old government was not suited to foster great strength of character in the nobles of either class, though those familiar with the recent history of Japan will recall a few men of marked ability among the old nobles. It was felt by all that if a dual legislature were to be set up after the British model, new blood

must be infused into the peerage. Accordingly, a new classification of the nobles was arranged, providing for five grades besides the princes of the blood. The Japanese terms adopted to indicate this classification are usually translated prince, marquis, count, viscount, and baron. All of the old nobles received new patents under this arrangement, but in addition to them a large number of distinguished statesmen and generals had titles conferred upon them. In the number of these new nobles are to be found nearly all of the men now living who have been conspicuous in national politics during the last fifteen years. They are numerous enough, and their services to the state have been great enough to give to the new House of Peers a decided character and to secure for its decisions very great weight with thoughtful men, apart from the aid the elected and appointed members will give them.

Thus both houses of the Diet will be composed of men familiar with public life. They enter upon a new partnership, and some of them upon a new sphere of duties, but they will meet these duties with minds well ripened by the experience of many years of earnest and successful political service.

While naturally enough there will be among the commoners of the upper house and also among the members of the lower house a preponderance of *samurai*, the merchant and farming classes will not be without their representatives, some of whom will win high honor for their intelligent faithfulness and efficiency.

We may well believe that both peers and commoners, having wrought so well in the past in their different spheres, will show themselves well fitted for the new responsibilities which their revered sovereign is placing upon them.

DANIEL CROSBY GREENE.

THE NUN OF KENMARE ON ROMANISM.

AN ADDRESS BY MISS M. F. CUSACK (THE NUN OF KENMARE) AT A PARLOR MEETING AT MRS. JOSEPH COOK'S ROOMS, 28 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, APRIL 24, 1889.—SPECIALLY REPORTED BY MR. O. W. KELLY, STENOGRAPHER.

I HAVE been connected with the Catholic schools of Ireland for thirty years. The schools are parochial schools. No one need go much beyond New York, certainly not far beyond Boston, to obtain evidence as to what parochial schools are. The Irish Catholic Church is not an educating church. The Roman Catholic Church educates only where she cannot help educating. I took great pains to ascertain the state of education in France under the Catholic Church, and found it deplorable. In Ireland the misfortune is, and it will be the misfortune in this country, that the money raised for parochial schools all goes into the priests' hands. It amounts to an enormous annual sum. You may imagine what power that gives them. The teachers are paid by the priests. A teacher, a Miss Murphy, whom I knew, had so many reductions made in her salary that it would not support her; and then the priest said at last that the teachers should supply the coals for their schools out of their own money. He had a legal right to say this. The Irish Board is a compromise between the priests and the government. The government always wishes to win the priests to rule Ireland, and so puts money into their hands. If Parnell succeeds, I believe that Ireland will be Protestant in ten years' time. A great deal of Irish Catholicism is due to hatred of England.

To show how the Roman Catholic Church works in different countries, I may say that in Ireland the sisters who teach are not allowed to be classified or examined; in England the sisters must be examined and classified. Because they receive money from the state, the Catholic schools in Ireland allow inspection. But the inspectors of the national parochial schools in Ireland are completely under the control of the priests, because the priests by their influence can secure an inspector's dismission or promotion. The inspector was supposed to come on certain occasions when we were unprepared; we were not supposed to expect him; but he always let us know when he was coming. This style of management characterizes the whole system. Miss Murphy, of whom I spoke, came to this country. She was still a Roman Catholic, and is still a Roman Catholic. She, of course, had taught the catechism in the parochial schools. I suppose eighty-five per cent. of the schools of Ireland are parochial schools and in the hands of priests; some in the north of Ireland are in the hands of the Presbyte-

rians. Miss Murphy came to me as an operator of the type-writer. I spoke to her of the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope and she denied it. I asked her if she had taught the catechism. She said she had. I said that the catechism taught the infallibility of the Pope ; but she was so ignorant of her own religion that she did not know that the change had been made in her own faith until I showed it to her in the catechism. In Ireland the teachers simply teach the children the words of the catechism with very little explanation. The consequence is, that they have very little religion, except a mechanical sort.

I came to Boston last fall, and was keeping myself very quiet, writing my book, as I did not want the Roman Catholics to have anything to say against me. Miss Murphy was then with me. I never kept her from going to mass or discussed Roman Catholicism with her. She came to me one morning from mass and told me she was going to leave on an hour's notice. She knew I had heart trouble and that it was dangerous for me to be left alone at night. But the Jesuit fathers in Boston had ordered her to leave me as soon as she could put her clothes into her trunk, and she did. I give this as an instance to show the power of the Jesuits here in Boston.

In some cases the superior of a convent is manager of the schools. As such a superior, I had charge of schools in Ireland in County Mayo. The priests were utterly indifferent to the whole concern. There was a boys' school where a lame man used to come on a donkey to teach the boys; and you can imagine that a man so lame as to have to come on a donkey could not have much control of the boys. So I got the boys, and then the parish priest was very angry.

The sisters are allowed at certain times to give the children religious instruction, and it is supposed that the Protestants will leave the room. I do not think there were more than five or six Protestant children in Kenmare, so that the question there did not become a prominent one. In England, I established another school at a place called Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire. I found there were no Roman Catholic children to come to school. The priest had been dismissed for his disgraceful conduct. I know some of the most excellent English priests who have left the Catholic Church just as I have done myself. This school at Great Grimsby was under my entire control. The sister who had it in charge was a very sensible, good person. This sister found in our Grimsby schools about seventy Protestant children. This which I am speaking of now happened two years ago. She wrote to me to say that she was in great distress of conscience. She had promised the parents not to teach the children the Roman Catholic religion or any religion at all. As a Roman Catholic she was necessarily bound not to teach the children anything but the Roman Catholic religion. She wrote to me to know what she should do. The children were growing up without any religion. She wrote to the bishop and asked what she should do; and he wrote to her to teach the children the Roman Catholic religion and not mind their parents. I said, I will not tolerate such things. I had almost made up my mind to leave the Roman Catholic religion. I said, I am in a

way responsible for seventy souls ; I am responsible for having them grow up heathen or almost heathen. I said to the sister that she could do what she thought best, and did not interfere further.

Let the clerical party cease to talk of godless Protestant public schools; it is their schools that are godless. I could give you a history of Irish Roman Catholic schools and colleges which would surprise you. The children are not allowed to be taught the Bible or even historical religion. The sisters must either practice gross deceit and teach all the children the Roman Catholic religion or teach them nothing. I met a physician in Baltimore, one of the best ; he said he had been to the Jesuit fathers' college, and that he never heard a word of religion, or prayer. They went to mass occasionally, but might as well have been in any heathen country for all the religion they got. It is the same with the girls. Protestant ladies are very fond of sending their daughters to the Sacred Heart Convent. I think if they knew some of the miserable results of that education, they never would do it. I know them. If you look into New York society, you will find how many young and lovely girls have gone to ruin, and how many of them were educated in the Convent of the Sacred Heart. I met one wrecked soul who wore the scapular, and had her beads, and her face was veiled. Of course no system is perfect ; but I say that a system which makes such professions, and which brings forth such deplorable results, should not be tolerated for one moment. It was only a few days ago that the "New York World" had the report of a priest who represented the children who came to him, as destitute, depraved, degraded, vicious, half savage ; and whose children were they ? The children of Roman Catholic parents. The Romish Church has had the education of New York, Ireland, France, and Italy, practically, for twenty years ; but of the police cases reported in the "New York World" every other name is Irish ; and the majority of them must be Roman Catholics.

Intemperance among the Irish peasantry is the normal condition of things. I was very much disillusioned in England as to the general character of the priests. I do not know that they are more intemperate than the people. Cardinal Manning is a personal friend of mine ; and a very charming man he is, and of the highest personal character. I was talking to him about temperance. He said, "I need temperance societies, not so much for my people as for my priests."

In the parochial schools there is much to weaken love for the truth. I was born and brought up with ideas of truth as strict as those of any Protestant. When I found myself in a position where I was bound to sanction falsehood, it was one of the causes of my leaving the church. In Ireland, the sisters always have in the school a statue of the Blessed Virgin ; but this is strictly forbidden by law, and the sisters know it is forbidden, and the children know it. The inspectors come about once in every three months, and are supposed to make incidental visits besides. When the inspectors come in the statues are locked up and the key put in the sister's pocket. The inspector would be afraid in many cases to report, if he should find such images. There is no inspection whatever of convents.

As to the charmed pictures and sacred relics sold by the priests, the magic is supposed to be in the spiritual blessing. I have sold great numbers of them myself. In form, it is forbidden by the Catholic Church to sell them, because the Protestants will pick up such matters, as in the case of the indulgences. Indulgences are sold to-day. The Duke of Aosta obtained an indulgence giving him leave to commit a certain sin for two hundred thousand dollars. I am collecting Roman Catholic papers on all these points, so that Protestants may have not my word, but that of Roman Catholics.

The scapular is taught daily as much as the catechism. I wrote on the scapular for "The Independent;" and Dr. Lea followed me up. The Roman Catholic teaching on the devotion of the scapular was supposed to have been revealed in the thirteenth century to St. Simon Stock. The revelation was, that whoever wore in honor of the Blessed Virgin a small square piece of cloth having two strings attached to it and passing around the neck, would go to heaven. The Blessed Virgin would come down into purgatory and take into heaven the Saturday after they died all wearers of the scapular. Pope after pope has given his sanction to that teaching. And yet masses are said for the souls of these wearers of the scapular. What is the use of masses, if you are sure of getting out of purgatory? The inner meaning is, that the scapular is a badge of your devotion to the Blessed Virgin. The scapulars are blessed by any priest.

I knew a gentleman, one of the wealthiest of the English converts and a great personal friend of mine, who, some years ago, was not living as worthy a life as he might have been living. The priest asked me to speak to him; but I knew it was of no use. This man wore the scapular; and as often as the string broke, he would hold the scapular with his hand until some one could tie the string for him. Piggott, that unfortunate suicide, was found with a scapular on when he died. If the Pope is infallible, this suicide is now rejoicing in heaven.

These scapulars cost five to ten cents each. Catholics are very slippery and not very scrupulous about truth; and it needs some one who knows them thoroughly to meet them; because they have so many ways of getting out of every difficulty and explaining it away without prejudice to the Pope's infallibility. A legal witness in Ireland or England would be committed if he refused to give a straight answer to a straight question. Catholics will wriggle out of other matters; but in regard to the scapular they are helpless.

The priest who received me into the church handed me a Douay Bible, and said, "I do not want you to read it; but I want you to let your friends see that you have it." The editor of "The Churchman" put in a paragraph the condemnation of reading the Bible, on one side of the page, and on the other side Cardinal Gibbons's recommendation to the people to read the Bible. There is some of the Bible in the mass; and every Catholic girl has a missal containing what is called the Epistle and the Gospel for the service. They do not always read it; but everything is done to tone things

down and to persuade Protestants that there is no harm. In regard to Henri Lasserre's famous translation of the Gospels and Rome's inconsistent action respecting it, it is difficult to tell whether or not the Pope acted at first of his own motion and was afterwards overruled. This Lasserre is a famous man. He had drawn attention to Lourdes. He was too prominent a man for the Pope to refuse : he obtained leave to issue his translation ; but when it was circulated all over Europe by the hundred thousand it was called in. The Roman Catholic papers do not seem to know exactly how to apologize for it.

If one looks at the crucifixes and crosses and paintings, it might be said that the Catholic Church intends to keep the death of Christ before the people in one way, but not in another. It may be a temptation of the Evil One that the Blessed Virgin is put in such prominence everywhere.

I have here the statement authorized by Cardinal Gibbons as to the doctrine of salvation in the Roman Catholic Church. One question is, "Can any one be saved out of the Roman Catholic Church?" "Out of the Roman Catholic Church no one can be saved ; because Jesus Christ never gave, nor will He ever give, any other religion for the salvation of all men." Here you have the Latin authorization. The priests are teaching this in your parochial schools in Boston ; and it is authorized by the Pope and by Cardinal Gibbons. Addis and Arnold, the authors of the Catholic Dictionary, were both earnest men and were very high in authority in the Catholic Church ; but the moment you leave it, you have not a shred of character. I have had the pleasure of having scalding water thrown over me until I said, "There are police," and then it was stopped. I have had letters written to me saying that I had damned myself eternally. A lady came to me the other day, who had been a Catholic and is now a Protestant, and she told me something which touched me very much. She said when she began to think, she began to ask this question : Was it possible that Jesus Christ would save her himself ?

Never is any such thing as freedom of conscience permitted in the Catholic Church. Catholics may say that if one does not express one's feelings, one may believe anything ; but you are not a man if you do not express your feelings. The first lesson of novitiates is that of obedience to the superior, and that their judgment and mind and will must be as clay in the hand of the potter.

Privately Cardinal Newman has written some very strong things. He left Ireland in disgust over the university Catholics were trying to establish there. But Newman is in advanced years, and I think that he has felt that for him the time for controversy has passed. It is not very pleasant to be fighting when you are old.

There is a very large number of honest infidel priests in the church ; many of the best are infidels ; I speak from my own knowledge. Something ought to be done to provide a home for both priests and sisters who wish to leave Roman Catholicism. If I had not my pen, what could I do ? I should starve ; for I was left with nothing. By my historical writings

and the property which came to me, I had about \$150,000. It was said that my friends could write to me. By and by I was told that I would be provided for, if I would sign certain papers surrendering my property. I did so ; and after that every letter sent to me was returned unopened.

The Pope dealt with me liberally because I had been dealt with shamefully by an Irish bishop, having been put into the streets without any resources and for no cause. If I had lifted my finger, I could have had Dublin in flames ; or I could have gone to my Protestant friends and roused them. To show their appreciation of my silence, the authorities wanted to give me some kind of a return : the Pope therefore received me with special courtesy. The Duke of Norfolk was a personal friend of mine. I suppose he is such no longer. He came to see me just as I was leaving for Rome, and gave me a personal introduction to Cardinal Howard. I was received then very cordially in Rome, and had exceptional attention shown to me there ; but as a matter of fact the Pope is a mere figure-head. The Pope could not speak English, and I had to speak Spanish to him. I know Italian, but cannot speak it fluently in conversation. It was so when I went to Naples with an introduction to a cardinal there. I met only two or three officials who could speak French : everything has to be translated before coming into their hands. These cardinals never leave Rome to travel ; how can they possibly know about foreign affairs ?

Your America is largely governed by Italians who do not know a word of English. America is undoubtedly the country where the Roman Catholic Church is strongest to-day. In England it is kept down ; in Ireland it is tottering, in France it is weakening, in Italy it is in ruins. I wish I could make the American people thoroughly understand the political power of the Pope. It is a question on which Protestants are not yet quite clear. The Pope claims political power, because there is no question of politics which is not a question of morals. What is said about his temporal power being destroyed now is simple delusion. If the Pope were living on an island in the sea alone, he would be considered the sovereign of the world just as much as he is now. You know the people are angry in Canada now, because \$400,000 has been ordered to be paid out of the government treasury ; and the Pope tells how it is to be used. By and by he will send over here, and tell who is to be paid in Washington and who is not to be paid. Unquestionably the real secret of Dr. McGlynn's removal was his American ideas. When the Roman Catholic Church cannot fight, it cajoles. I had difficulty in getting my book published. Several houses declined it. A distinguished editor, who is personally well disposed to me, said he could not review my book, because he dared not. I have the originals of all the letters. This shows the indirect influence of the Romish Church. I have kept a great number of extracts from Roman Catholic papers on school questions. One of the purposes of the clerical party is to keep the publishers under control. My book was finally published by Ticknor. I am sorry to say that he has retired from that part of the business ; Houghton, Mifflin and Co. have it now. For the last ten years, before I became a Protestant,

I was obliged to employ a Protestant publisher, because Catholics would not keep their engagements.

The Associated Press refused to pass my letter over the wires. America is a very free country for Roman Catholics ; for us poor Protestants it is worse. There are quite a number of priests among editors on leading journals. I know at this moment of a drunken worthless priest on the press in Philadelphia, and another on the press in New York.

They are talking of erecting a statue to Dr. Brownson in New York ; but I do not know whether they are succeeding. There was a very violent Roman Catholic opposition to Brownson, as he was quite a peculiar man.

The Jesuits are hated by a considerable majority of the bishops. An Episcopal clergyman in Utica told me that the Jesuits are behind the ritualistic movement, as was publicly charged in England in connection with the putting up of the reredos in St. Paul's. I have no personal knowledge of anything of that kind, and for myself do not think it is the fact. Protestants generally have a rather wrong idea of Jesuits. They educate youth at their colleges. The fathers exert themselves to curry favor with their pupils and do not care much to make them Roman Catholics : they can use them better as they are.

The proposed Catholic university in Washington is unquestionably intended as a fortress from which to storm our institutions. You have no conception of the amount given by Protestant people for Roman Catholic institutions. The building at Washington will make a great impression on the people. The world believes in success. But as an institution the university will be a failure because they will have no one to attend it. What kind of a professor can a man be who is not allowed to think ? The bishop who has gone to Germany for professors is going to bring imported labor here. The Catholics have no professors, after all their management of education in this country. I was offered a professorship in the Washington University. That was before they knew I was a woman. My letters to "The Independent" were signed by Dr. Ward, "A Roman Catholic Layman." I was not responsible for what he did. They said they would be very glad to give this young man a professor's chair in the university. Those letters were written while I was a Catholic. My first article over my own signature appears this week, and is on the school question. If it be true that the Catholics have not yet a charter for their university, let petitions be sent in from end to end of the land, and let the women take up the matter. I am not sufficiently acquainted with America to know whether to advise the building of an American university in Washington. After all, I am only a woman ; I am not a professor. Let Americans be firm. I think it would be well if there were more literature in the shape of small tracts, as there is in England. You should circulate far and wide a statement of the facts about Roman Catholic education : you really need to circulate literature of that kind among Protestants. There is my book : a gentleman will put that into his library, and then he has not time to read it ; but a short tract he can slip into his pocket and read at any time when he has to wait for a

few minutes. Tracts and compendiums I have great faith in. I think a good novel would be one of the very best means for reaching the people in that line.

You are too honest to contend successfully with the Catholics. It is impossible for an honest man to meet a rogue and be on fair terms. The amount of money the priests have is enormous. In New York they are getting two dollars for every child they educate. Then there is a fear in the heart of every Roman Catholic that there is just a chance that the Roman Catholic Church's assertion of infallibility is true. Therefore even educated men will still support Roman Catholics. A doctor who had attended one of my institutions had some trouble with a priest, and was asked what he should do. He said, "What can we do? We must toady to the priests." And I never forgot the words.

DR. A. J. GORDON. I am sure we are all very greatly obliged to Miss Cusack for this most interesting address ; and I need only say without taking any expression of the company on the matter, that she has our most earnest sympathy and the promise of our most cordial help in any way in which we can render it in the future.

BOSTON HYMN.

SURSUM CORDA.

THE FULFILLED DESIRE OF ALL NATIONS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 207TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 4, 1889.

1. CHRIST, the Son of God, is born —
Evermore to men draws near ;
Lo ! His light brings earth its morn,
Now burns God's Shekinah clear.
2. As the noon outshines a star,
So Time's noon His glories drown ;
He whom prophets saw afar,
He who is Creation's crown.
3. Sinless He our nature takes,
Perfect God and perfect man ;
His Right Arm our fetters breaks,
In His wounds our peace began.
4. Rebels Thou dost disenthral,
Measureless Atonement white
Ransom hast thou given for all
Who in holiness delight.
5. When we Thee as Saviour see,
Sin Thou meltest from our souls ;
Pardon prompteth loyalty ;
Grace guilt's burden from us rolls.

6. By Thy words we stand or fall,
Show us God and show us man;
Thine the Kingdom over all,
Finish what Thy Cross began.

The perfecting of the self-revelation of God is nothing other than the Incarnation of God. The Incarnation is necessary not only to accomplish man's redemption, but to complete his creation. — *Dorner*.

When God said, *Let us make man in our image*, His thought was pointing not to man at his beginning, but to man at his climax. Christ, as man, therefore, was the consummation of creation. — *Schleiermacher*.

Christ is the revelation of man to himself as really as the revelation of God to man. — *S. Harris*.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE V.

PLEDGES AND POWER OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

AT Mr. Cook's 207th Boston Monday Lecture, which was delivered at the hour of the inauguration of President Harrison, March 4th, the usual great audience indorsed heartily the positions taken in regard to the pledges, opportunities, and responsibilities of the new administration, as well as the demand made in the lecture for a system of state inspection of parochial schools. The Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb presided; and the Rev. Dr. J. M. Gray offered prayer. An eloquent and powerful address on the success of constitutional prohibition in Kansas and Iowa was made by Miss Clara Hoffman of Missouri. Mr. J. R. Ramsay, a colored refugee from Arkansas, spoke effectively on Southern political outrages, and especially of the recent assassination of the Hon. John M. Clayton.

PRESIDENT HARRISON'S NATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES.

To-day Providence crowns with the absolutely irreversible approval of a century the best written constitution known among the governments of men. [Applause.] One hundred years ago, on March 4, 1789, thirteen small confederated Colonies became thirteen united States. Six vastly critical years intervened between the close of the Revolutionary War and the adoption of our present national Constitution. We were what Alexander Hamilton called "an awful spectacle—a nation without a national government." We had no President, no Congress in the present meaning of the word, no Supreme Court with power to coerce States. Under the Constitution of 1789, the republic ceased to be a rope of sand. The new form of government has resisted the tooth of Time and the strain resulting from our unprecedented national expansion and from the fiercest rebellion of modern history. Our foreign critics have at last become our eulogists. The American constitution is now in many respects acknowledged to be a model for the ad-

vancing political aggressiveness of the English-speaking race throughout the world. Canada has imitated this constitution. If the British Empire shall succeed in carrying out a scheme of imperial federation, it is likely to do so by a combination of local and federal authority like that which experience has approved in the United States.

At this very hour a successor to Washington and Lincoln is being inaugurated in Washington. [Applause.] He has unprecedented opportunities. For the first time in fourteen years, the Presidency, the Senate, and the House are united. Responsibility goes with power, and now that the Republican party has the Presidency and both Houses in Congress, that party must be held responsible for keeping at least its own pledges. It is unsafe, however, to predict that any party in power will do anything other than try to keep its place. This is the prime purpose of all parties, to hold the power they get; but, if the people do their duty, it will be impossible in this republic for any party to hold its power after election that does not keep its pledges made before election. [Applause.] It pays for the people to hold aspiring but forgetful parties to their pledges.

PLEDGES IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

What are some of the pledges, which, if kept, will open to President Harrison immense national and international opportunities?

1. The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, executed.

At present, a Confederate soldier with ten colored men in his pocket weighs as much as ten Federal soldiers casting honest votes. Your Republican party deliberately affirms in its national platform that Democratic ascendancy in the House of Representatives was attained by fraud in Southern elections. It officially accuses the Democratic party of stealing the Presidency. Senator Chandler describes our new Southern masters, and emphasizes the fact that they yet dominate in national affairs much as the slaveholders in the South did before the Civil War. When the Republican party solemnly accuses its

rival of criminal nullification of the laws and promises before the public to execute the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, it is to be called upon to make those pledges good. Let us listen now, while the President is taking the oath of office, to the resonant promises in the Republican platform of last June :

We reaffirm our unswerving devotion to the national Constitution ; to the autonomy reserved to the States under the Constitution ; to the personal rights and liberties of citizens in all the States and Territories in the Union, and especially to the supreme and sovereign right of every lawful citizen, rich or poor, native or foreign born, white or black, to cast one free ballot in public elections, and to have that ballot duly counted. We hold the free and honest popular ballot and the just and equal representation of all the people to be the foundation of our popular government and demand effective legislation to secure the integrity and purity of elections, which are the fountains of all public authority. We charge that the present administration and the Democratic majority in Congress owe their existence to the suppression of the ballot by a criminal nullification of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, as all the world knows, but as we seem here in the North to have forgotten, are waste paper. They cost you thousands of lives ; they are written in the blood of your fathers and your sons ; they were ratified by three fourths of your States. You had trouble with President Johnson while you were passing the Fourteenth Amendment, but you passed it against his opposition, and in spite of all remonstrances from Southern States. You did this in the most solemn and deliberate way. It has now been on your statute books since March 30, 1870. Nineteen years you have waited, and still that amendment, written in the most sacred handwriting of Providence on the wall of the century, is notoriously nullified in several of the States lately in rebellion.

The nation that will allow the ballot-box to be abused in the Southern States will very soon find it abused in the Northern. It is dangerously abused already in many a corrupt municipality. You are ruled here in Massachusetts from Congress largely by those who owe their seats and authority there to criminal nullification, not of national law merely, but of the fundamen-

tal provisions of the Constitution itself, as sacred as any other portion of the national document; and, indeed, more sacred, for no other portion cost us as much.

Commercial cowardice brought on the rebellion. The American platform was told that it must not utter the truth concerning the South, and the pulpits were muzzled. And now, such of us as are not politicians, but merely friends of fair play, friends of the national Constitution, friends of education for all classes, friends of civil rights, guaranteed by our most costly and fundamental enactments, are told that we are touching dangerous themes, if we refer to the public pledges of what is now the victorious party. Hundreds of Republican papers will lay out this morning a programme for the President-elect, and scores and scores of the most influential of them will remember to forget that the Republican party stands pledged to execute the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. [Applause.]

2. The solid South can be and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, broken up.

What is the solid South? A Democratic minority ruling a vast colored and white majority at the mouth of the shot gun. Why does the solid South hold together? Because the blacks are ignorant. The whites are resolved that the blacks shall continue in the mass ignorant, and be kept out of the use of property in any large amount, and out of places of political influence. When the South resolved to come back into the Union, I believe it gave up honestly the scheme of secession; but it evidently had a secret purpose of keeping the black man ignorant, poor, and politically uninfluential. This scheme has been carried out at the expense of a nullification of portions of our national Constitution. But now that the North has increased so vastly in power, is the solid South to retain its seat in the saddle? It will continue to do so while your inertness continues.

3. The system of committees in the House of Representatives, which now enables a minority to rule the nation, and prevents a majority from taking legislative action, can be and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, broken up.

There is far too little said in public of the fact that we are ruled by committees of Congress rather than by open debate

and fair votes in a full house. I ask young men here who wish to keep themselves abreast of the most enlightened thought concerning American institutions, to study carefully Professor Bryce's criticisms of the methods of committees in the American Congress. This modern De Tocqueville says that our present system of committees destroys the unity of the House as a legislative body; cramps debate; lessens the cohesion and harmony of legislation; gives facilities for the exercise of underhand and corrupt influence; reduces responsibility; lowers the interest of the nation in the proceedings of Congress; enables a minority to rule; and makes it often impossible for a majority to take legislative action ("American Commonwealth," vol. i. pp. 155-160).

The Republican party has pledged itself over and over to the destruction of this system; and has repeatedly accused the Democratic party of blocking legislation by a peculiar management of committees. It is notorious among all who are inside politics that we are ruled from the basement, not from the upper halls, of the great capitol building. Not the Senate in open debate, not the House in a full session, but the conclaves in committee rooms decide the fate of national measures. It has happened again and again that a majority has been known to exist in the House in favor of certain political measures, and has been blocked, and thrown out of the conflict entirely and contumeliously by the action of certain powerful committees.

4. The reform of interstate commerce by restrictions upon unjust monopolies and oppressive trusts can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, carried out.

The platform of the Republican party distinctly promises that trusts shall be opposed and unjust monopolies repressed.

We declare our opposition to all combinations of capital organized in trusts or otherwise to control arbitrarily the condition of trade among our citizens; and we recommend to Congress and the state legislatures in their respective jurisdictions such legislation as will prevent the execution of all schemes to oppress the people by undue charges on their supplies or by unjust rates for the transportation of their products to market. We approve the legislation by Congress to prevent alike unjust burdens and unfair discriminations between the States.

5. Mormonism can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, deprived of political power, and polygamy stamped out.

Is this pledge of the Republican party before election anything more than a paper pellet after election? The nation watches the inauguration ceremonies, and it remembers what the Republican party promised last November. This was the high position held by the now victorious political organization: —

The political power of the Mormon Church in the Territories, as exercised in the past, is a menace to free institutions, a danger no longer to be suffered. Therefore we pledge the Republican party to appropriate legislation asserting the sovereignty of the nation in all Territories where the same is questioned; and in furtherance of that end to place upon the statute books legislation stringent enough to divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power and thus stamp out the attendant wickedness of polygamy.

So far as that plank goes, I am an excellent Republican. But the German proverb says “unlaid eggs are uncertain chickens.” [Laughter.] I dare not hope that even that high deliverance will transmute itself into deeds, unless the people rise and demand that pledges before election shall have honorable execution after election.

6. Home rule in the Territories can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, promoted.

The Republican party desires to have Idaho and Wyoming come into the Union and also New Mexico, and would be glad to open Oklahoma, that is, the central part of the Indian Territory, to white settlement. When lately in Kansas I came near the Territory of Oklahoma on a lecture tour, I found men’s thoughts ablaze with the possibility that this newly projected Territory might be settled within a twelvemonth. It seems probable that the accession of Territories to the Union will increase Republican authority; and we may, therefore, insist all the more strongly that power carries responsibility.

7. The tariff can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, judiciously revised so as to secure a fair degree of protection and avoid a surplus in the treasury.

The importance of the tariff issue in the last Presidential

election was, as everybody knows, much exaggerated for political purposes. American workingmen were not in half the danger that Republican orators pretended that they were in. But if we can hold the Republican party to anything in its pledges, assuredly we can to such a judicious revision of the tariff as shall not abandon the Republican system of protection on the one side, and as shall reduce a really dangerous surplus on the other. [Applause.]

8. Civil service reform can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, advanced.

Of course, of course; who doubts this? [Laughter.] There will be no Democrats turned out because they are Democrats; no Republicans put into office because they are Republicans! [Laughter.] Republican pledges of civil service reform are a part of history. Is the American people alert? Is the American people conscientious? Or is the American people bound in the trammels of party, wall-eyed, capable of seeing pledges before election, incapable of seeing them after? Accursed is a wall-eyed party. Accursed, a wall-eyed nation. [Applause.]

9. The navy can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, strengthened so as to provide adequately for the national defense.

The present Secretary of the Navy has advanced important reforms in his department. The nations will have increased reverence for the Republican party if it takes up work which the Democratic party has begun and gives us a navy fit to match the dignities and the necessities of 65,000,000 of people. [Applause.]

10. Trade with South America and other quarters of the globe can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, encouraged.

There is the Argentine Republic in South America, with a population growing faster than ours ever grew. There are more stately banking houses in Buenos Ayres than in New York city. The banks there have a larger capital than almost any others in the world. But in the harbor of that crowded and growing municipality of South America, the United States of the southern temperate zone, you find thousands of ships bear-

ing other flags than ours, and hardly a vessel from the United States. We have lost nearly all our South American trade through British rivalry, and through the inertness of our national authorities.

11. The Monroe doctrine can be, and ought to be, and, if Republican pledges are kept, will be, upheld. There is a distinct plank in the platform on that subject.

Professing adherence to the Monroe doctrine, the present administration has seen with idle complacency the extension of foreign influence in Central America and foreign trade everywhere among our neighbors. It has refused to charter, sanction, or encourage any American organization for constructing the Nicaragua canal, a work of vital importance to the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine and of our national influence in Central and South America and necessary for the development of trade with our Pacific territory, with South America, and with the islands and farther coasts of the Pacific Ocean.

12. International arbitration can be, and will be, and, if Republican precedents are followed, will be, promoted.

President Garfield announced that arbitration was the settled policy of his administration. Mr. Blaine, who I suppose is likely to be secretary of state, once announced that it was his purpose to call a convention of all the political powers on this continent, for the purpose of making arbitration a remedy for war in every case to which it can be applied. [Applause.] We had lately in this city an important delegation from Great Britain to advocate arbitration as a remedy for war between English-speaking peoples, and indeed between all warring or dissonant advanced nations on the globe. They went to Washington and were told to wait a little, and that after the Presidential election was over their scheme should receive attention. We have waited. Are we now to have the fruition of our hopes?

PLEDGES NOT IN THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

These twelve things I hold are fairly pledged to us by the Republican party in its platform. Now, what are the reforms we want that are not promised in that platform? I will mention only three.

1. Public schools will be encouraged in States that do not now maintain any adequate system of common school education. [Applause.]

2. Justice will be done in our international relations, especially in the case of China. [Loud applause.]

Is not your applause injudicious? There is in the Republican platform a hoodlum plank. It objects to the introduction into this country — of what? Chinese vendors of curiosities? No. Chinese managers of dance houses and places too infamous to be mentioned? No. Chinese merchants? No. Chinese students? No. Does it object to the introduction of Italian laborers of the lowest grade, or of Persian, or of Hungarian? No. It objects to the Chinese workingman, and to nobody else. Now, let us hear the opinion, not of a fanatic, not of a man without business experience, but of one of the railroad kings of the continent. Mr. C. P. Huntington, well-known as the originator of our first great trans-continental railway, said lately in writing to the "*Journal of Commerce*," on the famous, and, as I call it, the infamous Chinese exclusion act: —

I believe the time will soon come when the people of California will blush because of the great injury they have allowed to be done to the economical, laborious, and patient Chinese; and I hope the time will soon arrive, also, when the politicians and demagogues belonging to both political parties will be ashamed when they look back upon the race they ran, each with the other, to secure the few thousand hoodlum votes, hoping thereby to elect their favorite for the presidency, and that, too, at the cost of the commercial and harmonious relations of more than four hundred millions of people.

The Republican plank on the Chinese question was fashioned on the sand-lots of San Francisco. Denis Kearney was the chief workingman who wrought it into shape. There are thousands of our best citizens who regret immensely the existence in the platform of a party so powerful, so honorable, so glorious as the Republican, of a plank that is an insult to an empire containing twice as many people as any Cæsar ever governed, and now rapidly coming to the front among advanced nations. Li Hung Chang said to an American not long since, "Railways will very soon thread our valleys; we shall rival our rivers

by iron roads; our mines will be opened; we shall have something to say on our side when we meet with insults abroad." [Applause.] Too many young men from China have been educated in this country in international law, and have gone home, to make it safe for us to strike China in the face. Retaliation upon our commercial interests in China will be practiced unflinchingly. We have very much to lose in a commercial sense in our relations with the Chinese empire if we go on allowing hoodlums to lead our victorious political party by the nose. For one, I hope that the Secretary of State and the President will think twice before resting their great weight upon this absolutely untrustworthy and rotten plank. [Applause.]

3. As we were told in the Republican platform that the first concern of good government is the promotion of temperance and morality, we may hope to see the American rum traffic with Africa and the isles of the Pacific discouraged by national power. [Applause.]

There lies on this table a most impressive document sent to the Methodist conference in New York city from England, narrating the efforts of a great society in London, of which the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London is the chairman, to preserve the native races from the liquor traffic. The petition of this London society and of the conference on this subject was shamefully denied by our out-going Secretary of State. Dr. Dorchester, in an article lately published, has called attention to the fact that there is within seven miles of the Massachusetts State House a firm which has a contract to furnish 3,000 gallons of rum daily to the African trade for the next seven years. [Cries of "Shame," "Shame."] Within seven miles of your State House more than 90 per cent. of the rum exported from this country is produced; and yet we have religious journals that think that constitutional prohibition is not advisable in Massachusetts. [Loud cries of "Shame," and prolonged applause.] In spite of drawbacks here and there, I maintain that it is a fact which the reigning political party will ultimately be forced to notice, that prohibition is a rising tide, and has excellent prospects of a great future. [Prolonged applause.]

LECTURE V.

POLITICAL MISCHIEFS OF PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS.

RELATIVE INCREASE OF CATHOLICS AND PROTESTANTS.

IN the year 1800, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, the proportion of Roman Catholics to the whole population of the United States was 1 in 88; in 1820 it was 1 in 40; in 1840 it was 1 in 18; in 1860 it was 1 in 12; in 1880 it was 1 in 8. This is not the statement of any Roman Catholic authority, but that of the distinguished Protestant Committee of One Hundred, whose political and educational services to this city and to the nation, I have no doubt, will be remembered in history. [Applause.] The usual estimates of Roman Catholic statisticians concerning the number of Roman Catholics in the United States appear to me to be greatly exaggerated. The year books of Roman Catholics do not agree with each other in these estimates. It is unsafe to affirm that our Roman Catholic population is over 8,000,000. Taken at that figure, however, it is now an eighth part of the whole population.

The proportion of evangelical Protestant church members to the whole population of the United States in 1880 was 1 to 14. It is now 1 to 5.

POLITICAL HOPES OF AMERICAN ROMANISTS.

These contrasts indicate a keen rivalry of antagonistic forces not merely in the fields of education and religion, but also in that of politics.

Fateful figures these. One in 8. One in 5. They are arithmetic, not rhetoric. In full view of these signs of the times, I do not advise you to allow the fashion of your countenances to be altered, or your knees to smite together, unless you are weak-kneed. But if you are, then God save the nation, for only He can!

It is not surprising that Romanists, with these figures before them, 1 in 8, when in 1800 they had only 1 in 88, are hoping great things. It is very natural for them to do so, because the rate of growth, although lessened of late, is really astounding; and, in a republic governed as ours is, the power of such a vote as a make-weight is enormous.

Alert and aggressive Jesuits are securing the control of elections in Canada by throwing themselves as a make-weight into the contest between Ontario and Quebec Province. So effective are they that to-day the Premier holds his seat on condition of approving a Jesuit bill utterly odious to Ontario. In Canada within three weeks churches have been open on Sundays to discuss the political influence of Jesuits. Petitions have been unrolled in the vestibules of churches on the Lord's day, and sent up from churches to the Parliament of the Dominion, beseeching the Premier to resist Jesuit aggression. It is not supposed that he will. It is understood that he could not maintain his place, if he were to oppose the Jesuit power seated at Quebec. Catholics see these facts and draw zestful encouragement from them as to future political possibilities in the American Union.

In view of the power of the Catholic vote, I beg leave to present certain urgent reasons why the Roman Catholic parochial schools should be subjected to a system of state inspection at least, and also why, if they develop disloyal tendencies here as they have done elsewhere, they should be resolutely suppressed here as they have been in Mexico [applause], in Chili, and in the Argentine Republic. [Applause.] These are Roman Catholic countries, so convinced of the political mischiefs of the domination of the clerical party in education as to suppress Roman Catholic parochial schools by the activity of liberal Roman Catholics themselves. In Mexico, Chili, and the Argentine Republic, the Roman Catholic is the recognized religion of the state; nevertheless, there are multitudes of Catholics there who are Catholics, but, thank God, not Romanists. [Applause.] May their tribe increase in the United States! [Loud applause.] It is astonishing that the French Canadian and the Irishman has not the spirit in this matter of the Mexican and the Spaniard.

POLITICAL RESULTS OF JESUIT AGGRESSION.

When Roman Catholics are 1 in 8 of our population, what are some of the political mischiefs of the Roman Catholic parochial school system ?

1. It destroys the unity of elementary education that hitherto has secured the unity of American citizenship and is necessary to enable our heterogeneous population to understand itself and act together.

2. It stimulates sectarianism, clannishness, race prejudice, and religious animosities.

3. It is intended to secure a division of the public school funds for sectarian purposes.

4. It already cripples the American common school system.

5. It is intended to destroy that system completely.

6. The numerical weight of Catholicism in the American population gives it immense political influence as a balance of power in closely contested elections. Either of the last two presidential elections might have been reversed by a change in the distribution of half the Catholic vote.

You might be governed by your illiterate vote, also. You have 2,000,000 voters who cannot read and write, and if their votes had been cast skillfully enough they might have determined the result of either of the last closely contested national elections. But this Catholic vote is very much larger than your illiterate vote. It is more dangerous on the whole, for it holds together better than the illiterate vote; it is more skillfully manipulated; and it advocates principles more thoroughly antagonistic to American ideas than the illiterate vote usually acts upon.

7. The growth of the Catholic population of the republic is such as to awaken serious expectation on the part of the Romanists that they may soon become a majority and control politics.

8. The numerical power of Catholics naturally awakens great ambition and incites desperate activity in the clerical party in America.

9. The same cause equally incites ambition and activity in

the Romish conclave which manages the world-wide machinery of the Vatican.

10. Shut out of many other countries and enjoying nowhere such freedom as it possesses here, the Jesuit propaganda at present is concentrating its activity in a most dangerous manner upon the United States and is likely to do this more and more as the political power of our Roman Catholic population increases.

11. Roman Catholics are officered and manipulated and held together as a political unit with consummate ability, as Protestants are not.

12. Roman Catholics act on what to them is an infallible and irreformable programme, admitting no compromise, as Protestants do not.

13. Roman Catholicism when in a minority and when in a majority is two very different things.

14. Roman Catholic parochial schools are known to be under papal authority. They are very largely under Jesuit direction. Jesuit aggression has a history of which Americans are far too forgetful, and in presence of the threats of which we are far too optimistic.

All these are reasons for the supervision of the Roman Catholic parochial system by the state; but the reasons I am now to give lead us to expect that the time may come here, as it has in other countries, when we must forbid Roman Catholic ecclesiastical interference with the education of American citizens. [Prolonged applause.]

15. The Roman Catholic parochial school system teaches the supremacy of Romish ecclesiastical over American civil law.

In studying the topic of Romanism in its relations to the state, it is unsafe to follow any authority as to Catholic ideals unless it is authorized by the Pope himself. Nobody else is responsible in the Roman Catholic organization for the policy of the hierarchy, except the Pope. The famous Syllabus of 1864 anathematizes those who teach that "in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers the civil law ought to prevail." (Art. 42.)

That article of the Syllabus vitiates the civil allegiance of all

who obey it. So Gladstone thinks, so Bismarck thinks, so Cavour thought, so Gambetta and Victor Hugo thought. Recent history contains many illustrations of the necessity of appealing to the Pope for authority as to what Roman Catholics mean. You are told by this bishop and by that bishop, and by this admirable Roman Catholic citizen and by that trustworthy Catholic editor, that Roman Catholics are loyal in this country. Undoubtedly thousands and millions of them are. I am not questioning their honesty. But I refer myself to the clerical party, and to the leaders of the clerical party, and to the leaders of the leaders, and to the Pope himself for my information. No authority is worth anything concerning the purposes of Rome unless that authority has the indorsement of the Pope.

MR. GLADSTONE ON DR. NEWMAN'S CONCESSIONS.

Mr. Gladstone's famous pamphlets on Vaticanism were answered by a number of Roman Catholic authorities in England, and among others by Dr. Newman himself. When years ago Catholic disabilities were under discussion in Parliament and were removed, Bishop Doyle of the Roman Catholic Church, a prelate whose character everybody respected, was brought as a witness before Parliament and he most solemnly assured the British Empire that allegiance to the Pope does not vitiate the allegiance of the Roman Catholic to the empire. He was a man of such weight and such prominence that his testimony was received as authoritative and so Catholic disabilities were removed. Dr. Newman, replying to Mr. Gladstone, now finds that the statement of Dr. Doyle requires "some pious interpretation;" that in 1826 the clergy both of England and Ireland were trained in Gallican opinions (p. 13), and had modes of thinking "foreign altogether to the minds of the *entourage* of the Holy See;" that the British ministers ought to have applied to Rome (p. 14) to learn the civil duties of British subjects, and that "no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party."

In reply to this very significant position of Dr. Newman, Mr. Gladstone says:—

This declaration involves all, and more than all, that I had ventured

reluctantly to impute. Statesmen of the future, recollect the words, and recollect from whom they came: from the man who by his genius, piety, and learning towers above all the eminences of the Anglo-Papal communion; who, so declares a Romish organ, "has been the mind and tongue to shape and express the English Catholic position in the many controversies which have arisen" since 1845, and who has been roused from his repose on this occasion only by the most fervid appeals to him as the man that could best teach his co-religionists how and what to think. The lesson received is this. Although pledges were given, although their validity was firmly and even passionately asserted, although the subject-matter was one of civil allegiance, "no pledge from Catholics was of any value to which Rome was not a party" (p. 14).

In all seriousness I ask whether there is not involved in these words of Dr. Newman an ominous approximation to my allegation that the seceder to the Roman Church "places his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?" ("Vaticanism," p. 28, Am. ed.)

16. The Roman Catholic parochial school system is managed largely by ecclesiastics who are under an oath of allegiance to a foreign pontiff, an oath which practically vitiates the civil allegiance of those who obey its spirit.

I am responsible for those words, and shall print them exactly as I utter them here. [Applause.]

17. The Roman Catholic ecclesiastical power assumes in many cases to vacate oaths of their obligation, and so undermines the authority of all law.

The system of indulgences is a very intricate topic, but indulgences yet have such authority in the Roman Catholic Church that it is very well known to be a fact in practical politics that great numbers of emigrants arriving at New York take false oaths and vote, under a system of indulgences from Roman Catholic priests with political purposes. If that thing can be done now in a few cases, it may by and by under political whip and spur be done in many.

18. The parochial school system is professedly intended to bring about the union of church and state, with Roman Catholicism as the only recognized faith.

19. It systematically inculcates a spirit of servile obedience

to the Pope of Rome as having authority over Romanists superior to that of the President of the United States.

20. As the source of notorious political mischiefs, the clerical party is resisted by every liberal statesman of Europe, and as vigorously by Gladstone and Bismarck as it was by Gambetta, Victor Hugo, and Cavour.

21. On account of similar mischiefs, the clerical party has been deprived of the control of education even in Catholic Mexico, Chili, and the Argentine Republic.

FIRST A CATHOLIC, AFTERWARDS AN AMERICAN.

Mr. Gladstone, in a passage before me, says : —

Too commonly the spirit of the neophyte is expressed by the words which have become notorious : “ A Catholic first, an Englishman afterwards ” — words which properly convey no more than a truism ; for every Christian must seek to place his religion even before his country in his inner heart. But very far from a truism is the sense in which we have been led to construe them. We take them to mean that the convert intends in case of any conflict between the Queen and the Pope to follow the Pope and let the Queen shift for herself ; which, happily, she can well do. (“ The Vatican Decrees,” Am. ed., p. 42.)

If that be the meaning that Mr. Gladstone on the other side of the sea puts upon the language of the Syllabus, what shall we say in reply to it here under the shadow of Bunker Hill, and so near the graves of our forefathers, who planted the common school system in the rocky soil of New England ? If any considerable portion of our population teaches that a man should be first a Romanist and afterwards an American, and that the Pope must be obeyed whenever he is in conflict with the President, and that the President may take care of himself, why should we not say, with as much pride in our chief executive as Mr. Gladstone has in the Queen, that the President is abundantly able to do so ? [Prolonged applause.]

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XIII.

MY friends had all been elaborately trained for the ministry for which I was originally intended. Tomkins was a Master of Arts with fourteen gold medals and seventeen certificates of honor. Jenkins was a D. C. L., D. Sc., D. D., LL. D., who metaphorically knew the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by heart; in fact, Jenkins was so learned that he could never be trusted to go out alone since the time that he was found wandering along Holborn, using his umbrella as a walking-stick, and holding up his stick as an umbrella in the midst of a drenching rain. Hawkins had committed Horace to memory, and had written a brief Syriac commentary on the Greek text of John's Gospel. Coleman was a silent party who was supposed to be profoundly versed in the literature of the fourth century, and to know absolutely nothing of the nineteenth. Only on the subject of the fourth century was Coleman ever known to be cheerful; but to his everlasting credit be it said, on that subject his vivacity rose to passion. He would even speak about it in omnibuses, and in some of his more eager moods he would forget or despise the common courtesies of life by naming the subject to strangers of whom and of whose parentage he knew literally nothing.

Tomkins, Jenkins, Hawkins, and Coleman undertook to convert Whitechapel to Christianity. They felt that the time had fully come when the Salvation Army and "all that sort of thing" should be put down by culture, dignity, and at least some measure of official propriety. They had no doubt that Whitechapel would respond to culture. They thought, if Tomkins would put on his Master's hood, and Jenkins would stand upon the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and Coleman would print the words "Fourteenth Century" on his coat collar, that Whitechapel would shake off the grave-clothes of spiritual torpidity, and stand up in all the expressiveness of moral expectation in the presence of four benevolent and cultivated gentlemen. They could not endure vulgarity. They had their own reasons for despising brass bands. Jenkins, in particular, had a special horror of tambourines as evangelistic instruments. In short, they were all resolved to put down the Salvation Army and its allies, and win poor Whitechapel by the stately witchery of Culture.

Their first meeting at Whitechapel was of a most interesting character,

being held in a hayloft belonging to that famous and well-frequented inn bearing the terse and euphonious designation the Bull and Dog. The meeting was attended by about forty persons, one-eyed, black-eyed, wooden-legged, shrunk, variously and not luxuriously attired, not one of whom had ever heard of the Fourth Century. Tomkins was there, Coleman was there, Hawkins was there, but Jenkins did not at first put in an appearance. About an hour after the commencement of the proceedings, Jenkins was conducted into the hayloft by two benevolent policemen who had found him wandering in the purlieus of Mile End road, pathetically inquiring for an inn called the Hayloft kept by persons by the name of the Bull and Dog. Jenkins was sure he was right in the names, and not for many weeks could he be persuaded that he had unfortunately but quite unintentionally and innocently mixed and confused them. Jenkins was a learned man, and consequently the victim of absorption. The meeting was conducted with marked decorum, being occasionally broken in upon by well-imitated cock-crowing, and by one wild and sordid creature who appealed to Tomkins in the impious language of his tribe, "I say, teacher, chuck us a copper, do." This base exclamation marked a turning-point in the proceedings, for it brought up a very formidable-looking personage who, twirling a felt hat in his hand, said in a stentorian voice :—

"I tell ye, mates, if there is any more of these 'ere noises made while this 'ere gen'lman is a-speaking in this 'ere 'ayloft I'll make some o' ye sorry ye got up this 'ere morning."

This language, though sadly lacking in scholastic culture, seemed to be well understood by the people, and to have a soothing effect upon the boldest of them. Tomkins took heart, Coleman and Hawkins looked hopeful, Jenkins alone seemed unmoved and absorbed. The rough man's speech was accepted as a kind of upside down benediction, for soon after its utterance the meeting closed with an invitation to any who felt disposed to remain behind for private conversation. The rough man remained, as did two other men, one neatly dressed young woman, and two little children. The latter had a dim impression that something was going to be given away,—perhaps pork pies or ham sandwiches. The rough man's name turned out to be Butcher.

"Who gave you that name?" said Jenkins.

"Blowed if I know, sir; I did n't ask for it, and I don't care for it, and I'll part with it for a supper."

"Do you take an interest in literature?" Jenkins continued.

"I do, sir. I like it. Let me see the man as don't." "So do I, sir," one of the other men remarked, whereupon the two children thought the fun had begun, for they struck a boxing attitude, and dived at each other with their little fists.

"Drop it there now, won't yer?" said Butcher, "and lis'n to the gen'l-man, and see if yer can't behave yerselves, or I'll make ye." Butcher was rich in alternatives, a point of which men otherwise ingenious often painfully fail.

"Well, now," said Tomkins, "we have, as four gentlemen, come to White-chapel that we may do you good."

"Let me see the man as 'll deny it," said Butcher.

"You say you take an interest in literature?"

"Yes, sir, we do."

"Can you bring a few other people with you if we hold meetings here?"

"Yes, sir. Bill Camps knows a heap of things, and he's allus a-reading, and Bill's as good as a meetin' when he's not drinkin', and I know he'll come."

"And Scraggs," said the young woman, elliptically.

"Scraggs!" said Butcher with a long hissing whistle, "if Scraggs comes to this 'ere 'ayloft, he'll never go away again. I never knew such a fellow for meetin's, he can do three a night he can, and the furdur they're upstairs the better." Butcher nodded at the young woman as if she had made the one bright suggestion of the evening.

"Well, now," said Tomkins, "we have made a beginning, and we are resolved to proceed. We believe in the ultimate power of the highest culture. We disavow and disallow every form of vulgarity" —

"Hear, hear," said Butcher.

"We are opposed to such so-called simplification of eternal verities as divests them at once of mystery and dignity, and our hope is to show that even Whitechapel despises the worldly accessories, and I may add the undignified auxiliaries so ostentatiously utilized by the Salvation Army."

After this beautifully simple exposition the meeting broke up, greatly to the disappointment of Coleman who would have liked just one word upon the Fourth Century.

Tomkins, Jenkins, Hawkins, and Coleman had not gone far from the place of meeting when a voice from behind attracted their attention. The young woman had followed them from the hayloft for the purpose of saying, —

"I want to tell you that you must not come here to say one word against the Salvation Army, because if it had not been for the army I should not have had a bed to lie upon to-night."

Something in the woman's voice struck all who heard it as singularly characteristic, for there was music in it, and subtle pathos, and something that told of other and brighter times. On seeing such a woman in certain circumstances, one cannot but wonder how she came to be there, and feel that either a mystery of sin or a mystery of benevolence must account for the obvious misfit. I may say here that so deeply did I become interested in this incident that I privately communicated with the young lady, for by a very common human instinct I soon found that her circumstances were no index to her quality. But I leave her that I may tell you about my learned friends.

When they had reached their own quarters, Jenkins expressed himself as

quite satisfied with the first attempt upon the ignorance and brutality of Whitechapel, and Tomkins was strong in his conviction that a cultured ministry still had the power to work miracles, whilst Coleman did not disguise his feeling that Jerome's works as edited by Erasmus were greatly in need of foot-notes which he contemplated supplying if he could cut out sufficient leisure from his greatly over-occupied time.

A knock at the door interrupted the conversation, and Coleman's mildly delivered "come in" brought no less a person than Mr. Butcher upon the scene.

"I jes' come along to say that when you have meetin's in that there 'ay-loft you 'll need a man or two like me, for there 'll be a good bit o' chuckin' out to do, I can see, and that's wot I 'm up to as is well-be-known by a-many as I've unloaded at the door."

"We confidently hope we shall not need such assistance," Mr. Tomkins remarked with fine dignity.

"I know you will, though," said Butcher authoritatively, "if you want to get along comfortable like, ye know : why bless yer, fourteen o' them there good-for-nothings down our way went to smash a meetin', and every man of 'em had a dead cat in his pocket, and if it had n't been for me" —

Coleman protested. Jenkins thought enough had been said. Tomkins promised that if assistance should be needed, Butcher should be spoken to.

"Thank ye kindly, sir," said Butcher, "I 'll be on hand at there 'ayloft when meetin's are on, and if I can do anything, ye have only to wink at me, and I 'll know what to do. Why bless ye, gen'l'men" —

"Good-night," all voices unanimously and sharply exclaimed, and Butcher disappeared.

"Now," said Tomkins, trying the handle of the door to assure himself of security, "it is clear to me that we must proceed by plan. It occurs to me whether it might not be well in the first instance to attempt to enlist the attention of intelligent artisans, and through them to get at what I may term, I hope inoffensively, the lower strata. We may have begun a seam too low. I own that this is at least a possible error. The one vital element in our plan is unquestionably — culture."

"Culture," echoed Jenkins.

"Culture," softly murmured Coleman from the recesses of the Fourth Century.

"There we start. But if we start there, we must aim a little higher than we have done, so I suggest that we endeavor to enlist the attention of those very interesting persons known under the not unpleasing denomination of intelligent artisans."

"Then let us proceed not only by plan, but by programme," said Jenkins.

"Good !" exclaimed Coleman with unusual spirit.

"A programme," continued Tomkins, "is itself a kind of literary instrument, involving in its construction paper, print, and authorship" —

Coleman eyed Tomkins over his spectacles with unctuous interest as if at last that wise man had spoken with the dignity of inspiration.

"In view of our adoption of this alternative course," Tomkins proceeded, "I drew up a brief programme which I will submit for criticism and revision. We confer as brethren, so I pray to be favored with your frankest remarks. I thought of a course of lectures running in some such direction as this:—

"Lecture I. A true account of the Monophysite and Monothelite controversies.

"Lecture II. The Gnostic Doketism, with a historical introduction respecting the Doketæ.

"Lecture III. Heterousianism, Homoiousianism, Homoiism, and Homousianism.

"Lecture IV. The progress of thought as indicated by the opinions of Clement of Rome and Clement of Alexandria.

"I feel that if the intelligent artisans of Whitechapel could be made to take an interest in such subjects that we should soon make an utter rout of the Salvation Army, and every other school of sensationalism."

Jenkins and Coleman were in raptures. Jenkins wished to go to press that very night, and would have done so at his own expense had not Coleman suggested that a fifth lecture dealing with the peculiar characteristics of the Fourth Century would be most useful in thoroughly clearing the minds of Whitechapel artisans of all prejudice, because he was convinced that some of them hardly understood Jerome's acceptance of the term *Hypostasis*, and thought he meant to deceive Athanasius by a subtle distinction between Nature and Person.

Jenkins admitted the extreme importance of the subject, but advised its postponement until the ice had been fairly broken, a suggestion which Coleman reluctantly adopted, but only on understanding that it would be the first subject on the next programme.

Hawkins, the Syriac scholar, who rarely condescended to read anything but Syriac and Sanskrit, had kept absolute silence from the very beginning. He was a poor speaker at the best was Hawkins, especially of his mother-tongue, which he secretly despised as a vehicle of human intercourse. Hawkins simply criticised other people, but never in a malignant way, seldom, indeed, going beyond the very innocent remark that if they had been familiar with Syriac, they would have spoken with greater reservation. Hawkins never did much in the ministry, owing to the low degree of intelligence which he found in all Christian communions—knowledge of Syriac not being a feature of the age in which Hawkins had the misfortune to live.

On their next appearance at the Bull and Dog, the learned men who had been so elaborately prepared and expensively decorated for the ministry of the Cross, found the hayloft crowded from floor to roof. Jenkins was so overjoyed as thoughtlessly to rub his learned face with the programme, and put his spectacles on upside down. Coleman was as nervous as he was erudite, and only forgetful in the fine manner common to men who have as-

cended the highest paths of the highest literature. The four learned men advanced to the upper end of the hayloft, and began to look around them with grateful interest, when a woman's voice suddenly called upon "Holy Ghost Jack" to begin. The man who bore this name so profanely stood bolt upright in the middle of the loft, and for full ten minutes literally howled the word — "Glory !" When he was tired, he turned to the woman, and said, "Now you take a turn." The woman so addressed was at once recognized by the learned men as the person who had adjured them not to say a word against the Salvation Army. They would have known her by her voice as she sweetly said, —

"We have read your little papers, at least we have tried to spell them out, and we cannot understand them. If you want to do us good down here, we thank you, but you will have to go about your business in a very different way. We know nothing of long words. We want to hear about Jesus and his love. We could listen all day if you would talk about the dear Lord who died for us on the cross, and who loves us for our very sins. I have tasted his love. I know how great his heart is. He wants to save us all. The worse we are the more He longs for us. O poor sinners, dear, dear souls, what a friend we all have in Jesus ! I know what sin is. I have known hunger and thirst and pain and shame and woe, but Jesus laid his dear kind hand upon me, and brought me home."

The effect of this little speech was indescribable. One man thundered out with terrific energy, "Glory be to God !" Another exclaimed, "Praise the Lord !" Then uprose six women, and shook their tambourines, and sweetly sang, "Come to Jesus — every one come now," and finally an aged woman said, "Let us pray," and truly she did pray ; she prayed with tears ; she prayed for the learned men, as if they had been the veriest outcasts, and concluded, "Lord, pity me. Lord, pity every one. Christ, have mercy upon us, and may these poor dear souls who want to make us infidels be converted this very night in this very hayloft."

"You quite misunderstood us, my friends," said Jenkins.

"Nay, nay," said an old man, "we can neither make head or tail on ye, and as for your papers a schoolmaster would be puzzled by them. You may spell the words backwards or forwards, and they all come to the same. There's not a word about Christ in them. Not a word. I do know that word what I see it in print, and I've hunted for it all up and down this 'ere paper, and I cannot find it. Don't come to Whitechapel, and forget to bring Christ with you," — a speech which elicited an enthusiastic response, most of the people rising and shouting, "Amen, Amen," for what seemed to be five minutes.

"We intended," said Tomkins, "to appeal to intelligent artisans" —

"Who are they ?" interrupted a voice.

"They don't live down here," said another.

"What be they like ?" asked another in a Midland tone.

"The intelligent artisans of London," said Tomkins.

"Ain't nowheres round Whitechapel anyhow," said Butcher, "but gen'l'men, I 'll tell you what is down here. I were a-standin' at that there door a-watching this 'ere crowd, and I see one man pull a dead cat out of his pocket to fling it at the gen'l'm, wot wears them there specs, so I takes it from him, kicks him down-stairs, and here 's that very cat, as he was a-going to throw at that there teacher."

Butcher laid the cat on the table in proof of his veracity, and looked round for approval and gratitude. Coleman took hold of the deceased cat with a programme, and deposited it out of sight; he would, indeed, judging from the disgust depicted on his face, gladly have deposited it far back in the dawn of the Fourth Century.

These are of course most disagreeable subjects to mention, but it must be borne in mind that if we go to Whitechapel at all we must not expect much that is charming and fascinating to a cultivated taste or a dainty fancy. Do not turn away in disgust from revolting facts or you will never understand the real condition and the real need of the people as a whole. We must further remember that what is disagreeable to us may be far from disagreeable to those who have not enjoyed our inherited or our acquired advantages. As a matter of fact there are men who do avail themselves of bad grammar without one twinge of conscience, to an extent which would make some of us grind our teeth in anguish; and there are others who can talk of dead cats and coves and swags and pals, as fluently as some talk of rhododendra and snowdrops. Always suspect the sincerity of a finical mind, for such a mind is incapable of comprehensive survey, or large and generous sympathy. It is pleased with trifles. It is devoted to the cant of fashion. It has a horror of evil not because it is offensive to God but because it is a blunder in æsthetics.

The learned men, Tomkins, Jenkins, Hawkins, and Coleman, were now constrained to look at the whole subject from a new point of view. They did me the honor of seeking my advice, and I was enabled to speak my mind with great freedom yet without rudeness. Having heard their case, I said : —

It seems to me, gentlemen, that with all your learning you have not a right idea of culture. To my thinking the aim of culture is to simplify, not to mystify. A little learning is fond of long words, but true learning seeks to explain that which is difficult and make clear that which is dark. There is something infinitely better than culture and that is life. If you were saving shipwrecked men you would not talk to them about theories of navigation, the law of tides, and the use of logarithms. If you want to instruct mariners you will take one course, but if you want to save drowning men you will take another. What is the exact purpose you have in view? What do you want to be at? When I look at this programme of yours I am simply astounded by what looks like a new species of insanity. Do

you suppose that controversies which raged centuries ago have any interest for the bulk of men to-day? What do they care for the Doketæ, or for the views of Sabellius, Nestorius, and Apollinarius? All such topics are happily dead and gone, and I thank God for every failure in attempting to revive them.

At this point Tomkins interrupted me with the remark that he hoped our educational standards would not be lowered, inasmuch as he "felt the growing need of a cultured ministry."

"So do I," was my answer, "provided the term 'culture' be properly defined. But," I warmly continued, "what we want in reality is an inspired ministry. My wonder is that the students in some colleges — by no means in all — do not rise indignantly — as if stung by an insult — and decline to be made into stuffed pulpit cushions. These young men are being wronged. They are made to lead monastic lives instead of being encouraged to study and handle the sad and weary life that is around them. Their early zeal is being cooled. Their fresh enthusiasm is evaporating. They are, in not a few instances, being transformed into little prigs and pedants, and as they themselves have been stuffed with lectures they will in their turn try to stuff their languishing congregations with similar sawdust. No, again, no," I continued, "the whole system must be destroyed and a more natural because a more living system must take its place if the Christian pulpit is to direct and stimulate this wonderful age."

Mr. Hawkins, the Syriac scholar, hoped that the study of Sanskrit would never be neglected in theological colleges.

"Now," said I, "will you allow me to put the whole case personally, and to come into close quarters with you?"

"Certainly," said they all.

"And you are quite sure you will not be offended?"

"Quite," was the unanimous response, Hawkins returning his answer in Syriac as he afterwards explained.

"Now Mr. Hawkins," said I, "you were five years at college, have you ever had an invitation to a pulpit?"

"Never."

"Mr. Jenkins, how long were you a pastor?"

"Seventeen months."

"Mr. Tomkins, how long did you sustain the office for which you were so elaborately prepared?"

"I never was in it," said Tomkins.

"Then that just brings us to the point I am aiming at," said I, "all your culture has been of no practical avail. The people do not want you. From the great living heart of the world you have been separated by your antiquated learning. You know much, yet for all practical purposes you know nothing. You do not know human nature. You do not know the human heart. I will go farther and say, you do not know the spirit and purpose of the Son of God."

After this solemn impeachment there was a natural pause. I could not say less. I was perfectly sure of the good intention of the men, and equally sure that the Lord had never called them into his ministry as teachers of the people. The silence was awkward, but happily there was no resentment in the tone of Jenkins as he broke it :—

“Perhaps, then,” said he, “you would advise us not to go to White-chapel again?”

“That undoubtedly would be my advice.”

“I must say,” continued Jenkins, “that it is an extremely difficult locality to peregrinate in. On the first visit I mistook the name of the inn, and I believe I was mischievously imposed upon by two very uncultivated urchins of whom I unsuspectingly inquired my way: they took me through a variety of unsavory lanes, and at one point quite a little crowd gathered, and I must say the behavior of that crowd was not a little disquieting, indeed but for the timely interposition of the police it is impossible to say what might have transpired.”

“Which exactly proves the soundness of my advice,” said I. “Now if some men had been in that fix they would soon have got out of it. Some men have humor, they have experience, in short they have what you will never have, namely, an abundance of common sense.”

“But,” said Tomkins, “is it not our business to lift up the people instead of descending to their level? Have we to go down to the people or have the people to come up to us?”

“In Christ’s name,” said I warmly, “you must go down to the people in order to raise them. This is what Jesus Christ himself did. He came down to us that He might raise us to himself. The teacher always goes down to the pupil. The parent always goes down to the child. The strong must go down to the weak if ever the weak are to be lifted up to strength. Ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who though He was rich yet for your sakes became poor.”

Then I beheld, and lo, a great vision as of descending heaven filled me with wonder and awe. It seemed as if the whole world had come together in an infinite assembly, and that One like unto the Son of Man came forth as from Eternity to make known his will in respect of his kingdom. His face was marred more than any man’s, yet through all the conquered sorrow there shone a glory as of ineffable joy. A great and holy silence fell upon all men as he spoke to his ministers:—

Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; preach it in words which men can understand, preach to the heart, preach to the need of men. I want you every one,—the learned man, the simple man, the man whose voice is thunder, the man whose voice is terse, you belong to one another; One is the Master and all ye are brethren: serve as stewards, fight as soldiers, endure as heroes,—freely ye have received, freely give; be not afraid of fire or tempest or violence of men; never lower your flag

in the presence of the enemy ; take no bribe, compromise with no wrong, open your mouth for the dumb, plead the cause of the poor and needy ; preach not to please the rich but to save them ; where other men dare not go, go ye with strong hearts ; where others despair, there kindle ye heaven's lamp of hope : let your difficulties be the beginning of your prayers, let your sufferings be the indorsement of your vocation ; across the ruin of your expectations hasten to the throne of grace, through your encouragement see the dawning and the welcoming of heaven. Lo, I am with you alway even to the end of the world.

The voice then ceased, yet as the Speaker passed out of sight men heard as it were an echo saying, " Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you, not as the world giveth give I unto you : " then came another voice vast and grand as the roll of mighty floods : **THE LORD WILL BLESS HIS PEOPLE WITH PEACE.**

BOOK NOTICES.

ROME IN CANADA. THE ULTRAMONTANE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY OVER THE CIVIL POWER. By CHARLES LINDSEY. Toronto : Williamson & Co. New and Enlarged Edition. 1889. 8vo, pp. 438.

Quebec Province is a most valuable object lesson for all students of Jesuit aggression in America. We commend to the careful attention of every opponent of Ultramontane intrigue and usurpation this new and enlarged edition of Charles Lindsey's well-known and authoritative work, first published in 1877, on "Rome in Canada." Mr. Lindsey is a citizen of Toronto, of high legal and literary attainments, and large experience in public affairs. His volume is calm in tone, candid and judicial in its array of the facts of history, and clear and dignified in style. The discussion is conducted from the point of view of a lawyer rather than from that of a preacher. It, however, nowhere lacks theological knowledge nor evangelical earnestness of Protestant convictions.

A chapter on "Spiritual Terrorism at Elections" shows that priests in Quebec Province are almost omnipotent at the polls. Definite advice is given from the pulpit to the voters how to cast their ballots. The Catholic voters are often asked in the confessional whether they have obeyed this advice. If they have not they are threatened with a withdrawal of the sacraments. Under the Canadian, which is a close copy of the English law, on the subject of undue influence by the clergy over voters, several important elections have been contested and annulled in Quebec Province on the ground that Catholics had many of them voted under the influence of spiritual intimidation.

The refusal of a sacrament to a disobedient elector would, Ultramontane writers tell us, be announced in the secrecy of the confessional.

The sum of the directions in the joint pastoral of the bishops as to the part which the priests are to play in politics is, that they are, in certain cases, of which they are necessarily to be the judges, to direct the electors how to vote under pain of spiritual censures.

The priests are to do more. "They may and ought to speak not only to the electors and candidates, but even to the constituted authorities." And all this is to be looked on, not as converting the pulpit into a tribune, but as enlightening the consciences of the faithful. When the priests speak to the constituted authorities, they are, of course, to speak with the authority of an independent society which is superior to civil society.

Such is the pastoral letter of the united Roman Catholic Episcopate of Quebec, dated September 22, 1875, which the bishops themselves issued with misgivings and trepidation, their better judgment seeming to be overpowered by some mysterious influence. (Page 254.)

These facts deserve to be set prominently before the American public, in view of the present and future power of the Catholic vote in the United States.

The liberties of the Gallican Church, once proudly asserted by Roman Catholics in Canada, have been completely overthrown.

Canada is profoundly agitated at the present moment by discussions between Catholics and Protestants on the Jesuit Estates Bill. We gladly transfer to our record of Current Reform the most essential paragraphs of the luminous and detailed statements of the opening portions of Mr. Lindsey's volume on this vexed theme.

On what ground does this claim for compensation for the loss of the Jesuits' estates rest? At the time of the capitulation of Montreal, General Vaudreuil tried in vain to secure a guarantee for the maintenance of the Jesuit order, and the perpetual possession by them of their estates, though they might, at the time, have sold their property and taken away the proceeds. France expelled the Jesuits from her bosom in 1762; and when the definite treaty of peace was made, next year, the Jesuit society had ceased to have a corporate existence in France. Little account need be taken of the defense of the Jesuits, which is heard even in Ontario, that the Brief of Suppression of Clement XIV. in 1773, not having been published in Canada, was not operative here. This defence sets the ecclesiastical over the civil authority. The British government did not require authority from the Pope for its acts. Several Catholic governments had expelled the Jesuits from their dominions, and the expulsion was real.

In 1774 the British government instructed the governor of Canada "that the Society of Jesus should be suppressed and dissolved, and no longer continue a body corporate and politic, and that all their rights, privileges, and property should be vested in the crown, for such purposes as the crown may hereafter think fit to direct and appoint." But with a merciful regard for the individuals, members of the suppressed order, which marked the humanity of the British government, the intention of allowing them "stipends and provisions" sufficient for their maintenance, during their natural lives, was declared. They were, in fact, allowed to draw from part of these estates the promised "stipends and provisions" till the last of them died. The crown then took unreserved possession of the estates, there being not a solitary survivor to make a claim upon them. One of the nine seignories which these estates comprised, that of Sault St. Louis, was restored to the Indians as the rightful owners, it having been held by the Jesuits for their benefit.

In 1831 the British government, acting through Lord Goderich, resigned these estates to the local legislature, to be used exclusively for purposes of education. This object has been realized, and the Church of Rome, which has the main control of education, chiefly benefits by this disposition of the property; the present grant of four hundred thousand dollars wears the aspect of a double payment of the claim which she made to these estates.

The minister of justice decides that this appropriation is within the powers of the local legislature, and declines to recommend the exercise of the veto to prevent its going into effect. It cannot be denied that the appropriation of local revenues falls within the powers of the local legislatures; but there is another question which has not received an answer. The appropriation was imperfect; it decided

only on the amount, and left the destination of the money to the volition of the Pope of Rome. It admitted him to a participation in the exercise of the legislative authority of the Province. Is it legal and constitutional to do so? This question has not received an answer. The question to whom the money is to be given is the chief point which an appropriation ordinarily decides. What is due to A. cannot be given to B. The essence of this appropriation was left in the discretion of the Pope. The legislature merely named the amount. The Pope was to say to whom the money was to go. If this may be done once, it may be done an unlimited number of times, and the Pope of Rome may be made in effect a component part of any or all of the local legislatures and of the Parliament at Ottawa. Might not the Supreme Court or the Privy Council find a fatal flaw in this procedure, though the subject be within the competence of the local legislature?

The Jesuits have gained two points: incorporation, with the right to make good their vow of poverty by heaping up riches; and they have made a beginning by getting the appropriation of four hundred thousand dollars, though sixty thousand in addition is given to remove Protestant scruples and insure success.

This is in accordance with the Jesuit programme of 1884. In five years, in spite of the Cardinal-Archbishop, Laval University, the rich and powerful Sulpicians, backed by seven out of ten bishops, the Jesuits have scored these two points. It is by no means certain that they will not seek to extort additional largesses from the weakness of the legislature. They have more items on their programme. Laicism is to disappear from education. The clergy are to get the legal right to threaten voters with eternal damnation if they disobey clerical directions in the choice of candidates for legislature and parliament. The province of Quebec is to be modeled after an ideal Roman Catholic state of Europe in the Middle Ages. Will these remaining aims of the programme be as successful as the two that have been already realized? It is evident that the Jesuits are fast getting the mastery in the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec, from which has come the only effective opposition they have hitherto encountered; and when this shall have disappeared entirely, what will remain? To this question the people of Canada may one day find it necessary to give an answer. The secular authority of Quebec, without distinction of party, is prostrate at the feet of the disciples of Loyola. (Pp. vii.-ix.)

Pope Leo XIII., May 7, 1887, informed Cardinal Taschereau that he reserved to himself the right of settling the question of the Jesuits' estates. Whereupon M. Mercier ran off to Rome and humbly asked, through the Prefect of the Sacred College of the Propaganda whether His Eminence saw "any serious objection to the government's selling the property" on which the old Jesuits' College, now demolished, had stood, provided the proceeds of the sale were kept "as a special deposit to be disposed of hereafter, in accordance with the agreements to be come to between the parties interested, with the sanction of the Holy See"? After some higgling the answer came, March 24, 1888: "*The Pope allows the government to retain the proceeds of the sale of the Jesuits' estates as a special deposit to be disposed of hereafter with the sanction of the Holy See.*" (Page xv.)

The claim is set up under the canon law of Rome that when the Jesuits ceased to exist as a corporation, the Church fell heir to all the property of which they had been in possession. It would be sufficient to reply that such was not the law of England in 1773, and such is not the law to-day; that the claim to put the canon law of Rome above the civil law of England and of Canada is a claim of suprem-

acy which has not been in the past, and cannot now be, admitted; that the claim of the Pope to annul the jurisdiction of the civil authority, and usurp a right of legislation in a country governed by a constitution of its own, implies a revolution which a free people cannot sanction or endure. When these estates escheated to the crown, the supremacy of the civil law of England, and let us add of France, was asserted and maintained.

The Jesuits, in demanding the restoration of this property, held up to the executive and legislative authorities the terrors of excommunication as the penalty of non-compliance. The governments — the plural was used — guilty of refusing restoration were denounced as the worst of persecutors, and were told that if they did not shed blood, they did more harm to the church than persecutors who did. Without a promise of restitution, they were distinctly told there could be no absolution. In like manner, a Parliament that refused restitution came under the major excommunication. This menace had its effect. The government of Quebec first met the demand for restoration or compensation by a direct refusal, and ended by yielding the demands of the Jesuits. It began by an appeal to the supremacy of the civil law, and ended by granting \$400,000 compensation and allowing the Pope to name the recipients. To bring about this surrender, the Jesuits shook the Council of Trent in the face of the government, though the decrees of that council, with one exception, were not published in Canada, nor permitted to have force here, even during the French dominion, and assuredly they are not binding in a British colony. The menace of excommunication probably operated most effectually by reflex action. *Though the threat of excommunication might not seriously frighten the members of the government, it would bring them into disfavor with an electorate ill-informed and superstitious.* Whether it was the fear of damnation, or the fear of the constituencies, the pressure exerted had the effect of causing the government to yield the demands of the Church of Rome. (Pp. xix.-xxi.)

THE MORAL SYSTEM AND THE ATONEMENT. By REV. SAMUEL DAVIES COCHRAN, D. D. Oberlin, Ohio: E. J. Goodrich. 1889. Pp. xix., 520.

It is half a century nearly since the late Dr. James Freeman Clarke, in an able and clear review article, recognized the failure of Unitarians to appreciate the Scripture teaching on atonement. They had not, he confessed, "sufficiently understood the meaning of the doctrine. . . . Their views do not sufficiently explain two important phenomena; *first*, the great stress laid in the New Testament upon the work of Christ in its relation to the forgiveness of sins. And *second*, the importance assigned to this doctrine by the Christian church and by Christian experience in all ages. These two facts must be adequately accounted for by any theory of the atonement which is expected to maintain its place as a permanent solution of this question."

The very important work of Rev. Dr. Cochran of Illinois just issued — like other treatises of established reputation by Orthodox writers — recognizes fully these two facts. With those who attempt to whistle the doctrine down the wind as "metaphysical," or "extra-Scriptural," or a mere "form" or "costume" of thought for the other familiar truth of moral renewal by the Spirit of God, the author has no sympathy. With Professor D. R. Goodwin, D. D., of Philadelphia, in his acute and convincing pamphlet ("Some

Thoughts on the Atonement”), he holds firmly and intelligently that “the Atonement of Christ is truly redemptive, truly propitiatory, truly vicarious, a satisfaction for sin, a vindication or manifestation of Divine Justice, and a most touching and effective exhibition of Divine love for man and of abhorrence for sin.” And it is because Unitarians, and those who in measure sympathize with them, have shut their eyes to these essential marks of the Atonement exhibited in Scripture that they have failed to account for the two great phenomena pointed out by Dr. Freeman Clarke. He expressed the hope — many years ago — that they would soon “have a more positive system of theology, and with the rest more justice be done to the positive side of the doctrine of the Atonement.” The hope was a vain one. Unitarianism stands where it then stood. Boasting of liberality and progress, it has made not one step of advance towards appreciating the two great facts, and the doctrine of Christ’s vicarious work related to them. We have often thought that their way was barred in part by the Bushnell movement, some forty years ago. Yet no spontaneous movement towards evangelical views of propitiation can ever be expected of a body of men who deny human moral ruin and the Deity of the Saviour from sin. Dr. Bushnell made such a return movement in his last volume because he made a departure from such views at the outset.

“There is no doctrine,” wrote Dr. Clarke, “which deserves better to be studied in the light of history than that of the Atonement. *The idea of Reconciliation is the central point of all Christian doctrine, and it may almost be said of all religion, since it contains the thought on which the necessity of religion is based, that of man’s separation from God and union with God.*” Light can be thrown, therefore, on no Christian truth from candid Christian research which will be more precious to needy and inquiring souls. We have plenty of doctrinal volumes which are simply discussions of other men’s views, or mere histories of them, with the author’s objections. Dr. Cochran has had no design of adding to their number, — which would not have taken long, — but of contributing to theological literature an original investigation which may stand on its own feet. Twenty years have been given to the task, and it is solidly, thoroughly accomplished. It is to be judged by its only object, “to ascertain the truth.” One who seeks not this, but a bird’s-eye view of various writings on the subject, will find it in the excellent series of “Current Discussions” by the Chicago professors and similar works, in which original and thoroughly wrought monograms on single truths are not allowed to interfere with a different object.

Some will turn, on opening such a book as this, to the central portion of it, the heart of it, in this case, “Part III., *The Atonement of Christ an Expiation for the Sins of the World, and a Propitiation of God towards it.*” He will find at once sections on such topics as these: “How God’s Mercy differs from the Love due to the ever obedient, and relates to Justice both as Ethical and as Retributive ;” “Had man never sinned God could not have had either the Demand for Retributive Justice, nor the Dictate to Mercy ;” “Device of the Incarnation and Mediatorship of our Lord ;” “Relation of

Expiation and Propitiation ; ” “ From whom Objections to Expiation always come, and to what Denial of it always leads ; ” “ Reconciliation of God first in order — of Man as a consequence.” If the core of the subject as a matter of adjusting and explaining thought is anywhere, it is here. But over two hundred pages of preparatory study of the Moral System precede all this and make it possible. The student of Atonement must needs “orient himself” towards the system in which Expiation and Propitiation occur or he cannot see them in the right light. A deal of mischief has been done by the plunging of men all unfurnished in the “prolegomena,” as the Germans call them, into the most interior and difficult parts of the truth. They are like horses rushing into battle, not like warriors who know what they are about. They are of the “fools” who “rush in where angels fear to tread.” What substantial, permanent, edifying conquests of the great depths of truth could, indeed, be expected. One of the most eminent theologians of the land said lately for instance, “I see no prosperity for our denomination save in a better understanding of doctrine.” But a crude handling of doctrinal subjects in sermons, newspaper articles, and novels, without exhaustive comprehension and consistent adjustment of the questions involved is not an “understanding of doctrine.” Nothing like it. Rather an inevitable misunderstanding. Dr. Cochran’s book will do great good if it secures a methodical, progressive, culminating survey of this one great article of Christian faith ; still more if it begets the habit, even in a limited number of influential minds, of making such survey of all which is attempted to be taught. The same men can be heard in our day in loud outcry for scientific methods in secular subjects, and these guided by philosophical principles, and in equally loud denunciation of all such methods and principles on sacred subjects. They unspeakably dishonor religious truth. They unconsciously, but no less surely and fatally, sow seeds of disbelief. They are “foes of the household.” The selfsame processes used in physical science cannot indeed be used in theology. This were absurd. It would ignore essential differences of subject-matter. But the universal laws of pure thought are the same for the whole field of inquiry. Superficiality and denunciation of metaphysics and creeds never made any man an intelligent, self-poised Christian believer. They never can do it. They work fatally in the very opposite direction. Dr. Cochran will prove a great benefactor to those who really learn from his pages to do their own thinking.

The part of his work following that which has called out these remarks will first attract biblical and exegetical scholars. It is “Part IV. : Scriptural Teachings respecting the Relations of Christ and the Atonement to Mankind.” Old Testament and New are here critically, comprehensively explored, without evading any point of depth or difficulty that we have noticed. As in the argumentative and philosophical portions of his book, the author has positive views and sets them forth in positive terms. They will not be acceptable, perhaps will be irritating, to those whose hostile judgments are equally positive. But it is often disappointing in a writer on great themes, to find him indeterminate in conception and expression, so

that you know not how to understand him, and whatever you say of his convictions are sure to be told that you have mistaken seeming ones for real ones. It is, on the other hand, helpful and greatly economical of time to encounter explicit, incisive statements, though they may seem, in the critical meaning we have attached to the word, dogmatic. The rule on either side must be, after all, "To the Law and to the Testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

As to the pith of doctrine, combining verbal teachings of Scripture and thought that "becomes sound doctrine" or Scripture inculcation, Dr. Cochran will be found to have views and logical construction of his own within the well-defined limits of Orthodoxy. He can hardly be called distinctively New School or Old. There is no smell of the New Departure upon his garments. No devout believer need fear being shocked by his freest analysis and argument. If he seems to differ here and there from eminent theologians, it is for reasons they will, or would, respect. His book is not one to be bought, because of its rank and importance, without intention of reading it, or put away for some time of leisure and mental vigor that is never going to come. It is not to be read without studying. It deserves careful attention from any who expect to be useful in the coming exploration of the vital Christian truth of the Atonement.

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

FUTURE PROBATION EXAMINED. By WILLIAM DE LOSS LOVE, Pastor at South Hadley, Mass. New York and London : Funk & Wagnalls. 1888. 12mo, pp. 322.

In this work Scripture is interpreted by its environment. Authors of the three centuries before and of the three after Christ are consulted to determine the signification in which the language of the New Testament, as to probation and allied topics, must be interpreted. This method has in it a vein of originality and shrewdness that will attract the general reader as well as the scholar. The plan is worked out with admirable candor. All the vexed questions of eschatology are reviewed. The citations are given with such fullness and definiteness as to enable the student to examine them for himself. The result, it need not be said, is that the doctrine of future probation, and that of the annihilation of the incorrigibly wicked, and that of Universalism, are convincingly discredited. We commend the book as original, candid, scholarly, and timely.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY J. A. CURRIE, OF THE "MAIL," TORONTO.

66. *What is the present state of Canadian opinion on British Imperial Federation?*

In England the Imperial Federationists preach absolutism, in the colonies, democracy; to the English manufacturer and Canadian farmer, free trade; to the English farmer and Canadian manufacturer, protection. Their policy is accommodating and elastic in every respect, inasmuch as they have no detailed and unchanging plan. Truth is the same the world over, but Imperial Federation is not. Its advocates claim to educate the people to consolidation and closer union, and try to do so by appealing to local prejudices and sectionalism.

In Great Britain the nobility are the Imperial Federationists. In this doubtful dream they see some means whereby they may prolong the downfall of their caste system a few years longer; something to turn the eyes of the British middle classes away from aristocratic abuses for a time at least. It is a historical fact of late years that when the British masses begin to clamor for the abolition of the House of Lords and the nobility, some great foreign question appears conveniently to distract public attention. The money of the British aristocracy goes to support the Imperial Federation League and, it is even hinted, to subsidize the Leaguers in the colonies. At least it furnishes them with printing and a Journal. The English manufacturers give it a covert support in the hope of opening the colonial markets once more to their goods; but they would not tolerate such a thing as "commercial discrimination." There is not the slightest doubt on this point. At the twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, held in London, England, on February the 21st, 22d, and 23d, 1888, the question of Imperial Federation or commercial discrimination came up in the form of a resolution introduced by Mr. Dan Rylands (Barnsley), who moved:—

"That it is desirable such changes be made in the fiscal arrangements existing between Great Britain and the colonies and dependencies as will materially tend to increase the volume of the trade of the British Empire."

This innocent resolution was rejected by an overwhelming majority, only four hands being held up in its favor. The speakers opposing the resolution pointed out that such a change in the fiscal policy of the empire would create a war of tariffs between Great Britain, its colonies, and the rest of the world; that Great Britain held a preëminent place in the trade of the colonies and dependencies, and that the manufactures taken from foreign countries were small indeed. One speaker showed that a duty on United

States corn would lead at once to retaliation in the shape of an export duty on American cotton which would drive the cotton trade into the hands of the French and Germans ; also that the United States was the greatest market for British goods, and that there was no occasion to have "recourse to old and worn-out expedients." A year later at the annual dinner of the London Chamber of Commerce, Lord Salisbury said, "In the mercantile community, the introduction of anything like a spirit of retaliation unto our fiscal policy would be improper and unwise." Evidently the formal idea involved in Imperial Federation finds scant courtesy among the commercial classes in Great Britain. But the federalists would have Canadians believe that the English manufacturers and people generally are eager for it. The reverse is the truth.

The British masses would not tolerate Imperial Federation if it put a tax upon bread. The most ignorant men in the United Kingdom have advanced beyond that stage in economic reasoning. It is as much as any government can dare to do to advance the tax on beer. No government could live a week that would propose a tax on bread, much less attempt to enforce it. The suffering that such a tax would bring upon the working classes would be terrible. "Cheap bread" is not an insult to the workingman ; it is life to him.

We will now turn to Canada as a representative colony, and see how Imperial Federation is viewed by Canadians.

Imperial Federationists confess that in becoming part of the federation Canada would have to assume its share of the responsibilities of the empire. As a consequence we would have to contribute our share towards the maintenance of a standing army, a navy, and other warlike expenses in order to enable Great Britain to hold her own with other European nations. Our taxes would be increased by these additional burdens, whilst those of the British tax-payer would be decreased by just as much as ours would be increased. Then nothing so far has been said about the form or method of taxation. The abolition of the tariff wall between us and Great Britain would diminish our revenue so much that it would be almost a hopeless task for us to meet the demands of our creditors. In order to do so our tariff with other countries would have to be more than doubled, and the result would be to shut out completely all foreign goods, and as a consequence there would be no revenue from this source. Then as we could not collect our revenue on the British system of income tax, one course alone would be left open for us and that,—direct taxation. The people are already muttering against the heavy taxes, collected as they are in an indirect and insidious way, and any attempt to collect taxes directly would meet with a greater storm than that which greeted Charles I. in the attempt to collect ship-money.

In case Great Britain should go to war with some powerful European nation, our closer union would lead us into it also, although the issue might not be of the slightest interest to us. Then our country would be open to invasion. Canadians are to a certain extent believers in the Monroe doc-

trine, and as we at present exist an attempt at invasion by any European power would at once be met by a firm "hands off" from our American neighbors. In joining or becoming part of an Imperial Federation, we would forfeit this support.

A hardship complained of at present is our inability to make our own treaties without first having them filtered through Downing Street. This subject comes up, of late years, almost every session of the Dominion Parliament. It is claimed, and justly, that wherever British interests in treaty-making clash with Canadian interests, the latter are always sacrificed. This is looked upon by the vast majority of Canadians as a standing grievance. Were it not for British interference our fishery troubles would have been amicably settled with mutual advantage long ago. In the senate of a Federation, in the variety of interests and with the smallness of our representations, our voice would not be heard. We would be much worse off than at present, were such a thing possible.

In a Federation the nobility would also have to be concerned, and Canada would have its earls, lords, dukes, and baronets, like Great Britain. There are plenty of men wearing empty titles in Canada now. "Sir" in Canada is almost synonymous with "Colonel" in the United States. Many of our best men have refused these empty honors. True Canadians are essentially democratic and recognize no aristocracy except that of brains and muscle, no nobility except that of honest men.

With Imperial Federation the best emigrants from Great Britain would shun us. Artisans are the best emigrants, and they would not come to Canada because they are democratic and republican in their ideas, and also because we could not give them employment. In Canada at present the major portion of our immigration is composed of the off-scourings of the stream that issues continually from Great Britain. We get the soldiers, the broken-down Tory politicians, and the wards of public charity sent over by assisted passages. Anything worse would, in the end, prove fatal to our national life. The reason that the British artisan class go to the United States is that protection has built up American industries at the expense of the British. The artisan must keep in the current of industry, and in this way he is transferred from the one country into the other. This is the cardinal principle underlying protection. By fostering industries, protection promotes the best kind of immigration.

Imperial Federation would mean the opening up of our markets to cheap British goods, and the placing of our laboring classes on the same level with those of Great Britain. The Canadian national policy, like the American protective tariff, was framed to avoid this very calamity. Our Canadian manufacturers say they cannot compete now with the American manufacturers, much less with the British. Our factories would have to close down, and our manufacturing industries would be strangled in their childhood. Our manufacturers would oppose such a measure to the bitter end, and they are a force not to be despised in an election. They would be supported by the farmers, who have already thrice indorsed a protective policy at the

polls. They were told that protection would mean dearer goods, but there was a national sentiment underlying their acts which said that they were willing to pay a higher price for goods in order to foster home industries.

This national sentiment, this spirit of independence, is a force that will also oppose Imperial Federation. Principal Grant with charming candor, in the beginning of his article in *OUR DAY*, on British Imperial Federation, said that an evolution has been at work in the colonies during the last half century, from "partial pupilage" to "political manhood." This is true, and this fact alone might have convinced Imperial Federationists of the folly of their undertaking. It is this evolution, this national sentiment, this spirit of independence, inherent in those born on this continent, that will lead to Canadian Independence in preference to Imperial Federation.

REPLY BY DAVID A. COE, OF THE "WITNESS," MONTREAL.

The formulated and direct ties binding together the self-governing English-speaking communities of the British Empire are as weak as water, but the unformulated ties created by an inherited feeling of loyalty to the British crown and flag, by the effect of racial unity, and by more or less close and unrestricted trade relations, are very strong indeed. In the self-governing colonial communities of the empire, the feelings of loyalty to the British crown are purely sentimental in their character, and exotic in their origin, being but the survival in Canadians, Australasians, and Britons in Africa, of the natural and laudable loyalty of their fathers to the land of their birth. It may not be impossible, but it is very improbable, that this exotic loyalty will in the future be of much effect in determining the nature of the relations which are to subsist between the colonial communities and Great Britain, excepting in so far as it acts with and not against their individual interests. On the other hand, the race unity which exists between these colonial communities and the mother country, tending as it does to create that community of interest which is provoked by a language, a literature, and a racial character common to all, acting and reacting through commercial intercourse and intellectual progress, constitutes a natural force which, under normal conditions, should bring to pass at least that degree of consolidation necessary to preserve the common interest it creates. The conditions are not normal, however, as the action of this natural force is not confined to the limits of the British empire, and tends to draw the colonial communities of that empire towards the United States as well as towards Great Britain. Although the American people have differentiated from the original type to a very decided degree, they have not ceased to be English-speaking folk, and the conditions under which they have been developed and now exist resemble those affecting development and life in Canada, Australasia, and South Africa much more clearly than do those which obtain in Great Britain. This similarity of condition must in the future have a very important effect in determining the relations which will exist between the different English-speaking communities. Because of it, the English-speaking folk in Canada, in Australasia, and in South Africa will have a ten-

dency to develop and differentiate from their original type, in a direction that will cause them to approach more closely to what may be called the American rather than to the British type of the race. Of itself, this similarity of condition should tend to produce a degree of commercial intercourse that would constitute a strong tie between the colonial communities and the United States, and that, excepting in the case of Canada, it has not already done so, is the result, not of the intrinsic weakness of this tendency, but of the causes which have prevented the United States from developing a foreign trade.

In spite of the restrictions to trade caused by the tariff of the United States, and its imitation, the tariff of Canada, the trade that has been induced by the similarity of conditions which exist between the two countries is now of greater importance to Canada than is her trade with Great Britain, as it is both larger in volume and more profitable. That this is the case is due, not only to the fact that there is a greater similarity between the conditions affecting life and development, not only of natural environment, but of social and political institutions that prevail in the United States and in Canada, than exists between those of Canada and Great Britain, but because of the geographical position of the two countries. The boundary line that divides them is a purely arbitrary one, and naturally every Canadian province would find in the States to the south of it the most profitable market for the products its natural resources most easily yield. Even under existing circumstances, the unformulated ties that draw Canada towards the United States are as strong, if not stronger, than those which bind her to Great Britain, and the causes which create them are much more likely to endure.

Although the similarity of conditions between the United States and Australasia and South Africa is not nearly so great as it is between the United States and Canada, when the time comes, as come it must, that the great republic will abandon its present fiscal system of trade restriction, the potency of the similarity that does exist will make itself felt, in diverting the trade of these two countries from Great Britain towards the United States. With the increase in trade so engendered will come an increase in intercourse, in the knowledge in each of the other, and in community of thought, which will operate in the direction of making the United States, no less than Great Britain, the unacknowledged suzerain of these communities.

The strength of the movement in favor of Imperial Federation lies in the weakness of the formulated and direct ties uniting the British Empire, and the strength of the unformulated and indirect ties. Its main weakness is caused by the fact that the most potent of these unformulated and indirect ties tend to draw the colonial communities of that empire to a country foreign to it, the United States, as well as to its centre, Great Britain; but it is not without other causes of weakness. The avowed object of the Imperial Federationist is to reconstruct the British empire, not with a view of adding to the well-being of the individual communities which compose it, but in order to preserve and strengthen the empire as such. In order to induce

the colonists to consent to such an arrangement, an appeal is made to their "loyalty," and they are offered a bribe, in the shape of a discriminating tariff, which would give to them a monopoly of the British breadstuffs market. In the interest of the empire, the English people are to be again robbed of their food, in order that the colonists may be induced to enter a union which, without such a bribe, would be of no value to them. If it is possible to base a lasting political federation upon such a flagrant wrong as this discriminating bread-tax would create, then history teaches misleading lessons and sociology is at fault.

If the reorganization of the British empire upon the basis of Imperial Federation is impossible, is the organization of the empire of the English-speaking race, the world around, upon a basis that it is one and indivisible, as such also impossible? Is it impossible that what Mr. Gladstone so aptly termed a "hegemony" of the English-speaking commonwealths may come to pass, as a result of their continuous increase in wealth, in numbers, and in mental and moral power? If it is, this much is certain, that the virile force of the race is exhausted, and that humanity has not reached that point which those who believe in the triumph of good would fain hope it had attained.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

GOETHE, in his youth, found it difficult to believe in the beneficence of the government of the natural world, when he heard of the destruction of human life by the earthquake at Lisbon. Samuel Johnson at first refused to credit the news of that calamity, because he thought it an impeachment of the Divine goodness. The awfulness of the recent disaster at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, by which five thousand human beings were swept suddenly to destruction, is said to have promoted atheistic prejudices in the minds of not a few misinformed and more or less thoughtless people. It becomes clear on investigation that the Johnstown horror was the result of gross human carelessness. Both the private owners and the official inspectors of the broken dam in the Conemaugh Valley are to be held responsible for the calamity. Expert engineers have examined the ruins of the dam. They report that it was constructed wholly of earth. It had no stone wall along its central portion. It was very slightly attached to the rocks beneath it. No sluice-gates were connected with it. To preserve the game-fish in the pleasure pond behind it, the outlet was kept as nearly closed as practicable. It was so built that in a flood the water would run over the edge of the middle of the dam. This should have been made higher than the ends so as to prevent the wearing away of the centre by the falling of the water outside the point of greatest pressure from within. All these dangers were unheeded by the company of rich men of Pittsburgh who owned the pond. The inspectors whose duty it was under state law to compel the removal of these dangers failed to perform their duty. The result has been a calamity unparalleled in American history. There are scores of cities in the United States exposed to similar dangers. We take it for granted that judicial investigation will fix responsibility for the Conemaugh disaster and vigorously enforce the legal penalties. Both the owners and the official inspectors of the dam were responsible for

knowing its condition. There is ample evidence that their attention was repeatedly called to the perils to which their murderous carelessness exposed the population of Conemaugh Valley.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY suffers both intellectual and moral discomfiture in his conflict with Professor Wace on the subject of Agnosticism. It has been abundantly shown by the latter that the great naturalist, however eminent his merit as a man of science, is not a good scholar in the field of theology and of recent discussions as to the origin and authority of the New Testament literature. Dr. Wace is principal of King's College, London. In an address before a recent church congress at Manchester he said : —

An Agnosticism which knows nothing of the relation of man to God must not only refuse belief to our Lord's most undoubted teaching, but must deny the reality of the spiritual convictions in which He lived and died. . . .

It may be asked how far we can rely on the accounts we possess of our Lord's teaching on these subjects. Now it is unnecessary for the general argument before us to enter on those questions respecting the authenticity of the Gospel narratives, which ought to be regarded as settled by M. Renan's practical surrender of the adverse case. Apart from all disputed points of criticism, no one practically doubts that our Lord lived, and that He died on the cross, in the most intense sense of filial relation to his Father in heaven, and that He bore testimony to that Father's providence, love, and grace toward mankind. The Lord's Prayer affords sufficient evidence upon these points. If the Sermon on the Mount alone be added, the whole unseen world, of which the agnostic refuses to know anything, stands unveiled before us. There you see revealed the Divine Father and Creator of all things, in personal relation to his creatures, hearing their prayers, witnessing their actions, caring for them, and rewarding them. There you hear of a future judgment administered by Christ himself, and of a heaven to be hereafter revealed, in which those who live as the children of that Father, and who suffer in the cause and for the sake of Christ himself, will be abundantly rewarded. If Jesus Christ preached that sermon, made those promises, and taught that prayer, then any one who says that we know nothing of God, or of a future life, or of an unseen world, says that he does not believe Jesus Christ.

Professor Huxley's argument in the "Nineteenth Century" to show that Agnosticism is justifiable, and yet that it does not involve the necessity of disbelieving the convictions and teachings of Jesus Christ, is a curiosity of fragmentary learning, helpless evasion, and inconclusive reasoning.

Principal Wace's rejoinders to Professor Huxley are admirable for both scholarship and candor. They deserve careful study by all who care to know the true state of expert opinion on the greatest questions at issue between ill-informed, cowardly, and self-contradictory Agnosticism and intelligent and aggressive Christian faith.

Professor Huxley says that we know "absolutely nothing" about the originators of the Gospel narratives, and he appeals to criticism in the persons of Volkmar and Reuss. Volkmar says that the second Gospel is really either by St. Mark or by one of his friends, and was written about the year 75. Reuss says that the third Gospel, as we now have it, was really by St. Luke. Now Professor Huxley is, of course, entitled to his own opinion; but he is not entitled to quote authorities in support of his opinion when they are in direct opposition to it. He asserts without the slightest fear of refutation that "the four Gospels, as they have come to us, are the work of unknown writers." His arguments in defense of such a position will be listened to with respect; but let it be borne in mind that the opposite arguments he has got to meet are not only those of orthodox critics like myself, but those of Renan, of Volkmar, and of Reuss — I may add of Pfleiderer, well known in this country by his Hibbert Lectures, who in his recent work on original Christianity attributes most positively the second Gospel in its present form to St. Mark, and declares that there is no ground whatever for that supposition of an *Ur-Marcus* — that is an original groundwork — from which Professor Huxley alleges that "at the present time there is no visible escape." If I were such an authority on morality as Professor Huxley, I might perhaps use some unpleasant language respecting this vague assumption of criticism being all on his side, when it, in fact, directly contradicts him; and his case is not the only one to which such strictures might be applied. In "Robert Elsmere," for example, there is some vamping about the "great critical operation of the present century" having destroyed the historical basis of the Gospel narrative. As a matter of fact, as we have seen, the great critical operation has resulted, according to the testimony of the critics whom Professor Huxley himself selects, in establishing the fact that we possess contemporary records of our Lord's life from persons who were either eye-witnesses, or who were in direct communication with eye-witnesses, on the very scene in which it was passed. Either Professor Huxley's own witnesses are not to be trusted, or Professor Huxley's allegations are rash and unfounded. Conclusions which are denied by Volkmar, denied by Renan, denied by Reuss, are not to be thrown at our heads with a superior air, as if they could not be reasonably doubted. *The great result of the critical operation of this century has, in fact, been to prove that the contention with which it started in the persons of Strauss and Baur, that we have no contemporary records of Christ's life, is wholly untenable.* It has not convinced any of the living critics to whom Professor Huxley

appeals ; and if he, or any similar writer, still maintains such an assertion, let it be understood that he stands alone against the leading critics of Europe in the present day.

If any one wants vigorous, learned, and satisfactory answers to Professor Huxley and Mrs. Ward, Germany is the best place to which he can go for them. The professors and theologians of Germany who adhere substantially to the old Christian faith are at least as numerous, as distinguished, as learned, as laborious, as those who adhere to skeptical opinions. What is, by general consent, the most valuable and comprehensive work on Christian theology and church history which the last two generations of German divines have produced ? Herzog's "*Real-Encyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*," of which the second edition, in eighteen large volumes, was completed about a year ago. But it is edited and written in harmony with the general belief of Protestant Christians. Who have done the chief exegetical work of the last two generations ? On the rationalistic side, though not exclusively so, is the "*Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch*," in which, however, at the present time, Dillmann represents an opposition to the view of Wellhausen respecting the Pentateuch ; but on the other side we have Meyer on the New Testament — almost the standard work on the subject — Keil and Delitzsch on the Old Testament and a great part of the New, Lange's immense "*Bibelwerk*," and the valuable "*Kurzgefasster Kommentar*," on the whole Scripture, including the Apocrypha, now in course of publication under the editorship of Professors Strack and Zöckler. The Germans have more time for theoretical investigations than English theologians, who generally have a great deal of practical work to do ; and German professors, in their numerous universities, in great measure live by them. But it was by German theologians that Baur was refuted ; it is by German Hebraists like Strack that Wellhausen and Kuenen are now being best resisted. When Professor Huxley and Mrs. Ward would leave an impression that, because German theological chairs are not shackled by articles like our own, therefore the best German thought and criticism is on the rationalistic side, they are conveying an entirely prejudiced representation of the facts. *The effect of the German system is to make everything an open question ; as though there were no such thing as a settled system of the spiritual universe, and no established facts in Christian history ; and thus to enable any man of great ability with a skeptical turn to unsettle a generation and leave the edifice of belief to be built up again. But the edifice is built up again, and Germans take as large a part in rebuilding it as in undermining it.*

Mrs. Ward has entirely mistaken the point of view of Christian science. Certainly if any occurrence, anywhere, can be explained by natural causes, there is a strong presumption that it ought to be so explained ; for though a natural effect may be due in a given case to supernatural action, it is a fixed rule of philosophizing, according to Newton, that we should not assume unknown causes when known ones suffice. But the whole case of the Christian reasoner is that the records of the New Testament defy any attempt to explain them by natural causes. The German critics Hase,

Strauss, Baur, Hausrath, Keim, all have made the attempt, and each, in the opinion of the others, and finally of Pfleiderer, has offered an insufficient solution of the problem. The case of the Christian is not that the evidence ought not to be explained naturally, and translated into every-day experience, but that it cannot be.

SENATOR EDMUNDS in the June "Forum" publishes these wise and brave words, which we think it our duty to make a part of our record of expert opinion on Current Reform. It is a cheerful sign of the times that the most influential American journals, both secular and religious, have indorsed and echoed them, with great unanimity.

Will any political casuist or manager affirm that it is not base to buy a vote, while he admits that it is base to sell one? Will any such affirm that willful false swearing by election officers is not a base crime, but is either a virtue or a not dishonorable expedient? If it be wicked and treasonable to swear falsely in order to preserve a negro majority in a particular State, is it a Christian and patriotic virtue to swear falsely in order to preserve the rule of an Anglo-Saxon minority in the same or in another State? It is needless to multiply questions like these. Either the practices we are discussing are bad everywhere and under all circumstances, or else we must come without flinching to the fundamental maxim that bribery and perjury are just and praiseworthy — certainly not reprehensible — whenever those who resort to them think the public good will be promoted thereby! But we cannot stop here; this maxim is only an inseparable part of a much larger premise, which includes fraudulent naturalization, Socialism founded on an immediate division of all property, and Nihilism and Anarchism, whose effective and customary methods of persuasion and action embrace all secret forms of violence and terror — the knife, the poison, and bomb of the assassin — always, of course, employed to save society from alleged evils! Perhaps marshaling all these in their natural and necessary association with the system of benefiting the republic by bribery and perjury, may lead to some useful reflections on the part of people who have thought it not improper to do some of these things, while they have felt horrified that others, less intelligent and less responsible than they, have done some or all of the others.

If we can emancipate ourselves from party fealty or zeal sufficiently to determine for ourselves as citizens, in all parties or out of them, and in all the walks of life, that we will defend the well-springs of true liberty against these poisons, and that our republican system, which has given us a century of beneficence, shall not perish or be imperiled from our blindness to the lessons of history or from the extirpation of the moral sense of the people, the effectual means to these ends are within our reach. The chief of them may be summarized as follows:—

1. Improved registration laws, administered by intelligent, reputable, and responsible men taken from all parties.

2. The elections to be conducted by officers of the highest character and ability, taken from all parties, under provisions which shall secure the privacy of the voter and the secrecy of his ballot, and at the same time shall secure truth, equality, and justice in the conduct of the election officers.

3. The public canvass of the votes witnessed by representatives of all parties, and the publication of full accounts of election expenses.

4. The final returns to be canvassed in the same way.

5. Provision for the prompt hearing and decision of disputed questions by the courts.

6. The punishment of false and illegal registration, bribery in connection with registrations or elections, aiding or abetting bribery, or attempting or conspiring to bribe, or to register, or to vote illegally.

7. More stringent qualifications of jurors.

8. Oaths by all persons proposing to register, all voters at the election, and all persons elected or claiming election, that they have not been guilty of, or aided in any way in, false or illegal registration or voting, bribery or attempting or conspiring to bribe, or making false canvasses or returns.

9. A large limitation of the influx of foreigners and of the naturalization thereof, and more perfect scrutiny in admitting to naturalization.

10. And last, but far from least, the better education of the voters and their children — an education including the essential truth that every citizen of the republic in town, district, city, state, or nation is personally a real factor for good or ill in the great sum of the general welfare ; that his own opinion — the best effort of his mind and heart — is the sole true guide for him ; and that, in spite of corrupt temptations, or the blare of trumpets, or the flames of torches, or the excitements of contest or victory of one party or another, his mission for himself and his children is to follow the light that his knowledge and his conscience perceive, and not that of any other man.

To the great number of those in our country and every other — a number great and increasing — who have faith in the providence of God, the pathway of the human race grows brighter and clearer.

“Go where it will, the deep heaven will be around it. Therein let us have hope and sure faith. To reform a world, to reform a nation, no wise man will undertake ; and all but foolish men know that the only solid, though a far slower reformation, is what each begins and perfects on *himself*.”

EX-MAYOR W. H. HOWLAND of Toronto spoke as follows at the immense mass meeting recently held in Montreal to protest against the Jesuit Estates Bill : —

It may be asked by somebody, “What right have you in Ontario to come down here and interfere with Quebec’s affairs ?” But let me say this, that

we would not be speaking or interfering except as Dominion men and Canadian men. [Loud cheering.] The issues that have been raised affect us just as much as they do you, and, therefore, as Canadians we feel in honor bound to come and help you. [Renewed cheers.] We first satisfied ourselves upon this point, and this being a Canadian question and not one affecting any individual province, there can be no doubt what our position should be as loyal Protestants of this country. [Hear, hear.]

Before a vote was taken in the House of Commons on the Jesuits' Bill, there was a discussion, and several important meetings were held in the West, and there was even a hope indulged by the majority that the controversy would in the end be submitted to legal arbitration. As it was, a decided stand was taken by the Protestants of Canada, and a firm remonstrance addressed to Parliament asking for the disallowance of the bill. But it was not until the morning of the 29th that we realized what the position was. We realized that a union of parties had taken place, and it came like a flash of lightning to us throughout the country, that an act of treason had been committed by our representatives. [Loud applause.] We suddenly awoke to the fact that we could no longer depend on our old party organizations, and at once determined that some steps should be taken to have the country properly represented. We complain that our representatives have concurred in these things, and that feeling has grown deeper and deeper. *They have concurred in the recognition of the right of the Pope to interfere in our civil affairs, and this we hold to be derogatory to the supremacy of the Queen*, and I say that when the Queen's power is questioned the matter becomes British business all over the world. [Cheers.] That being so I say in all seriousness that the Parliamentary representatives of this country outside the "glorious thirteen" of whom we are all proud [cheers] are not representatives of the people of Canada. [Loud applause.]

Then we charged them, after subverting the authority of the Queen, with placing a sum of money at the disposal of the Pope, which is contrary to every precedent of our constitution. We have a cherished belief in this country that all religious bodies are equal and stand on a perfectly equal footing [cheers] ; but when one is singled out, as in this instance, and made the recipient of some considerable portion of the public revenue, we hold that to be dangerous to the civil and religious liberty of all. [Cheers.]

My third indictment is that they concurred in the diversion of a large and important estate already settled by Imperial Act for the purposes of education. This Act they have deliberately slighted, and I say if they do this then one of the certain safeguards of our constitution is taken away. I say that our representatives have concurred in the endowment of a society which stands condemned at the bar of history, and which would not receive one dollar of money from any Catholic country in the world. [Loud applause.] That money was handed over to a society whose methods are universally condemned, which is nothing better than a disturber of nations wherever it has been, and a standing danger to every well-ordered and self-respecting community. [Applause.] It works by its own specious methods to place

ecclesiasticism above society, and to substitute religious power for civil authority. Therefore, we have reason to hold that the endowment of such a body as that is the aiming of a blow at every man's liberty, and it becomes as who have some respect left for our individual as well as national rights to awake to the position in which the treachery of those whom we trusted has placed us. [Loud cheers.]

Since the vote on this question and the discovery of treason in our party government, it becomes us to be suspicious. We have at times heard of speeches made by French-Canadians indulging a dream of how they proposed one day colonizing Ontario and all Canada for the purpose of forming here in this country a great Latin race. Already in Ontario three counties have been colonized. They are excluding English from our schools as far as possible. It looks as though an organized conspiracy were at work; and, depend upon it, the Jesuits are at the bottom of it. [Applause.] We accuse no one. We make no threats, but certain facts which have come to our knowledge make us believe that there is something in it, and that the threat which has been made is no idle threat. We make no accusations, except against those who have been all the time plotters of just such schemes as this. We do not accuse the Liberals, but we do say that if this is the use that Quebec is going to make of her autonomy for which we have all striven, and if she is going to seek to make this a basis for subverting our laws, our language, and our religion, then it is high time that the Anglo-Saxons should take a firm and decided position. [Great cheers.]

I have heard it said that this is bigotry. *But is it bigotry, I ask, to resist the putting of the Pope's authority over the Queen?* Is it bigotry to resist the setting aside of public money for his disposal, and the flagrant diversion of a fund set aside by Parliament for educational purposes? Is it bigotry to resist the growth of a straight, clear conspiracy designed to strike at the best interests of the British nation, and to destroy all that we cherish and hold dear? If that is bigotry then I am a bigot — then every free man is a bigot. [Cheers.] I say we are not content to stand with folded hands until the blow is struck. [Cheers.] Why, we do not propose to touch or meddle with the French laws or language, or religion, and we will not allow our own to be interfered with. [Cheers.] It is not in our nature to oppress; but I tell you we are going firmly to insist that aggression must cease, and that the people of Quebec must come faithfully into line, in order to help build up a British nationality in this Dominion. We must make it plain that aggression, ecclesiastical and national, must cease. I do believe that when the French-Canadians themselves see what is at the bottom of this Jesuit movement, they will be surprised that they were ever made parties to such a dastardly undertaking. I believe that in the French heart there is a more honest purpose breathing, and that it will yet assert itself in exposing this degrading transaction in its true light. I believe that there are Liberals and Conservatives who will yet arise and assert the constitutional rights for which we are now contending. [Applause.]

We are going to flood the Governor-General with petitions urging him in

Council to grant the disallowance we pray for, and then we are going to hold a convention. We are not going to form a new party ; but we are going to test the constitutionality of the act if the worse comes to the worst, and to insist most of all upon having representatives who will be true to the British people. [Great and continued cheering.]

Moved by the Rev. Principal MacVicar, D. D., LL. D., seconded by Robt. Sellar, Esq., and resolved : —

“That this meeting strongly disapproves of the act incorporating the Jesuits, and the ‘Act for the settlement of the Jesuits’ Estates,’ as calculated to endanger the peace and well-being of this Dominion, and particularly of this Province, by giving legal status to a society which, in the past, has proven itself the enemy of civil and religious liberty, and by indorsing a religious body contrary to the recognized principle of perfect equality of all churches. That the position accorded the Pope of Rome in the ‘Act for the settlement of the Jesuit Estates,’ the claims he has advanced in the brief, distributing the \$100,000 placed at his disposal in said act, the doubtful constitutionality of the act, the violation of the guaranteed rights of the Protestant minority in this Province, and its essentially mischievous character all demand its disallowance.”

SECRET SOCIETIES that make death a penalty for disloyalty to their orders to their members are hardly believed to have existence in civilized lands. Nevertheless, the murder of Dr. Cronin of Chicago and the coroner’s verdict, that he came to his death by a plot or conspiracy, have gone far to make the public believe that the Clan-na-Gael, of which he was a member, is a society of which assassination is one of the secret and official weapons.

The Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble, in a powerful and most timely discourse in the Union Park Church, Chicago, spoke as follows of “Some Aspects of the Cronin Case.”

It is no part of my purpose to use the present occasion to denounce secret societies in general and to protest against their existence. But this I say without hesitation, that any society whose leading men can use its machinery to plot and accomplish murder, and whose method of reform is the method of the incendiary, the bomb-thrower, and the assassin, ought to be swept from the face of the earth ! At any rate, such a society can offer no justification for its existence under the American flag or within the jurisdiction of American law. Every instinct of liberty, every instinct of right cries out for its utter extermination, and that at once ! It is un-American in its spirit and aim, and at heart it is evidently disloyal to the American government.

A prominent member of the brotherhood thinks the time may come when the organization to which he belongs may take the law into its own hands, and snap its fingers at our legally constituted authorities, and involve this

nation in war with other nations with whom we may be at peace. And all this, too, without going through the formulation of an expressed grievance or diplomatic interview, but the behest of a secret society composed of patriots for revenue only. Have we room in America for this sort of thing? Can a man be loyal to this sort of an organization or this sort of a purpose and at the same time be loyal to the republic? Deny it who will, the present indications are that in dealing with the Clan-na-Gael we are dealing with what another has called "a pernicious dynamite league, which arrogates to itself powers inconsistent with loyalty to the United States government."

Do we want this? Are we going to tolerate this? Are the method and the spirit of the inquisition and the Nihilist both in one to be brought over here and set up under the flag of the republic? It has fallen to the lot of Chicago to stand the strain and meet the issue of the severest trials to which any community in our country has been subjected in recent years. Anarchism gathered up all its strength and summoned all its cunning for a deadly assault on public order, and the right of each man to work and hold securely the products of his toil and thrift. Never did any city come out of a struggle to the death with more honor. Never did a city render a more marked and effective service to the general welfare of the civilized world than did Chicago in convicting and hanging pestilent Anarchists.

A similar service to the majesty of the state, to our republican institutions, to human rights, to justice, to the present generation and the generations yet to come, remains to be rendered. This is a more difficult task, for the officers of the law are involved and there is a powerful and unscrupulous organization to deal with; money will be poured out like water to defeat the ends of justice. But, no matter whom it strikes, no matter how much intimidation may be attempted, if it takes years of prosecution and the last dollar in the city treasury, the foul murderers of this man must be sought out, tried, prosecuted, and hanged, and the organization to which this treason to man and treason to the state has been accomplished made so abhorrent in the estimation of all good citizens that no man, unless he be a confirmed thief or cutthroat, will ever again venture to darken the doors of one of its camps.

THE defeat of Constitutional Prohibition in Pennsylvania by more than 150,000 majority is one more proof that the liquor traffic is now the most dangerous political power in the republic. The whiskey syndicates controlled and used the machinery of both the national political parties. The result ought to be a revolt of Temperance Republicans and all honest voters from every political organization dominated by the saloon. The subserviency of large portions of the secular press to the dram-shop oligarchy is one of the most ominous signs of the times.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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POSSIBLE AND PRESSING EDUCATIONAL REFORM.

LORD BROUGHAM said, "The school-master is abroad." Closely following the school-master, the dangerous man is abroad also. The school-master does not make the dangerous man, but he leaves him in youth in such a condition that other things make him. Our average popular education is good as far as it goes ; but it is perilously incomplete. It leaves the individual in such a state that the furies enter into him too often and make him a scourge. Go through the land after the school-master, and all will say that in his spirit and aims he is the most beneficent man, except one or two, in the community ; yet, strange as it may seem, after the school-master goes the unprincipled man with wild theories ; and, passing them up and down among the unsettled and restless population, like a charmer's wand, he causes not a few persons to fasten on them and become victims, then propagators. Not alone in Russia, Germany, France, but in England and America social revolutionists and destructionists find abundant recruits, ready to resort to the bomb or torch, blood and anarchy, to accomplish their purposes. President Seelye said more than three years ago, in a public address : "There are probably a hundred thousand in the United States whose animosity to all existing social institutions is hardly less than boundless."

Now the dark portents which we witness, the gathering of the

forces of civil cyclones, the rumblings at a distance of threatening political earthquakes where there is no sufficient cause, the open advocacy of the upheaval of the foundations of society itself, could not exist if the general popular mind and heart were poised and made steady by a rational and just regard for spiritual realities. When the immortal nature is cultivated proportionably and wisely, the mind intelligent, and the heart is stayed on things above, man is a rock, and society is a rock, and delusions invite, and furies seek to enter, in vain.

We may see the tracks of the dangerous man, following, darkly, the school-master, in the increase of the percentage of crime. According to J. L. Pickard, there were in the prisons, in the United States, in 1850, one person to 3,442 of the population; in 1860 one to 1,647; in 1870, one to 1,172; in 1880, one to 860.¹ And the increase of homicides, suicides, and colossal frauds and defalcations has been greater than that of minor crimes.² Nor is this increase confined to the foreign-born or the illiterate. According to Dr. Fred Wines, the percentage of foreign-born prisoners, in 1850, was five times as large as that of natives, but now it is a little less than double.³ Richard Vaux says, "A far larger number of convicts in Pennsylvania have attended school than who never went to school."⁴ Of 415 convicts sent to Charlestown state-prison, 53 per cent. were born in Massachusetts; and only 11 per cent. were illiterate. It is reported that of 1,500 prisoners at Joliet, a thousand were educated very well, and 120 are college graduates.

But there are other symptoms of the presence of the dangerous man; as, the frequency of perjury, the difficulty of convictions, the verdicts contrary to the law and the evidence, legislative and sometimes judicial corruption, the brittleness of the marriage bond and easy divorce, a powerful educating press with no higher aim than making money, political slander and corruption, and, above all, the power of the saloon.

Further, we must remember we are only beginning to witness

¹ *North American Review*, 1885.

² Saml. Royce: *Deterioration and Race Education*.

³ *Advance*, November, 1888.

⁴ Royce's *Deterioration and Race Education*, p. 473.

the effects of our educational neglect. It takes a long time in a country like ours, penetrated by higher traditions and inheriting nobler customs, to adjust ourselves, socially and politically, to the logical and natural consequences of particular mistakes. Our whole civil constitution has to be wrenched and twisted and broken down and readjusted, in order to do it.

But if we could imagine that these tendencies would go on, in their own line, unarrested and uncanceled by other forces in the civil system, dark indeed would be the future. Civilizations would roll and tremble under the sway of the blind Samsons with their hands on the pillars of state. The resisting power of home, property, conservatism, letters, art, culture, government, law, private leagues and compacts; the vaunted influence of railroads, telegraphs, commerce, nationality, patriotism, race, — all would go down together when the persons on whom they themselves, severally and in their combination, lean, go down. Humanity, trained and developed intellectually, but not morally and spiritually, is the wildest and most fearful force conceivable to be let loose on this fair earth — worse than the lightnings which have scarred it, than the cyclones that have swept it, than the volcanoes and earthquakes that have rent and burnt it, than the glaciers that have plowed it.

This is one view — the view of humanity, so trained, *socially and politically* — something terrible. Over against this is another view; that is, the way in which humanity so trained would appear in the *individual units*. They would be cheap and pitiful — atomic, meaningless. For when materialistic philosophy has done its perfect work; when it has swept across man and through man and blown away from him the spiritual outreachings of his nature, which extend to the stars and beyond them into the internal depths; when it carries away also God and eternity as he touches them; when the piercing and expulsive blast has penetrated the very substance of the soul, and carried away freedom and spirituality, personality and immortality — what a miserable, shrunken, collapsed, worthless shred of the once lordly carriage and quality of man is left! Stripped of God and Divine Providence — a Sovereign over the worlds and their occupants, holding them under his hand and guiding them to a

high end — and stripped of soul and moral law, we are a swarm of insects in a swirling universe, and in a swirl of knowledges and powers, carried about with them, jostling and being jostled, overturning and being overturned, — motes thrown out into a hurricane, going we know not whither nor how far or long, through the unknown infinities or nothingnesses about us, with no peace, or poise, or orientation, or North star possible, and nothing to be hoped or looked for beyond our whims and whirls.

But these fatal results will not take place, because God is in the world ; because there are a great many other educational forces at work, besides the schools, to give trained mind its true poise and direction — as wise and faithful homes, Sabbath-schools, churches, the Christian press and literature, and the broadening, inspiring spirit of Christianity ; because there are still many schools that hold to their high purpose and are doing excellent work in training the whole mass ; and because we may believe that in time the public will see the inadequacy of our popular education and demand a more complete and satisfactory system.

We need, then, an education that comes down among the people and trains the whole man, bringing him, as far as may be, face to face with the objects that meet his essential needs. This is required to arrest ignoble hunger ; to give counterpoise and upward aim under the downward drag of material and social interests ; to swing men into orbits of peace and joy ; to make society sober, content, aspiring, and helpful, free from mad schemes and convulsions ; and to save individuals from going down altogether into abject littleness and nothingness.

To secure this, the whole educational force of the land and the age should coöperate. To go into an analysis of this force, and distribute to the different departments their respective tasks, is no purpose of mine. I shall consider the subject merely in relation to the schools. They exist for the single purpose of educating ; therefore it is specially proper that they should reconsider the high object and method of their mission.

How, then, may our schools practically work towards an education that meets the needs of human nature, and brings out the worth and poise and self-orderings of true manhood ?

This question, it is proposed in this article to consider, first, in the light of general principles and ideas, and next in that of our actual civil relations and limitations.

In discussing anew the subject of Education, I propose to draw broad lines. We need to look at Education occasionally, not as Americans, but as men,—not in the light of what is natural and easy under our political system and commitments, but in the light of that higher truth and law before which all constitutions and policies must bow. Political systems are not supreme things in this universe of ours, but come and go—here to-day, but if conflicting with higher principles and forces, gone forever to-morrow. The immanent laws in the constitution of things in the end prevail; and if our social and educational methods do not harmonize with them, they are foredoomed.

Having first a clear conception of the nature and necessities of education in itself, we may then intelligently and hopefully descend to the task of adapting our educational methods to our actual conditions.

The first aim of education as it enters among a rude people is to produce a *sense of want*. Man naturally, or man in the lowest stage of savagery, has no feeling of want. He is satisfied with immediate gratifications. He seeks only what is on his own present level. Those who carry the blessings of civilization to him are met with the discovery that they are not desired, and they must pile them up on the threshold in sight, till they can go in and create desire. When missionaries first went to Southern Africa, the natives wanted nothing—no better clothing, dwellings, or tools, no books or book-knowledge, no new customs, or morals, or religion. They were satisfied with what they had. Everything had to wait till a sense of want could slowly be created.

It is one of the grand achievements of education in civilized lands that it has succeeded in producing a sense of want. Perhaps this is the most manifest and universal product. Whatever other effects it has produced in particular circles having large opportunities, this has sifted down through all ranks to the darkest and most sluggish. The hut of the immigrant, the

tenement-cellar in the city, the cabin on the frontier, as well as the comfortable home under the shadow of the college, is now inhabited by want. All eyes are looking off, all hearts aching for what they have not.

The middle classes, better educated, farther advanced in the attainment of primary desires, are yet not less plagued with this unrest. Their goals are more splendid, more remote, more difficult, not less exacting. Their hearts, with greater sensibility, are on what is beyond. They have come up to comfort, skill, the knowledge of affairs; but their hunger, if finer, is more ceaseless and devouring. The back-bone of the country, the financial basis, the right hand in war, the conservator of order in peace, they are individually dissatisfied with their lot, as a class, and pressing on with the steady flow of the Amazon towards the courted objects ahead. Never before was the central body of the people educated up to such longing, and every nerve and fibre put down to such strain to gratify it.

If we pass from them to the higher classes, those having most means or opportunities at their command, who have gained the highest prizes of wealth, position, art, knowledge, or culture, what do we see? Contentment — rest? By no means. Their attainments, of whatsoever sort, have rather put them, as a body, on so many eminences from which they see off farther and with more acute passion for what they have not. A railroad man who counted his wealth by millions, as a day-laborer does his by single dollars, when the remark was made to him, "You ought to be contented now, as you can have everything you want," replied: "There was never a time when I was a poor man when I desired so many things I could not get as now."

Thus, those on the mountain-tops are cribbed and hedged in by limitations against which their larger desires, impatient, omnivorous, imperious, dash and recoil.

Such is this first product of the education of the age. The civilized man of the nineteenth century may be symbolized as a being of infinite mouth with antennæ reaching out in all directions for objects to gratify insatiable appetite, — feeling eagerly in the mysterious vaults around, above, beneath, and drawing

in ; but with every supply, having acuter, fiercer hunger. This characteristic is stamped broadly on the age. Civilization is top-heavy and dizzy with want.

Literature is suggestive here. Poets are often seers. They divine the deep tendencies at work under their age to bring in a new age ; and embody these tendencies in their song. Their song thus becomes prophecy. What in their day was insight and vaticination, in the next age becomes history. It is significant that the poets that most deeply stirred the last age, were poets of unrest — like Byron in *Don Juan*, and Goethe in *Faust*. They interpreted to the world the unvoiced feeling which was beginning then to move it, — thrilling it and captivating it ; but the tendency has now become historical and commonplace, and has lost its charm for letters.

We are not to suppose, however, that this supreme development of want has been brought about by the educational force of schools alone. It has come as the resultant of the total educational force scattered through the varied means and incentives of civilization ; as, the heritage from the past, influence of foreigners, example, the press, the pulpit, public sentiment, mutual excitation, commerce, trade, invention, and the rest, as well as schools. It is the aggregate educational influence sweeping with cumulative power down the ages.

The fact cannot be denied. Is not the explanation, also, equally obvious ? for before educational force reached man, did he not slumber ? was not want latent, like the germ in a grain of wheat buried in a mummy-case ? He was content with what he had, and was not looking through grim prison-bars into mysterious ranges abroad, for gratifications somehow of right his, if he only could get them. Education came, and with it want — and pursuit ; want — and pursuit — the two in a wild race, each stimulating and maddening the other. Civilization is the products thrown off in the race.

Now, why is it that these two things are so related ? Is this a necessary result of the awakening of human nature ? of progressive life here on the earth ? Can there be no education but that in which desire outreaches supply and mocks it ? This question, if it is to be at all thoroughly answered, will take us

to a consideration of the nature of man and the kind of education fitted to that nature.

What, then, is the nature of man? So far as this subject is concerned, there need be only this obvious analysis, which, to free it from objection as much as possible, I will not call an analysis of nature, but of function: Man has a nature that acts, in the first place, intellect-wise on data from the sensible world, and, in the second place, faith-wise on conceptions and beliefs of the supersensible, the spiritual — the True, the Good, the Beautiful, the Divine. It makes no difference, I say, so far as the present point is involved, whether this latter activity comes from a spiritual and immortal nature in the soul itself — a hand-print of Divine origin and quality, — or from a curious and inexplicable habit it has of drifting off from material and sublunary objects to speculations and faiths above itself. In either case, man has a nature for the spiritual, an aptitude for it, an outgoing towards a realm above the one in which he lives, lying over against it.

We must recognize, then, in the complex nature of man, a duality of function, and a possible duality of educational need. I say possible educational need; for if man has a nature that is inclined to go off in these supreme balloonings and quests, — if all history shows that he has been going off in this way through all the ages, throwing up speculations and beliefs into the mystic realms above, filling the air with superstitions and ghosts, peopling the whole vault about him with spectres and other occupants — is it not obvious that this activity needs to be trained and sobered to get the wildness out of it and make it tolerable to live with? So much we must admit, as the reasonable thing to do.

But what is the fact with the larger part of our educational institutions in this particular? Formerly the two kinds of activity — the intellectual and the spiritual — had a place among the objects of the schools; both were regarded in the joint undifferentiated system of education. Character was trained around the appropriate spiritual objects, in the estimate of the fathers; and mind was trained around the appropriate intellectual objects; and the two trainings and the two kinds of objects

were also mixed and interblended in our indistinguishable educational system. But now the supernatural and spiritual themes of the fathers, and the character-training around them receive less attention, and in some schools have quite been bowed out. All this is, in our day, largely relegated to the home, the Sabbath-school, the church, private societies and schools, and the diffused influence of public Christianity, and, in the same proportion, mind-training with its kindred objects has become specialized and located as the prime occupation of public institutions. The fact of the gradual breaking down of the old education in these schools, of the retirement of the moral and spiritual factors to other retreats, and of the specialization of the education remaining in mind-training, is patent. Every one sees it; every one knows it.

Nor is the process confined to the state institutions. It runs over, more or less, into many private ones. Especially those founded on no distinctive faith and inviting patrons from all classes, unwilling to disturb the higher privacies of conscience, and desiring to give wide range to personal freedom, have yielded to this tendency. Even some that have been founded and manned with reference to higher training have been invaded by it; and within their walls much more emphasis is now given to intellectual studies than to those that develop character.

Moreover, the very method of study which falls in with the popular educational current in our day — the philosophical atmosphere that floats in the halls of learning, of this class, and decides the quality of the results — is away from any realm of truth above, and out to man and nature and their doings as the sufficient realities.

Nor is there much in the influences which have come down from the world's historical educational systems to antagonize the tendency to mere mind-training. If we glance at the principal systems of former ages before this process of differentiation began, and note the kind of contributions they have poured into modern life, we shall see how largely the intellectual element predominated in most of them.

The ancient Hebrew educational system was an exception.

Its supreme end in its brightest days, as shown in the literature of that period, was character, and attaching the scholar to the things that vitalize and ennoble character. In the period of its decline, it passed over to pitiful intellectual *finesse* about those things. Now the system lives mainly in its records and its invisible precipitations and hidings in the world-drift. The Hebrew race lives, but it goes to school with the Gentile, the doors of its own higher schools having been closed for a thousand years. The influence of the old education, however, not only works, mightily but unconsciously, in the world-drift, but it furnishes stimulus and original impulse to quite a class of minds, but they do not illustrate the typical training.

The Greek education of the best period, — the age of Pericles, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, and the Stoics, — however earnest its professed ethical spirit, did not succeed in carrying the masses beyond physical, intellectual, and æsthetic results. The system of Rome was no better on the whole, though Stoicism here have some of its ripest and most admirable fruits.

The highest educational force of the Middle Ages, issuing from the cloisters and the universities, while touching largely on questions in the supersensible realm, dealt with them in a frivolous, subtle way that ignored insight and the higher nature of man, and did not succeed in carrying any considerable number up to high altitudes. That of the Arabians, leaping up out of the deepest night of European learning from Bagdad to Cordova, like the mysterious northern lights, strange in origin, brilliant in quality, was neither scholastic nor metaphysical, but mathematical and scientific, winning its greatest successes in chemistry and medicine, and hugging closely the earth.

Looking back to the systems antedating these, — the Persian, the Chaldean, the Babylonian, the Egyptian, — no direct contribution from them comes down into modern training. Their influence, whatever it is, has come down to us through the Hebrew, the Greek, the Roman, the Mohammedan, except the slight resurrection in these last days of some portions, in their original long lost cerements.

In modern times, the French education has been proverbially in the intellectual arena ; the German, in the philosophical and

speculative; the English, in the practical. No one of these has adopted a system that coördinates and meets the two kinds of function of man's nature. They all three, in their practical average and resultant, run on a lower plane. This, of course, is characterizing the systems broadly, and not descending to minutiae and exceptional cases.

And what is the predominant character of our American education? Take it at what is regarded as its best -- that of New England; and take that at its best, in the New England college. This has probably done the best work in the higher reaches of education, in a roundabout training of the essential manhood, of any class of institutions in the history of the world. It was founded, manned, carried on for this very purpose; and the fidelity, energy, and tact displayed account for the splendid results. Yet the New England college has felt the pressure of the world-tendency and begun to yield to the call for an undue proportion of attention to mind-studies, or studies to be pursued in that interest. The larger number of graduates are characteristically moulded by them. The differentiation has begun there.

This is not strange, considering the differentiating tendency that is abroad, by which it is beset. Besides, these studies are the first to be grappled with; and they must be more or less employed as instruments when the aim is the higher strain of education, and many scholars, and some teachers, never get above the instrument in such cases. Moreover, attainments in mind-studies are tangible, popular, and the public demands them. Examinations, competitions, prizes, everywhere turn on them. The whole air and din, march and movement of college life make them prominent.

Now if the New England college has not been able to keep out of the drift, much less could we expect the other colleges and the state institutions to do it.

The educational energy of the world, then, has been principally busy in training mind -- training it to know, think, reason, produce, do. It has looked upon its pupils as thinkers. It has aimed to develop their mental power and activity. It has seemed to regard it as its mission to put a race of intellec-

tual Goliaths in the arena to brandish thought, science, argument, speculation, philosophy, to the comfort of friends and the discomfiture of antagonists. Its ideals have been mental athletes and swift-footed Mercuries. And this influence has been so strong and all-pervading as to enter retreats far removed from its sources and compel there the process of differentiation.

It is this exaggeration of mind-studies, coming from the remote past and breaking forth in full volume in our day, which accounts for the crescendo of want which marks the civilization of our time. It is this also which accounts for the particular quality of the want. It is mind-want rather than body-want, or sense-want, or passion-want. It is the desire for something to satisfy awakened, outreaching, restless mind. No matter what the field, the ambition, the special object sought, it is mind distinctively that is clamoring for solace. Education has stirred and awakened the Samson, and he has gone forth and shaken himself, but finds no occupation to satisfy him.

But observe that, while the want as the obvious conscious experience is mind-want, — want that disports itself in circles of mind, — the ground and explanation of it is the neglected condition of the supreme nature, or activity.

This is a crucial point. Here we must linger to make sure of the ground.

Obviously, if only the intellectual powers are trained, there will be a chasm in the region of the superior nature, or function, — a void — not cared for: so much at least. That department which is most royal and imperial, the fit theatre for things highest and noblest, are slighted. No provision is made for it. The powers may be cultivated up to those borders, and there we come upon an abrupt termination — ignoring vacancy, so far as culture is concerned.

On the other hand, it is equally obvious that, if what I may call the spiritual or immortal nature, not because I assume it to be such, but because it deals with subjects into which the elements of matter and time do not enter, — if this nature is developed and brought into relation to its proper objects, there will be no break at the borders — no plunge there into chaos. The thinking and feeling and willing man will have a full and rounded development and occupation.

So much I think we may say is self-evident.

But more, the soul will then be looking in the direction of *satisfaction*. *In the direction*, it will have started for the highest solace possible. It will feel it has fastened on infinite and Divine realities, and come into possession of them, not merely the pursuit of them. When we are in relation to these higher things, we possess them, and they possess us.

Here is a remarkable difference between them and the objects which address our lower nature. We gain these latter — the earthly objects — by actual advance upon them and conquest of them, object by object, slowly and with difficulty and with large disappointment. We gain spiritual and Divine realities, when we gain them at all, when we come into relation to them and under their power, each in its wholeness, as it were, and all at once — though not in their ideal perfection. Our conception may be crude, needing to be purified and transfigured; but the object is ours in its undigested and unresolved fullness, for example, when a person has that wonderful experience of Theophany, when he comes into conscious relation to God, as he interprets the experience, he does not gain a fragment of God, so to speak, as one gains a fragment of wealth or position or fame, but he gains God, all at once, at that auspicious birth-hour — all he can contain of him, all his spiritual culture will enable him to take in. The whole Duty, in unresolved mass, comes in. True, this first conception is to be idealized and transfigured by all the wealth of experience, observation, insight, knowledge gained by him afterwards. Everything that enlarges and perfects him will glorify his conception; but he finds a complete God at the start.

It is this instant possession of spiritual and Divine realities, rounded and full but unresolved, that gives him whose higher nature is cultivated and brought into relation to them the highest satisfaction now possible. They measure and over-measure with interminable margin the largest human hungerings. The soul cannot go beyond them; it can go beside them, not beyond. It cannot reach out after anything higher or better. This it knows and feels. It belongs to the experience of those in such a position.

Moreover, there is a certain charm in these higher objects when their forces and attractions play directly down into the heart which draws the man, with his longings, up out of the basement of his being into the dome. It translates the man, and the old want shrivels and dries up. Desire vacates the old premises, and enters the new, where its objects are at hand. But as long as desire remains below, and we rush sideways or downwards after objects to which we are drawn by the over-differentiated popular education, we are tortured, for these objects are in a continual flux, coming and going. Besides, there is nothing kindred or personal in them to meet our deepest needs. Even their abiding principles and forces — such as gravity, persistence, and equivalence of force, life only from life, philosophical truth, æsthetic and moral ideals — range far below the cravings of our deepest personality. But when we turn to the realities above and come into relation to them, their possession, infinitude, supreme worth, and responsiveness to personal hungerings put us in the way of satisfaction. It is coming into fellowship with celestial kindred; and the spirit gladly turns away from grasping after things that disappoint or elude to the enjoyment of things that respond to our needs.

This unrest seems strange only when we overlook our source and endowment. Wordsworth in the *Ode on Immortality* sings of it: —

The soul "cometh from afar;
Not in entire forgetfulness
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home."

A nature so endowed but neglecting its kindred and outfit must have Divine homesickness. But finding its true position, it is at rest, on the great matters. It has oriented itself and is in its normal relations. There is nothing to aspire to that it has not; nothing to invite high and pure love that it has not; nothing on which to lean with supreme trust that it has not. Forthwith it begins the endless process of growing into its ideals, and having them grow into it, and this breathes a spirit of peace and content into all its experiences. There is no more the old gnawing hunger.

It is not meant that there is absolute arrest of desire, absolute quiescence of soul — the Buddhist dream of bliss. By no means : there is still the sense of imperfect attainment — a Divine unrest and longing. But it is a hunger that is itself blessed. The man feels ennobled and honored by it. It is a reminder of the source of satisfaction the highest possible for a finite spirit — a celestial tug that makes him feel the kindred above. And the solaces he gets are not disappointing ; and he receives them, not in spurts to be bottled up and kept and lived on in future, but in continuous and blessed flow like the sunshine, to be enjoyed as he goes along.

To mitigate the torture of want, in which the over-differentiated education leaves the world, we need, therefore, an education which takes us up among these higher objects, and puts us on these sublime and satisfying courses, giving a felicity that ever renews itself in their exhaustless and ever-present realities. This plucks the sting out of want by transferring us bodily, so to speak, out of its realm, up into the higher realm, where we are face to face with eternal things, and they are ours.

But this is not all. I said that, under the differentiated intellectual education, there would be at best a void in the higher nature. Experience, however, shows there is not a void. In the case of those so educated, and left to drift among the ambitions and occupations incident to such training, the slighted nature is not inactive. By no means. Untrained, not provided for, it nevertheless is more or less astir, either spontaneously or from external suggestions, but crudely, often wildly. Its influence lurks where it is not suspected. It creates or intensifies the sense of want, and makes the experience of pursuing it an agony. Neglected and wronged, like a grieved angel dwelling within, it makes us tire of the things we pursue, of one after another in quick succession ; throw them away or put them beside us ; and seek what is beyond.

We see little children playing with toys, and wonder that they so soon become weary of them, and desire a new set. It is because they have a nature ever opening and expanding, so much grander than these playthings, and that finds itself cribbed and dwarfed by them. They can be amused by any one

only a little while, and then are off after something else. Our immortal nature makes us all children when we try to satisfy ourselves with objects beneath us. We soon tire of them, and must have something else. It breathes upon them, and "How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!"

Worse than this, often, is the rioting of that nature itself. It is likely to assume grotesque attitudes, pursue phantoms, and plunge into abysses, and moan and wail. High studies and culture, of the naturalistic, scientific, historic, or artistic sort, do not keep it from strange vagaries. Communities steeped in the influence of schools, under the shadow of universities, proud of Athenian culture, and famous for letters, in as far as they are not taken up into the stabilities of faith, are quite as likely as any to be infected with wild theories in the region of the supernatural; as "Christian Science," "Mind Cure," "Spiritualism," imported Buddhism. Men of great learning and wisdom in their own special lower departments, moved by the vague longing of the something higher within them, and the audacity of this unrest, venture out into the transcendent region with no other guidance than their own little earthly lights. Spencer tries to formulate a system of ethics from comparative biology and psychology, and from the accumulated, inherited, and transmuted experiences of men, in accordance with the theory of evolution; but he cannot help admitting the presence of a mysterious Power back of all phenomena, giving direction, force, and imperativeness to the ethical tendency, — which he calls the Unknowable — a logical admission of the inadequacy of the theory. Renan supposes that he can allay unrest and give poise and stability to man by arousing in him an enthusiasm of humanity — whatever that may be — without furnishing any force to arouse it. Comte points to humanity, abstract and idealized, as the goal; but meanwhile symbolizes and worships it, and surrounds it with religious cultus in the person of a woman! Mrs. Ward (in "Robert Elsmere") outlines a faith which she calls the religion of The New Brotherhood. But she leaves it standing in the air, cleaving asunder the Biblical representation of Christ, accepting the part which delineates the man, but rejecting the part in which his higher

nature and works are portrayed. Around this cloven testimony she forms a cultus and bases appeals, purely human and secular; and expects such a system to regenerate society, and expel the unrest and the wild passions of men — a faith that is restless in itself, and draws its sustenance, not from that on which it rests, but, like orchids, from the Christian atmosphere around it.

All such theories, begotten from beneath and carried over into the higher realm, are cold, and mocking to the immortal nature in the end. This is confessed by all who come out of them into something better. The experience of De Wette has had its parallel in multitudes. He says of the effect of the lectures of Paulus on him when a young man: "I was proud in the thought that I could become moral without any belief. This delusion, however, soon vanished. I found myself so desolate without faith in the supernatural, so forsaken, thrown, myself and the whole race, into the world without any purpose, that all within me was divided and uncertain; no living motive stirred my cold heart; and death stood as a hostile demon in the background of my life."

A still more serious effect to society from this specialized education is the condition in which it leaves what I may call the *individual personal force*. A social atmosphere of belief in supernatural things is essential to keep alive in individuals the sentiment of moral obligation. Moral authority dies out in most persons in communities where the sense of eternal things is lifted off. Where, indeed, such a faith has long prevailed and become a social power, it may for a time perpetuate itself by a species of heredity and social momentum. The dying goes on, however, — slowly, concealing from the public the process of death, individual after individual succumbing and passing beyond the reach of any moral imperative on the conscience.

Now when men — when masses of men — when persons enough to characterize the community, believe there is nothing higher than themselves, no intrinsic, ethical law, no moral government, no Divine authority to which they must give account, and that there is in themselves no essential personality, no im-

mortal soul, no authoritative conscience, their whole life drops down to the level of policy and self-will, for to them there is nothing higher than themselves to impose obligation. There may be more, and stronger; as, their fellow-men, civil government, or the laws and forces of nature with their relentless march — but nothing higher. Every one, under such circumstances, feels himself absolved from moral obligation. Henceforth it is with him a question of wills and expediencies between him and others, him and nature. In kind, he is on a level with the top, and he has a right — with all the meaning he can put into the word — to do anything he wishes to do, and is willing to take the risks of doing. Civil authority resolves itself into an aggregate of wills, like his own, having in it nothing higher in kind, no divineness, no new element of moral supremacy. It is merely a mass of naked, self-seeking, irresponsible, yoked human wills; and he has a right, when he pleases, to put himself against them all, and take the chances. And the laws and forces of nature, on the supposition, are not moral, and by no possibility can they project out of themselves a moral kingdom, or impose moral injunctions on the liberty of man.

We see, then, the gravamen of the defect of the popular differentiated training. In cultivating the intellectual powers and failing to bring the spiritual nature into relation to its objects, it misses the true balance-wheel and regulator of education, and leaves the personal force in a dangerous condition. It has, in great part, trained man, and is more and more training him with the successive years, to get along without God or faith in the supernatural of almost any sort, except as the dim Unknowable.

This brings us from viewing education in the light of general principles and ideas to viewing it in the light of our actual civil relations and limitations. Here the subject becomes at once surrounded with perplexities. I shall not take the ground, that, if our political system radically antagonizes complete and thorough education in the schools, it is the worse for the political system, and it ought to be readjusted. I propose to take things as they are in that respect, and make some suggestions how we may, in our existing civil and political order, work towards a more effective and satisfactory training.

1. My first suggestion is, that a sentiment should be created in the public *looking for character-results* in the schools. It would be too much to expect speedily a general demand for such results. But the friends of education, endowed with insight and wisdom, should at once begin agitation for them. It is little teachers will do unless they feel their efforts find welcome and backing among good men — nay, a demand. Attempts, therefore, should be made to enlighten the public on the inadequacy of the great world-wave of education that is sweeping over the land, and create a demand for something better. Foolish prejudices and bitter hostilities should be overcome. In thoughtless unconcern of consequences, one after another of the agencies and instruments of character-building in the former days has been driven out. They need to be brought back, or substitutes found. The demand for higher results should be ceaseless and inexorable.

The difficulty of effecting a gradual change may not be so great as it seems. The two poles between which man's nature swings are materialism and spiritualism; and education has been so long swinging towards the materialistic side of the arc that it is almost time for wronged nature to cry out for a movement in the other direction. Besides, the manifest dire consequences of the materialistic swing are beginning to awaken profound concern. It is no time for discouragement, but for hope and united action on the part of the wise and the good.

2. The next thing to be secured is a hearty and ceaseless purpose of the *teachers* to secure moral training, as well as intellectual. They must make room for this in the school. This is not impossible under our present system. It does not require separate studies or set opportunities, but a spirit, stimulating and winning in that direction, pervading all the exercises of the school and the whole bearing and influence of the teacher. If he himself comes down from the world above, brightly, lovingly, trailing the atmosphere of that world unconsciously about him, he will effect much. A tone, an emphasis, a look, a word, a turn of thought, a sudden out-beaming of moral color from the personality, here and there, as needed in the midst of instruction and discipline, will lead to large moral and spiritual success.

But this part cannot be acted. It cannot be created by school boards or state law. It must be gradually sought out and introduced. It is the right man that makes the right teacher. Let, therefore, the right teachers begin to magnify their office in these higher relations. Let them think, not less of intellectual results absolutely, but less relatively, — more, vastly more, of character-results. Let them not delay this effort for any demand for it, except the need of the pupils, the satisfaction of their own conscience, and the will of the Master. It is enough for them to know that thus they are doing the most magnificent service mortal can do, one that will stand the test of time and the æons beyond.

3. In the third place, room should be made in the school for positive *character-studies*, in just proportion and equipoise. These should not be taught as matters of acquisition and knowledge so much as of moulding and inspiration — a stairway up celestial heights along which teacher and pupil climb together. There is no less intellectual quickening in such studies, while they produce much richer results. But care must be taken not to treat them professionally or dogmatically. The highest things drop down to the lowest, the richest to the most barren, the moment the teacher fails of insight and Divine enthusiasm in handling them. When treating them he needs to be, if at no other time, a blazing seraph, the light and heat issuing from the heavenly fire within.

I need not say that, of all books for this purpose, incomparably the best is the Bible. It is, when properly used, the most inspiring and helpful. It “finds” the scholar, in the expressive phrase of Coleridge, “in the deepest parts of his being,” more than any other book. It interprets him to himself — his condition, possibilities, needs, position in the universe — better than any other. Its words have a strange quality of going through him as the voice of God. Its truths, when not used as a sledge-hammer to smite with, but to furnish wings, are most welcome to eager and inquiring minds. Moreover, the Bible, admitted in the breadth and royalty of its power, not belittled and degraded to sectarian uses, protects and graces every other character-study and settles the system.

It is too soon to expect a popular demand for the return of the Book of books to the school, but not too soon to have a sense of what we have lost, and to begin to work for its recovery.

4. My next suggestion refers to the relation which the teacher should feel he holds to the *personality* of his pupils individually. In training character it is preëminently necessary that he should realize that his business is teaching *persons*, not *studies*; and for this he must know the persons. Accordingly he should keep before him the distinctive individuality of each, character-wise, and shape his instructions to that.

You say, "That requires trouble, insight, skill." Exactly; and no one not possessing these should venture on the sublime task of moulding character and destiny. The teacher has a right to realize that it costs trouble, insight, skill to take a prominent part in shaping human beings for the worlds, — and not be satisfied with teaching subjects in the air before his pupils, or putting them in their minds, or even of making them the instruments of the most thorough intellectual gymnastic drill. He needs to put his warm, intense, quickening personality upon the needy receptive personality of his pupils, each in turn, continuously — as Elisha stretched himself upon the dead son of the Shunamite woman, putting his mouth upon his mouth, his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands — till the breath of life enters into them.

For this it would not be necessary that classes should be given up, and the method common in Chinese schools in this country be adopted. By no means; but let the teacher when teaching Greek, mathematics, history, English, or what not, keep ever in mind the personal needs of each pupil and try to help him up, easily and naturally, to true manhood. It is the personal treatment of each, like that of a wise mother with her children, however many of them there may be, that is effective.

5. Lastly, I would suggest that we should insist, before the tribunals of speculative thought and the managers of our educational institutions, that a *broader scientific method* should be adopted than that of much of the popular science of the day, and one that will give a philosophical place for this higher

education in our schools. True science begins with facts, data, and draws inferences, reaching general conclusions, laws, principles from all the data involved. Now there is a method that calls itself science, that ignores all the data in which spiritual realities first report themselves to us till it has formed a materialistic theory based on materialistic phenomena. It then takes this as the light with which it goes back and studies the spiritual phenomena, and interprets them into conformity with the materialistic theory.

This unscientific method should be displaced by a true scientific method. This needs to be done, in the first place, in the interest of truth; secondly, in the interest of the integrity and authority of consciousness; thirdly, of our own personality; fourthly, of the whole spiritual world, of which our spirits are a part; and lastly, for the sake of the higher education itself, that it may have a recognized philosophical basis and be itself a philosophical demand.

The common unscientific method must be broken down somewhere or we precipitate ourselves and the universe into a chaos of illusions where no knowledge certified, no reasoning sure, no confidence in any conviction, no certainty of anything, is possible. And all men, not mad, do break it down somewhere. Even the men who adopt it in dealing with supernatural objects break it down in their own fundamental principles of reasoning and conditions of thought, which they assume and which their philosophy cannot give them. They are obliged to make use of that which pronounces their speculations false. Their whole philosophy is borne up on a spiritual world which they deny. They intrust themselves in a frail balloon of sense, sail off in it, seeing nothing else, denying that there is anything else, unconscious of the infinite spiritual abysses and amplitudes, above, beneath, around, on the buoyancy and substance and reality of which their little craft floats, and which is the only thing that keeps it from plunging down to instant ruin.

Meanwhile, as the effort to reinstate character-training in its proper place in the state and secular schools goes on, we see there is a large place for those *private institutions* from which it has not been removed. In such a movement, they will natu-

rally lead at first, having the start ; and will throw back a stimulating and helpful influence on the public schools. In fact, these two kinds of institutions will help each other, the private stirring the public to higher moral endeavor, and the public, by their richer furnishing and broader scholastic range provoking the private to nobler intellectual achievements. In this way, the distance between them will be gradually overcome, all jealousies and depreciations will cease, and the social and private wounds and sores from our differentiation of education will be healed.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE IN AMERICAN COLLEGES.

AT the present time the study of English literature in American colleges demands, more than any other branch of advanced collegiate work, the attention of our leading educators and the educational press. Both in its methods and in its results this department stands far behind all others. Practically, it has remained at a standstill, while the rest have gone forward, availing themselves of the broader outlook, the newer methods, the more advanced ideas of modern literary and scientific culture.

Let me briefly specify in what respects the work in English literature in our American colleges and universities seems to me deficient. I shall aim, in the present paper, to call attention to

1. Its narrowness.
2. Its secondary importance in the curriculum.
3. Its unfruitfulness as literary culture.

There should be no study more broadly significant, more profoundly valuable to the student, than the study of English literature, when its actual scope and its possibilities are properly apprehended. Language and literature are really the substance of what we moderns call "culture." Language is the skeleton, literature is the tissue of the humanities. But how narrow and superficial is the view of this grand study which most of our American colleges are content to take! A brief and hasty preparatory course in rhetoric; a mere mumbling of Chaucer and Spenser; a summarizing for "quizzes" of the principal events in the lives of the ancient literary worthies, together with a cut-and-dried list of their principal works; a scant interspersing of lectures, and the requirement of a few critiques from the student — this constitutes, in some colleges, what is called "a course in English literature." In some colleges, I say, — not in all.

There are two methods of teaching English which are now used in American colleges and universities; each method in itself narrow and partial, but promising in its union with the other a broader and more practical literary culture than our educational system has yet furnished. The two methods are the philological and the purely literary. The philological method is employed in the English departments of our leading universities — representatively, Johns Hopkins and Harvard. The literary method is pursued in most of the smaller colleges and collegiate institutes throughout the country. At the universities, the student who asks for the ultimate and best equipment in English which the institution can give him is launched upon a three or four years' course in Anglo-Saxon, Gothic, Old Norse, and Old High German. At the smaller college he gets a superficial historical outlook over English literature, and some smattering of its best productions.

Here, then, we have the two methods — English literature as a body of thought, English literature as the anatomy of language. Only in the union of these methods, it seems to me, can the study be successfully prosecuted. And yet the present tendency is to divorce them still more completely. Some are for making the study of English wholly philological, declaring that there is no such thing as a teachable or communicable criterion of literary taste. Others would relegate philology to the department of languages, where, they say, it belongs, and have English literature studied as literature simply.

It is because there are these two parties, holding opposite and narrow views of the subject, that the study of English literature in our colleges is so partial and inadequate. The first step should be to bring the two methods together, to reconcile the two parties, to blend the two ideas.

Why should scholars be divided upon this subject? Surely, English literature may, and should, be studied both as language and as literature. For, in the first place, it affords the richest field for philological research. Full of vigorous, archaic speech-forms, guides to the innermost meaning of the text; composite as no other language since the polyglot hubbub of Babel; rich in those hidden veins of pure gold which only the philologist can

lay bare, it would seem as if the study of the English language, especially in its earlier period, were of the greatest importance to the student of English literature. But why stop with the structure of the language? Philology is only the initial step in a course of study which has yet to furnish clews to all the labyrinths of Browning and drop the plummet into the metaphysical depths of Shakespeare.

My plea is for the union of philology and pure literature in one course of study ; giving, at the most, one third of the time to philology and two thirds to literary lectures, criticism, careful reading, and production. I would also have philology come first, and not last, as it now does in our large universities. Philology is not reasonably the flower of an elegant literary culture. The aim of our universities should be to produce, if possible, a Shakespeare rather than a Furness. But, on the other hand, we must first furnish our Shakespeare with his vocabulary ; and how so well as by a thorough course in philology — a patient delving among the roots of the English language? Let us broaden, expand, dignify this poor intercalary course of study in our smaller colleges, which we call “English literature ;” and let us also push forward to a higher, more tolerant plane the pedantic, self-esteeming “philology” of the universities.

The study of language ought not to be an end in itself ; for even the most highly developed language is something intermediate merely. Its object is to present thought ; and the study of the structure of language is valuable only in so far as it makes language the better medium of thought. My idea of a progressive scheme of study for students in English is something as follows : Philology, introductory to literature ; literature, introductory to criticism ; criticism, introductory to production. I believe that the final, practical outcome of every course of study should be its application to life and the world’s work. This is, or should be, the test of all training. Production is the practical outcome of the study of literature. Any course of literary training which does not fit a man to write the best sermon, the best essay, the best criticism, the best poem, the best occasional address, the best editorial, the best political

speech, the best letter to a friend, is lost training. Wherein has it made him a better man, as the world goes? The only really valuable course in English literature must lead up to production; and of this course of study the base must be as broad as the capstone is high. Our American colleges cannot produce the best thinkers, the best writers, the best orators, with the kind of literary training they are furnishing to-day. Nothing worth while was ever accomplished by a makeshift; and the course of literature in American colleges, at present, is mainly a makeshift. The time demands a broad, thorough, progressive course in literature in our higher institutions of learning; a course that shall continue not only through the four undergraduate years, but that shall virtually demand for its completion a fifth and possibly sixth year, spent in advanced post-graduate work. A graduate from such a course as this should be able to write and speak with elegance and precision — attainments which are commonly attributed, as matter of course, to men of genius and talent, but which are, in fact, simply the legitimate results of wide and studious reading and constant practice in the art of composition.

The above considerations naturally lead to my second indictment against English work in our American colleges, namely, its secondary place in the regular curriculum of study. In order to broadening, and dignifying, and making effective the study of English literature, our colleges must be willing to devote to it more time, more attention, and more *ability*. Latin, Greek, and mathematics must not appropriate the lion's share of the week, while English literature, with lamb-like meekness, takes the odd hour of the convenient day. Under such circumstances, with pupils indifferent, and instructor embarrassed and well-nigh discouraged for lack of time and opportunity, what good result can be expected? Students will not devote their best efforts to a study which is manifestly held to be of small account by their instructors. It is a fact, to which most college-bred men will testify, that no work in the curriculum is so much neglected and made light of as the work in English literature. It is not an uncommon thing for undergraduates to make no

preparation whatever for recitation, but march into the classroom, trusting to luck, intuition, or a sly peep into the manual to carry them through with a modicum of disgrace. Nor are they altogether responsible for this indifference and contempt. The institution itself places a premium upon disrespect for the study of English literature, which includes this study in its curriculum simply as a tail-piece between more important subjects — an ornamental flourish, the chief beauty of which is that it can be skipped.

A recent writer has spoken of the “shelving of worn-out clergymen” in the chairs of English literature of our American colleges. There is too much truth in the sarcasm. So long as the department is held to be one of minor importance, our smaller institutions, at least, with their abnormally developed ideas of economy, will secure as cheap a man to conduct it as the market affords. One would hardly like to see blazoned over the English department of his *Alma Mater* the words — “Short hours and cheap instruction. A royal road to knowledge.” And yet this is practically what a large proportion of our colleges *do* say to their students, and the students — poor misguided fellows! — applaud the sentiment. Thus it happens that men are graduated as Bachelors of Arts who are still, so far as the use of the English language is concerned, Benedicts of Illiteracy. They let their own good English mother-tongue shift for herself, while they lavish all their affection upon their Latin, Greek, French, and German mothers-in-law.

How many of the young gentlemen who were graduated from our American colleges last June could, probably, write a thousand words on any theme, properly spelled, punctuated, and paragraphed, to say nothing of the higher graces of rhetoric and the supreme charm of style? All of them, no doubt, could name the greatest English poets, from Chaucer down, and give a list of the principal works of each. Most of them could scan and interpret a dozen pages of “*Piers Plowman*,” or give you the rhythm of “*The Knight’s Tale*,” with the e-syllables properly accounted for. But of what modern, practical, earthly use is this mere catalogue information and mediæval rubbish? Production, I repeat, is the ultimatum of all training. “Go thou and

do likewise " is the golden injunction of wisdom. No such superficial, hasty, and inadequate training in English as is afforded by the majority of our American colleges to-day can give a young man a good command of his native tongue, or even rid him of his school-boy clumsiness with the pen. The subject must be made of more importance; more time must be devoted to it; men of more especial literary culture, attainment, and progressive educational views must be secured for our departments of English literature; otherwise this study will never come into line with the advanced branches of college work.

I have trespassed somewhat upon my third indictment against the present methods of teaching English literature in American colleges. Still there remains something to be said upon *the unfruitfulness of the present system as a means of literary culture*. Far too little attention is paid even to the *proportional* development of the literary sense of the American student. The present method of teaching literature is not a method which has for its basis the idea of assimilation. It represents, rather, a kind of intellectual hypodermic injection. Its effect upon the mind is immediate and transitory, rather than gradual and permanent. Some stimulus, of course, is derived from even a superficial study of the best products of the best minds; but it is not the kind of stimulus which is vital and persistent. Such stimulus can be derived only from *the study of the best writers as models*. There must be the personal *nexus*, in order that any study may be of practical value to the student. "Competition," says the worldly proverb, "is the life of trade." It is equally true that emulation is the life of scholarship. Why do we admire great writers? What is the moral and mental philosophy of admiration? All admiration is a comparative process of the mind. It has its origin in the desire of the subject to be like the object. There is no such thing as altruistic admiration. The selfish idea is always and necessarily uppermost. Consequently, the very first mental process of the student, in taking up a masterpiece of literature, represents the natural and proper tendency of the scholarly mind, namely to compare the subject with the object, the pupil with the master,

attended by a desire on the part of the former to possess, in the largest measure possible, the power wielded by the latter. This is the personal *nexus* which is necessary to the successful pursuit of any study. The subject-matter must be brought home to the student's heart and will.

Now how far does the present system of teaching literature in our American colleges avail itself of this vital principle? To what extent is emulation awakened in the pupil? How faithfully is the study brought home to him personally, as the best means of awakening his own literary sense and of cultivating in himself the art universal — composition? The answer must be that the personal element, the vital element, is almost entirely left out of our present system of instruction in literature. There is no college or university in America, so far as I have been able to learn, where a young man or a young woman of marked literary tastes can go for instruction in the profession of letters. There is no department of English literature anywhere in this country which teaches the laws of criticism, the ascertainable principles of style, as deduced from the best English writers, the more important technicalities of composition, or the proper use of the various forms of verse. Strangest of all, there is no university which offers constant encouragement to original composition, together with the benefit of expert criticism of such production. The present courses of instruction, whether philological or purely literary, do not tend to the direct cultivation of the literary sense. They teach the anatomy of the English language, and introduce the student to the representative books in that language. They do not teach *literature* itself — those principles and laws which find expression in the books of all periods and all nations.

In a paper published in the New York "Critic" of May 5, 1888, I advocated the establishment of departments of literature in our American universities — literature in its broadest sense — "not German, French, Greek, Italian, but *all* literature; the body of it, overlying the mere structure of the languages which give it form." This is my ideal of what the present narrow so-called "English literature" departments of our universities and colleges should become. I am aware that it

may seem a bold ideal, at present — perhaps quixotic ; but still I have faith that it will some day be realized. The world's literature is the grandest monument of the ages. It is, above all other forms of culture, most worthy the study of mankind. And yet where are its lawgivers ? Where are its priests and seers ? Who have viewed the land from Pisgah ? We have had good critics of literature, but no teachers ; none who have spent their lives breathing constantly the atmosphere of the world's purest and highest thought, in order that they may thereby benefit others. We want interpreters, rather than critics ; sympathizers, rather than investigators.

What a boon it would be to American students if Lowell, and Stedman, and others of our most cultivated men of letters would accept chairs of literature in American universities ! How delightful a course of study, to traverse with them these regions of thought “ high and aloof ; ” to linger among the masterpieces of universal literature ; to command a magician's “ Open, Sesame ! ” to all the hidden treasures of human genius. A master of style should tell us “ How to build a sentence,” and a hand itself exquisitely trained should prune our extravagances. Literature would then be the crowning study of a liberal education, rather than the neglected minor which it now is. From the first plodding steps in philology to the finest results of literary culture, the progress of the student would be attended with ever new delight and profit. No doubt, the intellectual weaklings would fall by the way ; but there would be a survival of the fittest, who should become a generation of thinkers and writers such as the intellectual problems of the twentieth century, and the birth of a new and virile American literature, seem to demand.

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AN AGE OF LODGES.

SECRET societies of various kinds have existed for centuries, but never were they so multiplied, so various, so powerful, or so injurious to society as at present. Religion, Protestantism, Temperance, Insurance, Patriotism, College Friendships, all are now harnessed to the car of Secrecy, and all together are popularizing a principle of organization which among the ancients was the peculiar possession of idolatrous priests, and among moderns used to be the distinguishing mark of bands organized to defy and override civil authority.

An inspection of the directory in any great city of the United States will show that the lodges now outnumber the churches of Jesus Christ by hundreds. In Chicago, for example, the churches are about three hundred, the lodges almost one thousand. The membership of the lodges is overwhelmingly male; that of the churches largely female, another element which has to be taken into account in any intelligent consideration of this subject. There is a proverb that "Nothing lies like figures." Yet figures can speak truly if fairly dealt with. Masonic bodies claim about half a million adherents, Odd Fellow lodges almost as many. The Knights of Pythias, a new order, already is said to number nearly three hundred thousand members; while patriotic, temperance, and insurance orders already boast of hundreds of thousands of initiates. It would seem hardly needful to say that an intelligent public should have clear and definite information respecting such a cluster of organizations, especially since they are all constructed on one principle, and are, in their effect on church and state, practically identical.

Disraeli said years ago: "In conducting the governments of the world, there are not only sovereigns and ministers, but secret orders, to be considered, which have their agents everywhere, — reckless agents, who countenance assassination, and, if necessary, can produce a massacre." If this were true then, it is

more true to-day, when orders binding their members to secrecy are so vastly multiplied. It is true, as Charles Francis Adams has said, that "a more perfect agent for the devising and executing of conspiracies against church and state could scarcely have been conceived," but the subject is of the first importance for other reasons.

God has ordained three institutions, — the family, the church, and the state. These three have a claim on men for all their thought, time, and money, except that which is spent on their purely personal relations to God. Secret organizations are not subsidiary to any one of these three divine appointments: the principle on which they are constructed violates the example and precept of Jesus Christ. He said: "I ever spake openly to the world, and in secret have I said nothing;" and he commanded his disciples to let their light shine, that men seeing their good works might glorify their heavenly Father. Of course, societies constructed on the plan of concealing from all the world outside the proceedings of their meetings, being directly contrary to this word of Christ, cannot be friendly to the institutions fundamental to our social life. It is not only that they are so thoroughly well adapted to the planning and execution of all sorts of conspiracies, but that they swear husbands to secrecy from wives, parents from children, ministers from the members of their churches, law officers from a large portion of the citizens over whom they rule, and absorb in rites which are foolish if not blasphemous the time, thought, and money which belong to the home and the church.

Lodges are religious organizations. This may not be a universal but it is a general truth. Freemasonry, which is the oldest secret society in Christendom excepting the order of the Jesuits, is distinctly religious, and it has impressed this characteristic on the orders which have sprung from it. This truth is frequently affirmed and at times denied, yet it is apparent to every thoughtful observer. These orders have public as well as secret ceremonies. In their dedications, installations, and burials, as well as in their initiations, their religious character comes to light. They have "Chaplains," "Priests," "High Priests," "Grand High Priests," "Prelates," "Holy Writings,"

“Altars,” “Baptisms,” and “Burial Services.” In masonry, all the above-named religious officers, symbols, and services are found; other lodges include only some of them.

Masonic writers repeatedly affirm the religious character of their order. “All our exercises are opened and terminated with prayer, because masonry is a religious institution.” This is the substance of the article “Prayer” in Mackey’s “Encyclopedia of Freemasonry.” It is verbatim from his “Lexicon.” “An Acacian is a mason who by living in accord with his masonic obligations is free from sin. . . . When the master mason exclaims, ‘My name is Acacia,’ it is equivalent to saying, ‘I have been in the grave, I have triumphed over it by rising from the dead, and being regenerated in the process: I have a claim to life everlasting.’” (Mackey’s “Encyclopedia,” p. 8; verbatim from Mackey’s “Lexicon,” p. 16, ed. 1868.) “Initiation signifies the end of the old life, and the new birth to a life of purity and virtue.” (Mackey’s “Ritualist,” pp. 22, 23.) “At the end of the third degree we find man complete in morality and intelligence, with the stay of religion added to prevent his going astray; nor is it possible to conceive of anything more which the soul of man requires.” (Sickel’s “Ahiman Rezon,” p. 97.)

To add weight to these statements, if this be necessary, we find scores of common masons affirming that they need no religion aside from the lodge, that it is church enough for them, and tens of thousands of others making the same statement by cleaving to the lodge and abandoning the church of Christ.

It would naturally be supposed that orders devoted to life insurance, temperance, and patriotism would not copy freemasonry in this construction of a religious system which, to say the very least, tends to supplant the churches of Christ. But as they imitate the older order in professing to accomplish good ends by secret methods, so also they print their “prayers,” elect their “chaplains,” have their “altars,” their “holy writings,” their religious “creeds,” and their “burial services” for deceased members. The wisdom of thus multiplying religious bodies would be questionable even were they strictly Christian. Why have one secret church to promote temperance, another to insure a provision for a widow, a third to teach patriotism, and

a fourth to contend for Protestantism, when the church of Jesus exists in the same town, and directly labors to secure *all* these desirable ends? Why, if the objects proposed are the real ones, exclude women, young men in their minority, old men, the crippled, blind, and poor?

But the case is far worse than this. Not only are these orders religious rivals of the churches, dividing the community into little sects, each pledged to secrecy from all the rest, and as a rule excluding women and poor people, but they, in general, exclude the Saviour as well. Lodges are all Christless in creed or ritual, many of them in both, with possibly two or three exceptions. The world is full of religions, but there is only one religion that can save men here or hereafter. All paganism worships God, all Christendom worships God in Christ. If the Bible is true, only those who approach God through Christ are accepted, one God and one Mediator. One door, and all seeking to enter some other way, thieves and robbers. If one denies the Son, he cannot have the Father. These are passages of Holy Scripture familiar to all who love and meditate upon it. These lodges, which are to-day drawing the young men of America by hundreds of thousands from the church of Jesus Christ, vary in the clearness with which they reject the Saviour. Masonry is the model and mother of these orders, and in her rejection of Jesus we can see the logical end of the lodge movement. Christ is first rejected from the creed. "Do you believe in one God?" is the question. Second, He is rejected from the prayers. No masonic prayer contains the name of Jesus. Knight Templarism is a wart on the masonic system, and is not properly called masonic. Third, Christ is rejected from the Bible where it is read in the lodges. In the reading for the Royal Arch degree, 11 Thess. iii. 6-16, the name of our Saviour occurs twice, but in the books of the chapter that holy name is deliberately stricken out.

We are often told that "masonry is all founded on the Bible." But what kind of a Bible? If you turn to any book of the chapter or other ritual of the Royal Arch degree, you will find the passages to which I have referred printed in this manner: "Now we command you, brethren, that ye withdraw

yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly and not . . . Now them that are such, we command and exhort, that with quietness they work and eat their own bread." (Mackey's "Ritualist," p. 348.)

Let us reflect a moment on the sin of Cain. He came with an offering of the fruits of the ground? Why was not this an admirable offering? Simply because it contained no confession of sin, no hint of a sacrifice therefor. It was precisely like the religion of the lodge, which offers "corn, wine, and oil," but makes no confession in its prayers, and does not allow the name of Jesus to be read in its ceremonies, even when the Scripture selected contains it.

The fact that Knight Templarism is not masonic has been referred to; but perhaps, as its parade of the cross is confusing to some honest minds, a special remark is required on this subject. Mackey teaches that Knight Templarism is masonic; Morris, that it is not. The writer last named says: "An attempt has been made, with indifferent success, to connect the history of this institution with freemasonry. Some of the masonic historians of the last century boldly affirm that the Knights Templar were masons, and connect them with the Druses, long inhabitants of Mount Lebanon. There is nothing in masonic tradition to justify such belief; on the contrary, the three essential qualifications of ancient masonry are averse to the idea of a Christianized system." (Morris's Dict., art. "Templar, Knight.") Masonry is declared to be a universal system of religion, one in which all men agree. (Mackey's "Masonic Jurisprudence," p. 95.) The religion of masonry is pure Theism. (Mackey's "Lexicon," art. "Religion.") It is anti-masonic to require any religious test other than that the candidate should believe in a God, the Creator and Governor of the Universe. (Chase's "Digest of Masonic Law," p. 206.) So broad is the religion of masonry, and so carefully are all sectarian tenets excluded, that the Christian, the Jew, and the Mohammedan may and do harmoniously unite in its moral and intellectual work with the Buddhist, the Parsee, the Confucian, and the worshiper of Deity under every form. (Webb's "Monitor," edition by J. C. W. Bailey, Chicago, containing Synop-

sis of Masonic Law, by Robt. Morris, art. "Religion.") These extracts show that, whatever may be the excellences or defects of Knight Templarism, it is not masonic. Whether its carloads of wine, its dances, and its Sabbath-breaking trains which thunder along over the broken law of God are to be justified or condemned, masonry is not to have either praise or blame therefor.

Freemasonry is a universal religion. Jews, Buddhists, Parsees, Confucians, Mormons, Mohammedans, Indians, worshippers of Deity under every form, in masonic bodies meet upon a perfect level.

Knight Templarism is an organization which requires ministers, saloon-keepers, and reputable business men who join its commanderies to drink wine from a human skull, saying: "This pure wine I now take in testimony of my belief in the mortality of the body and the immortality of the soul; and as the sins of the whole world were once visited upon the head of our Saviour, so may all the sins of the person whose skull this once was, in addition to my own, be heaped upon my head, and may this libation appear in judgment against me, both here and hereafter, should I ever knowingly or wilfully violate this my most solemn vow of a Knight Templar: so help me God and keep me steadfast." This is called Christian masonry. ("Knight Templarism Illustrated," pp. 227, 228.) In fact it is neither masonic nor Christian.

It abundantly appears that the lodges which are meeting weekly, semi-monthly, and monthly all over our land are, so far as they are masonic, teaching a religion that excludes Christ. Every Christian believes that a Christless religion is paganism. We bring no railing accusation against the members of these orders. Many of them have no doubt entered these secret lodges in entire ignorance of their religious character. But the fact remains that orders supposed to be moral, social, reformatory, patriotic, what not, are by thousands teaching men that they can live honestly in this world and happily in the next without confessing sin, or confessing the Saviour. If the Bible is true, this doctrine is a lie, and every man who trusts it is lost.

But some one may ask, if this be true, how can good men retain their membership in these orders? Many of them do

not. Others fear to snap their chain. Others of them love the feathers, and titles, and stations. But why did worthy men defend American slavery? and why do the same class of men now defend the American grogshop, and advocate putting the price of innocent blood into the treasury, which the murderers of our Lord refused to do?

There are tokens of a quickening conscience on this subject. God be thanked that it is so. Let us hope and pray that the day may soon come when the substitutes for the religion of Jesus shall all have passed away, and when the church of Christ, the bride, the Lamb's wife, shall not be compelled to divide with secret societies the empire of human hearts.

C. A. BLANCHARD.

Wheaton College, Illinois.

BERLIN ADDRESSES TO STUDENTS.

BY PROF. J. H. W. STUCKENBERG.

GERMAN THEOLOGY AND MODERN THOUGHT.

THE church being one of the most conservative factors in society, historical development and tradition are especially effective in determining its character. But besides history and tradition, numerous other factors are to be considered in explaining the religious condition of the times. Thus we must take into account the state of learning, the political tendencies, the predominant interests, and the practical character of the age. The position of the church in Germany is calculated to bring it into intimate contact with the various elements of culture. It is a state church and is organically connected with all the interests of the state; and the theological being one of the four faculties which constitute the university, theology is officially related to all the other departments of learning. In theory the state is a body with religion as one of its vital organs; this organ is supposed to affect all the other parts of the system and to be affected by them. The same freedom being claimed for theology as for philosophy and science, it is constantly receiving influences from every domain of thought. More fully in Germany than in any other land is theology involved in the various conflicts which agitate the learned world. Here the theory that truth must prevail and that nothing but truth can endure, has become a practical realization. Theological thought is treated as a germ that grows constantly, not as a finished product. Hence faith has its crises for new adjustments; it must adapt itself to new discoveries, to enlarged views of the world, and to the varied and peculiar demands made by the progress of learning. Thus faith is severely tried; and the trial may either break it or give it the utmost expansion.

There are in Germany Lutheran and Reformed views; but generally a union of the two sister churches of the Reformation prevails, and it cannot be said that theology as taught in the universities is run in denominational grooves. In the state church we find all religious views from the most orthodox to the most liberal, and all claim an equal right to existence. If the church belongs to the state, must it not have room for all the religious notions prevalent in the state? There are, of course, doctrinal limits for preachers; but they are far less rigid than those which prevail in our American churches. Some of the preachers in the state church adopt many of the results of the negative criticism, placing themselves largely on the conclusions of the Tuebingen school; others are more positive, yet fully admit the claims of criticism, and are by no means orthodox in the American or English sense; while there are still others who pay little attention to criticism, but emphasize the religious element in worship, orthodox doctrine in preaching, and practical Christianity in life. Frequently a distinction is made between dogma and life, and between the simple teaching of the gospel and the doctrinal development in the church. Not a few treat confessions of faith as only of historical significance, and oppose all efforts to formulate the doctrines of Christianity into a creed which shall be regarded as an authoritative declaration of belief.

The study of German philosophy from Kant to the present reveals the fact that it has been in large part hostile to the positive teachings of Christianity. Sometimes philosophical inquiry has resulted in agnosticism respecting essential doctrines; in other cases the tendency has been to reduce religion to morality; some of the schools have promoted systems which are totally subversive of Christianity; and among the latest developments of philosophy a nihilistic pessimism has prevailed. There have also been theistic philosophers, and some have been strong advocates of Christianity. But recent German theology has been obliged to contend with philosophic rationalism and pantheism, and with a biblical and historical criticism which started with philosophical principles that were destructive of religion.

Turning from philosophy to science, we find that the scientific progress of the century has promoted a spirit as well as theories which are hostile to Christianity. An effort has been made to establish materialism as the interpretation of the universe. But even where the first scientists have treated materialism as only a working hypothesis and have declared the explanation of the universe beyond the limits of knowledge, the mind was so absorbed by studying the things of this world that the claims of religion were ignored. This spirit of religious indifference has been far more injurious to the religious life than any positive doctrines of materialism. The spirit itself was buried in matter and was affected only by material interests; it was thought that religion could be safely ignored, that the present world is the mind's only concern, and that this life, not immortality, is the object worthy of thought.

This spirit of indifference and hostility to religion has been most disastrous, affecting not merely scientific minds, but men of culture generally, and even the masses. We live in an age of echoes. Culture has attained a stage in which it is fashionable to do its thinking by proxy. If an eminent specialist gets into a rut and makes his narrow specialty the law for explaining all being, there are always persons who will swear that that rut is the summit from which all survey of the universe, of humanity, and of God must be taken. Not a few who are wholly innocent of science claim that nothing but this world can be known, and that all beyond the visible and tactual present cannot be made a reliable object of faith even. Atheistic socialism working as brutalizing leaven in the unthinking masses preaches that science has abolished religion and made this world the only sphere of legitimate inquiry.

In consequence of philosophic and scientific attacks we find that general literature has to an alarming extent become hostile to the Christian spirit. If philosophy expresses the principles of an age, literature expresses the prevailing sentiments. Literature is evidently not in one of its creative periods; it has become a revealer, interpreter, and follower of what already exists. It is not uncommon for literary men to treat Christianity as a thing of the past. Various efforts have actually

been made to find a substitute for religion; the wonder being that a substitute should be sought for an object which is treated as if it could easily be dispensed with. Thus far the only real substitute that has been discovered is pessimism. The complete ignoring of religion is characteristic of a large part of the German literature of the day. In art, too, religious themes are no longer so common as formerly. In novels, in poetry, and in art, an earthly realism has taken the place of the ideals. But a reaction has come, and earnest voices are heard from other than theological circles, emphasizing the preciousness and the necessity of religion.

The successive rulers in German thought have been theology, philosophy, and natural science; and there are indications that all may have to yield at last to politics, the army, material industries, and to socialism. When we consider the intellectual forces at work in Germany we can understand why such vigorous efforts are made to form a reconciliation between theology and modern thought. These efforts run all through the century and have enlisted the greatest thinkers from Schleiermacher to Dorner. These thinkers knew that every difficulty must be candidly stated and fairly met; and if there are problems which cannot be solved, nothing is gained by pretended solutions. Neander, Twisten, Nitzsch, Tholuck, Julius, Mueller, Rothe, and a host of others worked earnestly to prove that Christianity rightly understood may have elements which cannot be comprehended by reason and yet are not in conflict with reason.

The Middle Party, as it is called, has made the mediation between Christian doctrine and modern thought its avowed aim, and a number of its theologians became celebrated through works of an apologetic character. Usually these mediators profess devoted attachment to Christianity, but they are also in living sympathy with the philosophic tendencies of the day. In some of these men all the conflicting currents of the age seemed to meet, and their mental life was full of violent agitations. They were philosophic as well as religious; and not only the state of the church, but also the dualism in their own minds demanded that peace which can spring only from a conscious possession of the truth. Since the first third of this

century the criticism of the Tuebingen school has been one of the most potent ferments in theological thought; and the different theological tendencies have in a great measure been characterized by their relation to the results of this criticism. In some cases the negative results were regarded as in the main settled; others subjected them to severe criticism and obtained more positive results. But their general relation to the whole of modern thought must also be taken into account in order to determine the position of the various theological schools of Germany. Where thought is so free and so constantly entering upon new investigations, we must not be surprised to find that the critical, philosophical, and scientific views are regarded as merely tentative and as too liable to change, to permit them to be made the standard according to which theology must be modeled. Some writers have, perhaps, ignored too much the new world of thought in which men live; but others have evidently been too prone to regard modern thought as having settled certain principles which were nothing but a fashion of the day, to be changed with the season.

In the Prussian church the Friends of Positive Union are the dominant party. Their very name indicates their purpose; they want the Prussian church to be a union of the positive elements of the Lutherans and the Reformed, but desire the negative, rationalistic tendencies to be excluded from the state church. They are the most conservative party in the church; but they are by no means severely confessional, demanding strict adherence to the doctrinal standards of the past. The very fact that the Lutherans and Reformed are united in the same church proves that the absolute authority of any confession is deemed an anachronism. Even the most conservative theologians feel the need of taking modern thought and tendencies into account; their very apologetics reveal this fact.

The Middle Party want to conserve the substance of what has in all ages been regarded as Christianity; but they are inclined to yield more to negative criticism than the Friends of Positive Union. They also advocate the right of the existence of negative tendencies in the state church.

The Ritschl school aims to turn attention from metaphysical

dogmas to the development of the Christian personality and to practical life. This school has become very influential in universities and in theological literature; it is animated by the prevalent opposition to philosophical speculation; but the school is so recent that it is not safe to prophesy what the final result of its process of development will be.

The Protestant Association is the left wing of the church, and embraces the liberals in religion. It opposes confessions of faith and includes a great diversity of views. Its members are often called rationalists; but this party must not be identified with the old rationalists. The members of this association emphasize the religious life, claim to accept the spirit of the New Testament, profess to love the church, and lay especial stress on love as the essence of religion. They do not, like the old rationalists, aim to make religion cold and merely moralistic, but they want that element of feeling to prevail which Schleiermacher treated as the essential element of religion. They regard themselves as the followers of Schleiermacher, but modified by criticism and by the whole tendency of modern thought.

Various intellectual movements have served to increase the range of theological study. Much attention is now devoted to the history of religions; prominence is consequently given to the relation existing between Christianity and other religions. The philosophy of religion has also become a favorite study; and the effort is naturally made to bring Christianity within the range of this philosophy. It is thus made evident what the Christian religion has in common with other religions, but its peculiarities are also brought out. Religion cannot be isolated; and the effort to determine its exact place in the total organism of thought and life is exercising some of the best religious thinkers.

The danger of treating religion too exclusively from an intellectual point of view is increased in Germany by the one-sided intellectualism in theological study. The university is regarded as the place for scientific pursuits, not for religious impressions. The general opinion among theologians is that a theology which is edifying does not belong to the university. Frequently the student receives a mass of learned material while his heart

remains untouched. The strength of some professors is cold criticism and negations. Thus a critical spirit is fostered, but the positive, constructive elements of Christianity are not made equally prominent. The age is critical and skeptical; and a negative criticism is often regarded as the best evidence of the love of truth. Goethe's saying is not appreciated: "The love of truth attests itself by everywhere finding and appreciating the good." It is a fact that tells on the life of the churches that many theological students do not pursue their studies from an inner spiritual impulse, but simply as the means for gaining a livelihood.

In considering the modern factors which influence the religious life of Germany, we cannot give too much prominence to socialism. The spirit of the masses, as well as that of the cultivated classes, is largely hostile to religion. Here, as in other lands, many of the common people who formerly found solace in religion have turned their backs upon the church.

If now we try to get the total result of all these influences we find that great changes have taken place in theological thought. Less emphasis is placed on dogma than formerly, but more on living faith. Biblical truth as found in Scripture is demanded; not that truth as philosophical systems and theological schools have modified it. Stress is laid on the especial application of Christian teaching to the practical needs of the day. This is but one of the many evidences that German thought has passed from the speculative to the practical sphere. There are many problems which cannot be solved; but faith can always work by love. Great efforts are made by leading preachers to increase the efficiency of the church, to make the services more attractive, and the sermon more popular. Earnest, living, religious thought, glowing with the love of a Christian personality, is recognized as the need of the day.

I cannot stop to speak of the peculiar demands made on the state church by the aggressions of Jesuitical Catholicism; but added to the other factors these aggressions greatly increase the already overwhelming demands made on the evangelical church.

There is much in the religious life of Germany which is discouraging, and some look upon it with despair. The church is

hampered by the state; and yet the conviction prevails that the church cannot maintain itself without the help of the state. Not a few admit that a radical change is required to enable the church to perform its mission. It is a favorable sign that evangelical Christians are being aroused to an appreciation of the real condition of affairs. The greatest efforts are made to understand the age in order to learn the conditions for meeting its spiritual needs. Even where there is indifference respecting ecclesiastical affairs, one may hear the Germans speaking of themselves as a religious people. They claim that their very character adapts them peculiarly to religious influences. It is held that much of the opposition to the church has its source in the character of the church and in its relation to the state, not in hostility to religion. Frequently it is said that all the religion of the people is by no means represented in the churches. There is an inwardness in the German character which is favorable to religious contemplation. There are also marked tendencies to mysticism. It is certainly significant that modern German rationalism has introduced into its religious life various elements of pietism. On special occasions religious elements, otherwise dormant, have manifested themselves. This has been the case in great national crises, when defeat or other calamities came upon the nation. It is also evident on festival occasions, when the churches are crowded to the utmost.

Those are right who look on theology and on religion as passing through a crisis. Everywhere in Germany there are signs that this is a period of transitions. Doubt, uncertainty, groping through darkness toward light, fear and anxiety, are common. A survey of the whole field of German theology reveals much confusion. This cannot be questioned. But those mistake who regard this state of things as peculiar to theology and religion. Is there less confusion respecting philosophy? Are the principles of science finally settled? How is it with literature and art? One need but look below the surface to discover that chaos and confusion are characteristic of the age; and if they are more apparent in religion it may be on account of the preciousness of religion and because its doctrines more than aught else concern our hearts and affect our lives.

A THRONE AMONG STARS.

IXTACCIHUATL AND POPOCATEPTL,

(16,000 and 17,780 ft. high.)

A SKETCH FROM NATURE.

THE clouds cling round thy summit, flinging far
Their fleece of beauty in the balmy air
Like a bright banner, while thy girdling peaks
Pierce the pure azure, clad in spotless snow!
Beneath thee is the verdure of the vale;
Above, the royal Empyrean, the blue realm
Of tropic splendor, where rejoicing day
Shines with a tenfold strength, as though the gates
Of glory were wide open on the world!
But lo! thy glittering wonders show the way
To wonders more exalted than thine own.
See there, the Sovran of the Western Alps,
More lustrous still, more lofty, and more lone!
Its base is buried in a sea of gloom,
Its brow is bathed in heaven; a silvery sheen
Enwraps its shoulders; dazzlingly it shines,
A solitary cone of solid light,
Soaring 'twixt gloom and glory! Round it sleeps
The soft and azure sky, and seems to fold
The giant in its arms; the friendly sun
Sheds down its splendor on the form and face
Forever raised, and on the mount sublime
Smiles approbation, — image of the throne
Whose stainless presence dwells among the stars,
Blanched with the ages of eternity.

H. GRATTAN GUINNESS.

Mexico, March 12, 1889.

BOSTON HYMN.

THE WORLD'S MARSEILLAISE.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 208TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 11, 1889.

1. Now girt with lightnings, docile, fleet,
There stands an angel, with his feet
The one on sea and one on shore ;
And Time henceforth shall be no more.
2. All men are men and men are one,
Join hands all zones beneath the sun,
White, bronze and black and brown and red,
All climate's tintings myriad.
3. Like rainbow colors, all are kin,
One God above, one Law within ;
Man's sky with colors seven may glow,
But colors seven make heaven's bow.
4. Now drumbeats call from God's vast sky,
Earth's listening heart to Loyalty ;
And now no land can foreign be,
And now at last there is no sea.
5. One sun is in our single sky,
And underneath one family ;
On earth so huge and yet so small,
Are all for each and each for all.
6. Let God's Great Order through men run,
So pray the stars and moon and sun ;
Amen, we answer, every one ;
God's will in us be wholly done.

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE VI.

POLITICAL UNION WITH CANADA.

THE usual great audience was present at Mr. Cook's 208th Boston Monday Lecture, at Tremont Temple, March 11. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon presided, and the Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb offered prayer. The Boston Hymn, entitled "The World's Marseillaise," was received with marked approval by the audience.

BRITISH IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

Confederation or disintegration, which? Unless all signs of the times fail, this is the greatest question in the future of the British Empire. There is now a greater Britain on which the sun never sets. So there was once a greater Spain and a greater France. Where are they? Disintegrated. Why will the British Empire disintegrate unless confederated? The chief reason is the single circumstance that the immense majority of the English-speaking population of the British Empire will soon be found outside of the British Islands, and of course will never consent to be governed in matters of imperial moment by the minority inside those islands. In Shakespeare's time England was called "a swan's nest in a great pool." To-day, Mr. Freeman, in very majestic language, calls the empire a world Venice with oceans for streets. The world Venice will not forever submit to be governed by the swan's nest.

It follows from these facts that at least four destinies are very possible for the great Dominion north of us.

Canada may remain as it now is, a British crown colony, very nearly self-governed.

It may attain political independence of Great Britain and set up for itself, as its immense territorial resources might entitle it to do if it were more isolated from this republic.

It may drift into political union with the United States.

It may become a part of a British imperial confederation, and, indeed, a most important part, exceedingly essential to the commercial intercourse of the Occidental with the Oriental portions of the empire.

Merely commercial union between the United States and Canada has many advocates, but, even if successful for a time, is by no means likely to be a final settlement of the relations of the two countries. Reciprocity would greatly benefit Canada and be of only slight advantage to the United States. It would be giving away a large part of our income to strangers who have no common responsibility with us for the national development and defense. Reciprocity treaties made by the President and Senate are invasions of the powers of the House of Representatives. Farmers and manufacturers would lose more by reciprocity than they would gain. We are under treaty to give to several foreign nations every privilege we grant to the most favored foreign nation. Special favor to Canada would entitle these other nations to demand equal privileges on equal terms. Commercial union delays political union.

In spite of all that is said of the advantages of merely commercial union, the most urgent reasons exist, therefore, for considering dispassionately both sides of the larger question concerning the ultimate political union of Canada with the United States. It is twenty years, indeed, thirty, since I began the study of this theme, and some travel has given me an opportunity to examine it under the guidance of expert opinion at home and abroad.

AGAINST POLITICAL UNION WITH CANADA.

I. What are the chief reasons against political union with Canada?

1. Her debt is three times ours in proportion to population.
2. A great proportion of her population is controlled in politics, as well as religion, by an exceedingly wealthy and arrogant Roman Catholic clerical party.
3. Divisions in religion and race between Ontario and Quebec threaten the peace of the Dominion.

4. The Roman Catholic clerical party is vehemently opposed to union with the United States, and would form a dangerous element in Quebec province admitted to the Union as a State.

5. The dominant political party in Canada is now opposed to union with the United States, and seems likely to be so for many years to come. Union can be profitably consummated only by the free consent of a substantially unanimous population.

6. The worth of the Dominion to the British Empire has been greatly increased by the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which now furnishes England with her shortest way to her Pacific colonies and to Japan and China, and, whenever the Suez Canal is blocked, is her best way to Australia and even to India.

7. A break in the British Empire in Canada might lead to a break elsewhere. Australia and perhaps the South African British colonies and possibly India might be made uneasy in their allegiance, if Canada were to drop away from the crown.

8. Very important British investments have been made in Canada and would not be given up without heavy compensation.

9. In present circumstances, the dominant sentiment of Great Britain would not favor political union of Canada with the United States, even if Canada were herself to desire it.

10. The American Union needs no more territory and might find unexpected political dangers in the complications that would arise during and after political union with Canada.

FOR POLITICAL UNION WITH CANADA.

II. What are the chief reasons for political union with Canada?

1. It would enlarge the population, wealth, and power of the American Republic.

2. It would give a better balance to American politics by increasing the weight of the North against possible accessions to the South.

3. It would offer to Canadian populations new and vast facilities for commercial, social, and political development. The expert opinion of both British and American statesmen is that

in political union with the United States, Canada's industrial prosperity and consequent general advancement would be greater than they can be if she remains in her present condition, or than they would be were she independent of the British Empire.

4. Political union with Canada would improve the prospects of peace among English-speaking populations on both sides the Atlantic and the Pacific.

5. It would be dangerous to the peace of the two countries if Canada were to develop a monarchy and an aristocracy on our northern border, as it would have been dangerous if Mexico had done so on our southern border. Our American Republic would not submit to the presence of a king south of us, and perhaps may not to that of one north of us.

6. The indications of geography point to a political union of Canada and the United States as their manifest destiny.

7. So do the indications of race, language, religion, and political development for two centuries.

8. A considerable portion of the Canadian population, especially among Protestants who dislike Roman Catholic domination and among men of commerce who wish the largest possible market for Canada, favor more and more political union with the United States.

9. The opening of railways between Constantinople and Bombay and between Calcutta and Shanghai is likely to diminish greatly within a few years the political importance of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, and so of Canada itself, to the British Empire.

It will not be many years at most before Englishmen will do what Americans would long ago have done, build a railroad from Constantinople to Bombay, down the valley of the Euphrates, and a road is already projected between Canton and Calcutta. With those links supplied, only about a third of the small circumference of the earth need be traversed, and this all the way by rail, to unite England with India, and indeed with the sunrise coasts of Asia. From those coasts it is but a step to Australia. As soon, therefore, as it is possible to go all the way by rail from the Straits of Dover to Shanghai, it will

not be necessary to carry silks and teas across the North American continent over the Canadian road, and this link, now of such vast benefit to the empire, will cease to be of its present great strategic importance.

10. The scheme of political union with Canada has been under discussion for more than a century, having been provided for in the articles of confederation of the original thirteen American States, in 1777; but this scheme seems more important and feasible as time passes and the density of our population increases.

11. Political union with the United States would probably be a more profitable and perhaps a not less dignified and glorious future for Canada than even a position in a federation of the British Empire.

12. If British imperial federation, as many practical statesmen assume, cannot be made a success, the natural and almost inevitable future of Canada is political union with the United States.

AGAINST IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

III. What are the chief reasons against the federation of the British Empire?

1. It would diminish the power of the British Islands over the empire, and especially the power of England, and so the English ruling aristocracy would not consent. But the English democracy is growing. Parliament is practically omnipotent in British politics. Perhaps democracy may grow fast enough in England to bring about imperial federation before the empire disintegrates by the demand of its outlying portions for self-control.

2. It is impossible to hold together in a political union so many widely separated states. Antipodes are not enough interested in each other to fight for each other. But the world is small. Such is the speed of modern intercommunication that a British imperial federation would now be smaller measured by time than the Roman Empire was in Cæsar's day.

3. Independence of the several large parts of the empire is better than confederation. But independence of the parts

means disintegration of the whole. In the modern world, small nations are incapable of self-defense. England herself might become so incapable without confederation with other parts of the empire.

4. England's debt is immense and her colonies would not assume their share of it. But this could be arranged by compensations in the way of the service of the British navy to an oceanic empire.

FOR IMPERIAL FEDERATION.

IV. What are the chief reasons for imperial federation ?

1. Without it the British Empire must go to pieces. The great majority of English-speaking people in the empire will soon be outside the mother islands and will never consent to be ruled in matters of imperial moment by the minority inside those islands. Imperial federation is necessary to prevent the political disintegration of an empire on which now the sun never sets.

2. It would secure strength, safety, dignity, and political prosperity to the confederated whole, while the disintegrated parts might not be able to defend themselves.

3. It would thus immensely advance the cause of civil liberty ;

4. And of honorable commerce ;

5. And of popular enlightenment ;

6. And of religious progress.

7. All this would tend to prevent war and promote peace among all nations, but especially among English-speaking populations throughout the world.

8. By means of improved international laws, the federated British Empire and the American Republic, which would be two sets of United States with very much the same political institutions, might lock hands in a loose alliance in a congress of envoys, without a strict union, and so immensely advance all the highest interests of mankind.

V. What are the chief conclusions that follow from a survey of the whole field of the relations of Canada and the United States ?

1. Canada must decide her own destiny. If political union with Canada, as Chauncey Depew says, is "a ripening plum" that is to drop into the lap of the republic, the fruit is to be left to ripen and drop of its own weight. Americans can effect only mischief by any shaking of the bough.

2. Only experience can decide what is wise in questions of expediency; and the question of political union with Canada is one of expediency rather than of moral right or wrong.

3. British imperial federation is eminently worth trying. And for one, I, as an American, bid it God speed, for it is more to be a citizen of the human commonwealth than even a citizen of the American commonwealth. [Applause.] But if such a union of all the parts of the British Empire were to occur, I should not wish to see America become a portion of it. It is far better we should remain loosely allied, confederated only under Christian international law, than that we should make ourselves responsible for the wars of Europe and of the antipodes.

4. If British imperial federation, however, is not found practicable, political union of Canada with the United States is likely to follow. And in that case I bid that, too, God speed. [Applause.]

LECTURE VI.

MISLEADING CATHOLIC TEXT-BOOKS.

SUPERSTITIOUS USES OF THE SCAPULAR.

A PRUSSIAN proverb, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, affirms that whatever is to appear in the life of a nation must first be put into its elementary schools. The political power of Roman Catholicism depends on the unity of the Roman Catholic population at the polls, and that unity depends on the success of parochial schools. The success of parochial schools, therefore, is of such vast political importance to the clerical party that they may be expected to put forth desperate efforts to secure it, and such desperate efforts they have put forth ever since 1864, when two great events occurred — the issuing of the Syllabus of Errors of Pope Pius IX., and the holding of the Baltimore Council, decreeing that every Catholic population able to support a parochial school shall do so. We, therefore, have before us not merely an educational problem of interest to languid curiosity, but a question of practical politics when we ask what are the text-books introduced into the parochial schools now containing more than half a million of the youth who are to be future citizens of the country.

Roman Catholic education of youth usually begins with the scapular. It is a small and usually square piece of cloth worn next the person and suspended by a string that passes around the neck. A specimen of it I here exhibit as highly deserving the attention of all friends of sound education. The scapular is a sacred object to the Catholics. Heaven forbid that I should say a word to offend the devout feelings of anybody. Why, if I had here the sacred thread that a Brahmin wears I would treat it with respect. At Benares and elsewhere I have seen Brahmins bathe with what is called the sacred thread around

their shoulders. It means that whoever wears it is twice born and belongs to a high caste; it has profound religious significance. I have seen Parsees in Bombay worshipping towards the sunset and taking off a girdle of white cord made up of three threads, which are supposed to represent good thoughts, good words, good deeds. They measure off two arms' length at a time on that cord; they then perform certain ablutions. Their devotional exercises occur just as the sun is going down behind the sea. They do not worship the sun, as I suppose. Their cry is, "Good thoughts, good words, good deeds." And I have seen sometimes the light of true devotion in those Oriental faces when engaged in such poor worship as that. I would treat a Parsee girdle with reverence. I had rather wear a Parsee girdle or a Brahmin sacred cord than one of these scapulars, with the Roman Catholic doctrine concerning them behind it. [Applause.]

This "Rosary and Scapular Book" which I hold in my hand is widely distributed from the Catholic Publishing House of New York, and bears on its title page the approbation of Archbishop Hughes. It distinctly indorses the horrible superstition that whoever dies wearing the scapular is sure of salvation.

The scapular must be worn night and day in the manner prescribed. Particular care should be taken to wear it at the hour of death, as a distinctive mark of the order and as a safeguard against dangers, because "he who shall die clothed with this habit will be preserved from hell fire. It is also good to be buried with it."

The scapular should be made of two pieces of woollen cloth — each about three inches square — of a dark brown or coffee color, attached to a double string, so that it may hang over the shoulders, one piece on the breast and the other on the back. When the first scapular is worn out it may be replaced by another, without any ceremony or blessing. ("Rosary and Scapular Book," Catholic Publishing House, New York, pp. 115, 116, 135.)

Whoever puts on one of these scapulars is expected to maintain chastity, and that is a matter that concerns the very hiding of the power of the race. A reverent use of certain religious forms is expected also from all who wear this emblem. But

this book is stuffed with promises of indulgences, most alluring and mischievous to those who wear scapulars. These promises are such as to lead to the hope of salvation through a mere ceremony and not through any real change of heart, and so are immeasurably dangerous. This is the usual beginning of the education of the child under Roman Catholic influences. It is an education to a belief in the power of indulgences, that up to this day do practically operate among the Catholic masses to lessen the grip of ethical truth upon the heart of youth and even of middle age. [Applause.]

On the authority of several popes, a long list is given here of the indulgences granted to those who wear the scapular. Pages are filled with accounts of supposed miracles wrought by its agency (pp. 119-136). Conflagrations, it is claimed, have often been suddenly extinguished by casting a scapular into the flames. The sacred object, it is here affirmed, has usually been found afterwards wholly unhurt by the fire.

In these depths of superstition the average child's life begins in the Catholic Church. As early impressions are proverbially deep and lasting, it is important to dwell on the Catholic teaching concerning the scapular, for it dominates the lives of millions who look to Rome for spiritual guidance. Pigott, the suicide, was found wearing the scapular in death. As the Nun of Kenmare has said, if what the popes teach is true, the scapular saved his soul.

THE CATHOLIC SMALLER CATECHISM.

Next after the scapular let us examine the smaller catechism in universal use among Catholics. Like the shorter Westminster catechism, it is a brief but an incalculably important document, estimated by its religious, social, and political influence. The copy which I hold in my hands is authorized by the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. It is not to be denied that it contains a considerable portion of Christian truth; but the really characteristic portions, of course, assert the infallibility of the Pope and other monstrosities of Romish error. These are the words which Catholic youth are made to memorize on the attributes and works of the church.

Q. What are the attributes of the Church?

A. The attributes of the Church are three: authority, infallibility, and indefectibility.

Q. What do you mean by the authority of the Church?

A. By the authority of the Church I mean *the right and power which the Pope and the Bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, have to teach and to govern the faithful.*

Q. What do you mean by the infallibility of the Church?

A. By the infallibility of the Church I mean that the Church cannot err when it teaches a doctrine of faith or morals.

Q. When does the Church teach infallibly?

A. The Church teaches infallibly when it speaks through the Pope and Bishops united in general council, *or through the Pope alone when he proclaims to all the faithful a doctrine of faith or morals.*

Q. What do you mean by the indefectibility of the Church?

A. By the indefectibility of the Church I mean that the Church, as Christ founded it, will last till the end of time.

Q. In whom are these attributes found in their fullness?

A. These attributes are found in their fullness in *the Pope, the visible Head of the Church, whose infallible authority to teach bishops, priests, and people in matters of faith or morals will last to the end of the world.* (Lesson Twelfth.)

Here is the whole of the chapter on *Indulgences*, and shows how vital a part it is of Catholic doctrine, and how easily abused in practice: —

Q. What is an Indulgence?

A. An Indulgence is the remission in whole or in part of the temporal punishment due to sin.

Q. Is an Indulgence a pardon of sin, or a license to commit sin?

A. An Indulgence is not a pardon of sin, nor a license to commit sin, and one who is in a state of mortal sin cannot gain an Indulgence.

Q. How many kinds of Indulgences are there?

A. There are two kinds of Indulgences — Plenary and Partial.

Q. What is a Plenary Indulgence?

A. A Plenary Indulgence is the full remission of the temporal punishment due to sin.

Q. What is a Partial Indulgence?

A. A Partial Indulgence is the remission of a part of the temporal punishment due to sin.

Q. How does the Church by means of Indulgences remit the temporal punishment due to sins ?

A. The Church by means of Indulgences remits the temporal punishment due to sin by applying to us the merits of Jesus Christ, and the superabundant satisfactions of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of the saints ; which merits and satisfactions are its spiritual treasury.

Q. What must we do to gain an Indulgence ?

A. To gain an Indulgence we must be in the state of grace and perform the works enjoined. (Lesson Twenty-first.)

These are the amazing passages of the catechism which teach Catholic youth that the bread and wine of the Holy Eucharist are literally transformed by the priests into the blood and body of Christ.

Q. What happened when our Lord said, *This is my body* ; this is my blood ?

A. When our Lord said, *This is my body*, the substance of the bread was changed into the substance of His body ; when He said, *This is my blood*, the substance of the wine was changed into the substance of His blood.

Q. Is Jesus Christ whole and entire both under the form of bread and under the form of wine ?

A. Jesus Christ is whole and entire both under the form of bread and under the form of wine.

Q. Did anything remain of the bread and wine after their substance had been changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord ?

A. After the substance of the bread and wine had been changed into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord, there remained only the appearances of bread and wine.

Q. What do you mean by the appearances of bread and wine ?

A. By the appearances of bread and wine I mean the figure, the color, the taste, and whatever appears to the senses.

Q. What is this change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Lord called ?

A. This change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Lord is called Transubstantiation.

Q. How was the substance of the bread and wine changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ ?

A. The substance of the bread and wine was changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ by His almighty power.

Q. Does this change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ continue to be made in the Church ?

A. This change of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ continues to be made in the church by Jesus Christ through the ministry of His priests.

Q. When did Christ give His priests the power to change bread and wine into His body and blood?

A. Christ gave His priests the power to change bread and wine into His body and blood when He said to the Apostles, Do this in commemoration of me.

Q. How do the priests exercise this power of changing bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ?

A. The priests exercise this power of changing bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ through the words of consecration in the Mass, which are the words of Christ: This is my body; this is my blood. (Lesson Twenty-second.)

Q. When and where are the bread and wine changed into the body and blood of Christ?

A. The bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ at the Consecration in the Mass. (Lesson Twenty-fourth.)

Catholics are taught in the following passages of their catechism to look upon Protestant marriages as not wholly valid:

Q. What is the Sacrament of Matrimony?

A. The Sacrament of Matrimony is the Sacrament which unites a Christian man and woman in lawful marriage.

Q. Can a Christian man and woman be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the Sacrament of Matrimony?

A. A Christian man and woman cannot be united in lawful marriage in any other way than by the Sacrament of Matrimony, because Christ raised marriage to the dignity of a sacrament.

Q. Can the bond of Christian marriage be dissolved by any human power?

A. The bond of Christian marriage cannot be dissolved by any human power.

Q. To receive the Sacrament of Matrimony worthily is it necessary to be in the state of grace?

A. To receive the Sacrament of Matrimony worthily it is necessary to be in the state of grace, and it is necessary also to comply with the laws of the Church.

Q. Who has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage?

A. The Church alone has the right to make laws concerning the Sacrament of marriage, though the state also has the right to make laws concerning the civil effects of the marriage contract.

Q. Does the Church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?

A. The Church does forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all.

Q. Why does the church forbid the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all?

A. The Church forbids the marriage of Catholics with persons who have a different religion or no religion at all, because such marriages generally lead to indifference, loss of faith, and to the neglect of the religious education of the children. (Lesson Twenty-sixth.)

OFFICIAL EXPLANATIONS OF THE CATECHISM.

Next after the Catholic catechism let us notice some of the standard and official explanations of the catechism. Here is a celebrated book entitled "Catechism of Perseverance, an historical, doctrinal, moral, and liturgical exposition of the Catholic religion, translated from the French of Abbé Gaume, by Rev. F. B. Jamison," and published in a fiftieth and enlarged edition by the Catholic House of Thomas B. Noonan & Co., of Boston. It opens with formal approbations from four Catholic bishops. I quote the whole of the strategic chapter on the Protestant Reformation.

Q. What do you remark on the sixteenth century?

A. I remark that the church had a great combat to sustain in that age. She was attacked by Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Henry VIII.

Q. Who was Luther?

A. Luther was a German religious of the Augustinian order, who violated his three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; he apostatized, married a nun, and commenced declaiming against the Catholic Church.

Q. What did he write previous to his condemnation?

A. Previous to his condemnation he had written to the sovereign pontiff, that he would receive his decision as an oracle from the mouth of Jesus Christ, but scarcely had Leo X. condemned his errors when he gave vent to the most vile abuse against him, against the bishops

and theologians, impudently pretending that he alone was more enlightened than the whole Christian world. He persevered in preaching error, and after having led a scandalous life, died on leaving the table, where he had, as usual, gorged himself with wine and meats.

Q. Who was Zuinglius?

A. Zuinglius was a curate of the church of Our Lady of the Hermits, in Switzerland, preached at Zurich the errors of Luther, permitted all kinds of disorders, had the effrontery to marry publicly, and was killed in a battle lost by his partisans, although he had promised them a victory.

Q. Who was Calvin?

A. Calvin was an ecclesiastic of Noyon; but was never a priest. He went to Bourges, where he adopted the errors of Luther, to which he added his own; he settled in Geneva where he burnt to death Michael Servetus, who had the courage to differ from him, and finally died himself of a shameful disease.

Q. Who was Henry VIII?

A. Henry VIII. was king of England. A slave to his passions, he wished the pope to annul his lawful marriage, but the pope refused. Upon this the king declared himself the head of the church in England, drew his people into schism and soon after into heresy.

Q. How do you show that Protestantism or the religion preached by Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Henry VIII., is not the true religion?

A. *In order to show that Protestantism is a false religion, or rather no religion at all, it will be sufficient simply to bear in mind: 1st, that it was established by four great libertines; 2d, that it owes its origin to the love of honors, covetousness of the goods of others, and the love of sensual pleasures, three things forbidden by the gospel; 3d, that it permits you to believe whatever you please and to do whatever you believe; 4th, that it has caused immense evils, deluged Germany, France, Switzerland, and England with blood; it leads to impiety, and finally to indifference, the source of all revolutions past and future. We must, therefore, be on our guard against those who preach it, and cherish a horror for the books which disseminate it.*

Q. What religion is it that alone has rendered men better and alone has civilized them?

A. The only religion which has rendered men better and civilized them, is the Catholic religion, to the exclusion of Arians, Mahometans, Protestants, and philosophers; the Catholic religion, therefore, alone is good, alone divine. (Chap. LIV.)

Let it be noticed that the book which contains these atrocious teachings, although now a volume of over 400 pages in length, is in such demand as to be in its fiftieth American edition.

MUTILATED HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY.

After the Rosary and Scapular Book, and the Smaller Catechism and the official explanations of it, you will do well to examine in detail the ordinary text-books in use in Catholic parochial schools for instruction in reading, biography, and history. I have made a large and painfully interesting collection of them from Boston and New York, Toronto and Quebec. In these utterly untrustworthy volumes, a dozen or more of which lie on this table, the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the Inquisition itself are so whitewashed as to appear creditable to Catholicism. Bismarck said that the saddest sights he saw in France, during the invasion of it by the German armies, were not battlefields covered with the dead and the dying, but mutilated, misleading text-books on the children's desks in Catholic schools. Such school-books are now scattered over this continent by millions. They are ominous signs of the times. On former occasions on this platform I have shown by detailed extracts that many passages in these authorized volumes are utterly misleading in history and biography (see *Boston Monday Lectures in OUR DAY* for 1888). They are unfair, mutilated, mendacious.

Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, who not long ago in a Lenten pastoral letter advised the priests under his direction to refuse the sacraments to such Catholics as did not vote according to clerical direction on the school question, has published a "Bible History, to which is added a compendium of Church History, for the use of Catholic Schools in the United States." The volume opens with several pages of approbations, including that of Pope Leo XIII. himself. In this astonishing book I read: —

To Catholics is due the discovery of nearly all the valuable inventions we have. Carefully examined, it will be seen that with the exception of the steam-engine and the railroad little that is really new has been discovered except by Catholics. (Page 298.)

Protestantism began with "an open Bible and free interpretation" and has ended in division and disbelief. By the above principle every one becomes judge of what he will or will not believe. Hence, among Protestants there are almost as many religions as there are individuals, the churches divided and torn to pieces, ending in infidelity and Mormonism. (Page 304.)

Even in text-books on geography, and in the form in which it is taught to primary classes, the omnipresent sectarian bias and distortion appear. Here is a handsome illustrated volume, in large use in Catholic parochial schools, published by William H. Sadlier, 11 Barclay Street, New York, and entitled "Sadlier's Excelsior Introduction to Geography," from which a few characteristic extracts will surprise you.

What can you say of the early Jesuit missionaries in Canada?

The history of their labors is connected with the origin of every celebrated town in the annals of French America.

What says the American historian, Bancroft, on this subject?

"Not a cape was turned," says Bancroft, "nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way." (Page 15, Lesson XXV.)

Who were the first explorers of great portions of our country?

Catholic missionaries.

Who discovered and explored the upper Mississippi?

Father Marquette, a Jesuit missionary.

Where, in many of the States, were the first settlements formed.

Around the humble cross that marked the site of a Catholic mission. (Page 22, Lesson XXXII.)

What was the first settlement in the New England States?

A Jesuit missionary settlement on Mount Desert Island (in 1622).

By whom was this settlement destroyed?

By the English.

What people made a permanent settlement in Massachusetts in 1620?

The Pilgrim Fathers.

Here is a flat self-contradiction. The "first settlement" of New England was a Jesuit one in 1622, the child is taught—but the "first permanent settlement" was by the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620!

Who were they?

English Protestants, who, being persecuted by their Protestant fellow-countrymen, took refuge in America.

How did they act in their new home?

They proved very intolerant, and persecuted all who dared to worship God in a manner different from that which they had established. (Page 28, Lesson XLI.)

By whom was Maryland founded?

By Lord Baltimore, as an asylum for persecuted English Catholics.

What was remarkable in this colony?

Full toleration was granted in religious matters; and the Pilgrims of Maryland thus became the founders of religious liberty in the New World. (Page 29, Lesson XLII.)

For what is Ireland noted?

For its constant verdure, beautiful scenery, splendid ruins of bygone ages, and, above all, for the unwavering fidelity of its people to the Catholic Faith. (Page 46, Lesson LXVII.)

UNCHANGED ATROCITIES OF JESUITISM IN MORALS.

Jesuitism in morals has an evil name throughout civilization. It is two hundred years since the classic Provincial Letters of Pascal exposed the absurdities and immoralities of Jesuit teaching in the schools and the confessionals. No educated Protestant doubts the substantial justice of Pascal's indictment.

But there are uneducated Protestants who think that Jesuitism has changed its creed. The boast of Jesuitism, however, is that its teachings are unchangeable.

One hundred years after Pascal, on March 5, 1762, the Parliament of Paris, in a decree against the Jesuits, drew up the following celebrated indictment, the justice of which has never been successfully questioned.

These doctrines, the consequence of which would destroy natural law, that rule of morality which God himself has implanted in the hearts of men, and, consequently, would break all the ties of civil society, in authorizing theft, lying, perjury, the most criminal impurity, and generally all passions and all crimes, by the teaching of secret compensation, of equivocation, of mental restrictions, of probabilism and philosophical sin; destroy all feelings of humanity among men, in authorizing homicide and parricide, annihilate royal authority.

Pascal and the Parliament of Paris use no phrases of denunciation which are not deserved by the official Jesuit publications of highest rank in our own day.

Moral theology in the Catholic Church consists chiefly of a discussion of practical duties and of cases of conscience and rules for the guidance of priests in granting or withholding absolution. It is preëminently the theology of the confessional. In the standard work entitled "A Catholic Dictionary" now before me, the history of Catholic moral theology is given for century after century; but it is not necessary for us to go back to Suarez, nor to Sanchez, nor to Escobar, nor even to St. Liguori. "At present," says this authority, "the Probabilist theology of this writer is accepted almost everywhere in the church, and the recent works of Scavini and Gury are little more than adaptations of St. Liguori." The Congregation of Rites in a decree confirmed by the Pope declared that St. Liguori's works contained "nothing worthy of censure." The Pope made St. Liguori a Doctor of the Church. His chief expounder and continuator in our day has been Professor P. J. P. Gury, a Jesuit father of the Roman College, whose celebrated work entitled "*Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*" I now hold in my hand. *It is a standard Jesuit theological text-book in very wide actual use.* A few amazing passages you will allow me to cite in English from this volume, with definite references to the original Latin, which I beg you to examine for yourselves.

Are ecclesiastics obliged to obey the civil laws?

No: not the laws in force which are contrary to their profession or to their sacred canons. (Gury, "*Compendium Theologiæ Moralis*," Treatise on Laws, Ques. 93.)

The good of society demands that there should be a means to lawfully hide a secret: now there is no other way than by equivocation or restriction, largely and improperly mental.

One is permitted to use this restriction even under oath.

A culprit interrogated judicially or not lawfully by the judge, may answer that he has done nothing, meaning "about which you have the right to question me, or, that I am obliged to avow."

This mode of restriction may be used by all public functionaries questioned on things confided to their discretion; or secretaries, am-

bassadors, generals, magistrates, lawyers, physicians and all those who have reasons to hide some truth relative to their charge.

You must keep a *confided* secret, even if you are questioned about it by a superior, a judge, etc. You must answer them: "I do not know anything about it," because that knowledge is for you absolutely as if it did not exist; and thus should the secret be confided expressly or tacitly. ("Treatise on the Seventh and Tenth Precepts of the Decalogue," Articles 443, 444, 472.)

When is there a grave matter in a theft?

It cannot be determined. In order that a theft should be looked upon as grave, relatively, . . . it must be of the value: 1, of one franc for the poor, and a little less for the very poor: 2, about two or three francs for workmen who live day by day; 3, about three or four francs for moderately rich people; 4, about six or seven francs for rich people.

In order that the matter should be absolutely grave, two or three pieces of gold, of the value of one dollar each, are necessary. But we must remember that the more scarce the money, the greater is its value.

Are small thefts united to form a whole, if they are separated by a long interval of time?

No, according to the common opinion; because after a certain lapse of time, small thefts are not supposed to unite, and so, do not constitute a common object in morality. Besides, one does not see grave prejudice done to the owner, not being aware of it, and he is not supposed to be gravely opposed to it.

What is the time which must elapse between the thefts?

According to the more probable opinion, no more than two months; according to others, one year is necessary.

May one take some of the property of another, not only to help one's self, but also others?

Yes, according to the common opinion; because, in a way, one substitutes himself for the indigent, and shows by the act that one loves his neighbor as himself.

In a case of extreme need, or nearly so, whatever may be the cause of it, can we steal an object of great value, or a large sum, if we are in need of it?

There are two opinions: the first one answers No; the second one, more probable and more common, answers Yes, provided the rich one is not brought by that theft to an equal needful situation, and the poor one takes only what he needs.

Can a servant compensate himself, if he does more than he ought to?

Yes, if it is by the express or tacit will of the master that he works excessively; because one who works must be paid in proportion to his work, by rights. . . . The value of this just compensation may be left to the judgment of the servant, provided he is prudent, careful, and distrustful of self, a thing which seldom happens. ("Treatise on Justice and Rights," Articles 606, 607, 610, 618, 623.)

Quirinus, wanting to steal some cloth, enters a store during the night and lights a candle, taking good care, however, to prevent a fire; but a cat upsets the candle, which, falling on straw, sets it on fire, and the house is burned; the thief runs away and escapes. — What is to be thought of Quirinus' case?

He is under no obligation to make restitution; because he has not foreseen the danger. He is not even obliged to pay for the cloth he wished to steal, even had he ran away with the goods; because the damage is involuntary, since the fact of stealing the cloth is not the cause of the damage, and the fact of carrying the candle does not induce the danger of fire, when reasonable precautions are taken. ("Treatise on Justice and Rights," Article 672.)

Ordinarily the lies, or, even perjuries, by which dealers affirm that their goods cost so much to them, or that such a price was offered to them, ought not to be considered as frauds really prejudicial, because these frauds are so frequent with them that almost nobody trusts in them. ("Treatise on Contracts," Article 897.)

Must a son believe his mother who tells him, under oath, that he is illegitimate?

No: because by right and common sense, no one is obliged to believe one witness, even if there is no doubt whatever of his good faith. (Ibid., Article 733.)

For evident and most urgent reasons, I forbear to cite before this honorable audience the horrible propositions of Jesuit morality on a number of points connected with marriage and divorce. (See "The Doctrines of the Jesuits." By Paul Bert, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, and Professor of the Faculty of Sciences. Paris, 1880. An English translation of this important work, which is based on an analysis of Gury's "Compendium," has been published by B. F. Bradbury & Co., Boston, 1889.)

Instructors who teach Jesuitism in morals have been repeat-

edly expelled from the public schools of even Catholic countries, but Jesuitism is now in favor with the Vatican.

My contention is that it is incalculably unsafe to intrust the education of American youth to Jesuit teachers at a time when Roman Catholics are already one eighth, and when it is confidently predicted that they will soon be a quarter of our population.

CONFLICT OF SYLLABUS AND CONSTITUTION.

Having asked you to compare Jesuit teaching in morals with natural law and the Decalogue, I part from my topic for the present by requesting you to contrast seriously the principles of the Papal Syllabus of Errors with those of the Constitution of the United States. The utterances of a pope, whom Catholics are taught to regard as infallible and therefore as irreformable in all matters of faith and morals, may be called the text-book of supreme marching orders for the clerical party throughout the world. Are those utterances, as a working programme for education and politics, consistent with the settled fundamental principles of American liberty? Judge dispassionately for yourselves and your posterity. These are the teachings of the famous and infamous articles 23, 24, 42, and 77 of The Papal Syllabus of 1864:—

Anathema to all who say: The Roman Pontiffs and œcumenical councils have exceeded the limits of their power, have usurped the rights of princes, and have even committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals.

Anathema to all who say: The Church has not the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power.

Anathema to all who say: In the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the civil law ought to prevail.

Anathema to all who say: In the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state to the exclusion of all other modes of worship. (See "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," Harper & Brothers, 1877, for Latin text of the Syllabus.)

These are the most mischievous proclamations that Rome has made for many a century. There is and must always be an

irrepressible conflict between the assertion of papal supremacy and the self-government of free states. The Pope declares that in no past period of the history of the papacy has it exceeded its due powers. But the papacy has again and again deposed princes and absolved whole peoples from their oaths of allegiance. It claims that it has the right to do all this again. The American Constitution makes the will of the people, expressed in due forms of law, the supreme authority. The Syllabus of the Pope maintains that, in conflicts between the civil and the ecclesiastical law, the latter ought to prevail. The Constitution of the United States provides for liberty of the press. The list of errors in the Papal Syllabus denies the liberty of the press. Your Constitution guarantees liberty of speech; the Syllabus denies it in certain important connections. The Constitution guarantees liberty of conscience and worship; the Papal Syllabus declares that only the Roman Catholic religion should be that of the state to the exclusion of liberty to every other faith, wherever Roman Catholicism has power.

The central question in the debate with Rome is, therefore, Shall we turn the Constitution as well as the Bible out of the common schools? [Loud applause and cries of "No, No."] We must either turn the American Constitution out of our schools, or else turn out of them the clerical party. [Prolonged applause.]

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XIV.

FEW books had troubled Curfew so deeply as "Robert Elsmere," and that mainly for the reason that Elsinere himself was supremely brave, unselfish, and even Christ-like in self-sacrifice. "Here," said he, "is a young soul educated, earnest, courageous, and benevolent, who gives up the supernatural Christ: rejecting incarnation, miracle, and resurrection as simply fabulous, or at best as poetic and ideal, appealing finely to certain imaginative moods but absolutely destitute of historical reality. Yet Elsmere did not become an infidel or a bad man, but if possible a better man as to conscientious social work than even he was as an orthodox clergyman. What am I to make of this? Here is a man who is a Christian without Christianity; a man who gets all the practical virtue of Christianity without any of its superstition. Is not this the very thing I myself want to get? I wonder what Mr. Bell thinks of this? Here is a religion of reason; something arguable; something positive; surely this points to the incoming of a clearer day." To Curfew the whole argument was new, but to Mr. Bell it was familiar, and notwithstanding the rhetorical glamour of its setting it was hollow and impotent. Mr. Bell was not the man to run down a book simply because he did not agree with it, or to ignore the genius where he could not accept the reasoning. Mr. Bell never found it necessary to combine critical ruffianism with doctrinal orthodoxy. He was cursed, or blessed, with the vision that takes in every aspect of controverted questions.

"You have read 'Robert Elsmere,' I suppose, Mr. Bell?"

"Yes. Every word of it."

"What do you think of the way Christ is represented?"

"You have come to the point, Curfew. The fact is, my boy, Christ is not represented at all. That is the fatal weakness of the book. There is a Christ in its pages, but not the Christ of the New Testament."

"What do you mean?"

"I mean that no attempt is made to account for the Christ of the New Testament. He is simply divested of every attribute that makes him unique — of every claim that he set up for himself — and then he is regarded as one of a dozen competitors for the religious confidence of mankind. I am not aware that this is a legitimate way of treating history."

"Ah," said Curfew, "you forget that that point is provided for in the

book. The contention is that when the Bible was written the science of history was unknown, and not until a comparatively recent period has history become possible : the men who described Christ might be honest but they were incapable : they meant to tell the truth but they simply did not know how to tell it ; history is a modern science."

"How extraordinarily charming that is," said Mr. Bell, "and how admirably convenient ! I only ask you to notice, Curfew, that the neat little canon cannot be limited in its use to the Bible : it must apply all round, and in its impartial application all history, of every age and kind, topples over, and the world is left without history. I like, too, in a grim sort of way, the blushing modesty of the men who tell us that history has been patiently waiting their advent, and is longing to give up to them secrets honorably but tormentingly withheld from all other generations."

"I see," said Curfew, "that it knocks down all history."

"Certainly. Down goes chattering Herodotus, and solemn Thucydides, and military Cæsar, and the whole squad of them. But for my part I don't care a button if it is so. The fact is that the Christ of the New Testament is infinitely more miraculous to me as an invention than as an incarnation."

"How do you make that out ?"

"Because in the case of the incarnation I can call in the almightiness of God, and say 'with God all things are possible : ' omnipotence can work any number of miracles, and the incarnation would only be one of many ; but in the case of the invented Christ I know not who could have invented him. It would take such a Christ to invent himself. No one has ever done it in any other instance. In every essential particular Christ stands apart by himself, — far apart from everybody else, — and consistently apart : not in one particular, but in all particulars, and yet all his claims constitute one perfect tessellation, so much so that if one stone be removed the whole mosaic loses unity, and meaning, and utility."

"Well, now," said Curfew, "tell me how you make it out."

"Simply by what the Evangelists say. Let us assume that they invented their Christ, or dreamed him, there he stands the most remarkable man in history. Other teachers said, 'We are in search of truth' ; Christ said, 'I am the truth.' They said, 'Man is seeking God' ; he said, 'God is seeking man.' Some of them claimed to have had revelations from God : he claimed to have eternally dwelt in the bosom of the Father. I am not at this moment asking whether his claims are valid or invalid ; there they stand, and they must be recognized and treated as elements in the case. Nothing is easier than to deny them, but we can't deny the invention, and in this case it is the invention which is the greatest miracle !"

"But," said Curfew, "suppose we do not believe what is invented ?"

"That has nothing to do with it," Mr. Bell replied. "It is impossible to deny the invention ; there it is, bad or good, in plain black and white ; somebody made it, wrote it, believed it, and upheld it."

"Then," said Curfew, "if I follow your thought correctly, the picture of Christ would puzzle you as much if you had found it in any other book than the New Testament ?"

"Exactly. That is precisely what I have been trying to say. For the moment I am assuming that the portraiture of Christ is an invention, and I say that if I had found it in India, in Palestine, or in the South Seas, it would have been to me the most wonderful thing of the kind in history, and if anybody suggested that the Christ was to be accounted for by incarnation and not by invention, I should instantly adopt the suggestion as more rational, not to say more religious."

"But was not poetry equal to the invention of such a Christ?"

"I think not. Poetry never invented such a Christ before. Besides, we are not dealing with elements that are simply romantic. The Christ died. See what the inventors did. They invented the incarnation and the miracles, and having invented a God they abused Him, insulted Him, killed Him, raised Him again, and dismissed Him in a cloud; and yet all the time they are inventing such lies they make their hero talk the sublimest morality and insist upon the most rigorous discipline on the part of his followers; in short they make him contradict everything they invent about Him. No, Curfew, no; the monstrosity is inconceivable. There is mystery enough in the gospel narrative, but there is nothing but mystery apart from it."

Curfew had something more to say, but he hesitated to say it for fear it should wound the man he so deeply trusted. Yet if he did not say it part of the argument would be left out. Mr. Bell must have suspected something of the kind, and so gave Curfew breathing time whilst he attended to the post, simply saying, "Yonder comes the postman, so excuse me whilst I put my letters together, then we can go on;—by the way," he added, as he stood at the door, "you know I am as anxious as you are to get down to the hard fact and truth about this whole matter."

When Mr. Bell returned, Curfew was prepared to take the final step. "I want to know," said he, "how you account for the fact that Elsmere was as good a man after he gave up the supernatural Christ as he was before: you remember he worked night and day for others; he was unselfish and heroic; he spared no pains to make men better. He only gave up the supernatural; he did not give up the practical."

"So that surprises you, does it?" said Mr. Bell.

"Yes. Why drag in the supernatural when it is not necessary to the practical?"

"But is it not necessary?"

"It would seem not in the case of Elsmere. He worked himself to death for others."

"Remember one thing, Curfew: a man who has once really loved and worshiped Christ can never tell how much he owes to Christ's influence even after giving up what you call the supernatural."

"That may be so," Curfew admitted.

"Another thing must be remembered. A man may have given up Christ without Christ having given up the man. That is a vital point, Curfew. Never suppose that Christ's relation to men changes with their changing points of view and their fickle tests of faith. It is the man who changes,

not the Christ. There is a dyspeptic and gloomy theology which cultivates a God of many moods, now sullen, now glad, now vengeful, now conciliatory, but that is not the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Admit that at least in some speculative way Elsmere gave up Christ, it does not follow that Christ gave up Elsmere. There is no coquetry in the love of God."

"Did not the brotherhood founded by Elsmere survive him?"

"Only in imagination, Curfew. Of such institutions it may be said, because there is no deepness of earth they soon wither away. They are admirable contrivances, but the element of eternity is not in them, Curfew." Mr. Bell continued in an animated tone, "Do you know the difference between a conservatory and a summer? Do you know the difference between mechanics and gravitation? The world was never fed out of a conservatory; it takes the solar system to feed the world. A crane can lift a ton of stone, but it cannot lift the earth. The painter can put color on a cheek, but not into it. Without Christ as he is fully portrayed in the gospels you can do much good—can give much alms—you can devote days and nights to the ignorant and the suffering—but you cannot save the world. Mark that grand expression. It touches in spiritual directions a force corresponding to gravitation in the material universe."

CHAPTER XV.

BOSTON BELL was under the impression that nobody quite understood him. Possibly he was right, for no one believed that he was such a man as in his moments of dejection he made himself out to be. In many respects his character is perfectly sketched in the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, for he was constantly in the moral fluctuation so graphically described by the ardent apostle. He truly said that it was his soul which men could not see, and that if they could see it as he did they would hate and avoid him. The fiend that persecuted his soul unto death came in the form of the temptation that it was possible to gratify all natural impulse without foregoing the favor of Him who made the impulse natural. There lay the lifelong difficulty of a really noble soul. What can it matter, thought he, without words, if a man can tell God honestly that he had never gone beyond the range of impulses and desires which belong to the original constitution of creaturehood? Had that mixed and turbulent quantity called society any right to put itself in the place of God and frame a set of rules by which it gratified its vanity rather than justified its virtue? Besides, might not a man come to know that he had made the mistake of his life when in hopeful youth he stood at the wedding altar and said after the priest what the priest said after some other man? When he stood at that wedding altar he told no lie, he strained no feeling, he hurt no nerve in all his eager frame; but the days and the years went by, and subtle change was wrought as if in the silence of a dream, and another face lighted up the sky like a star, and another voice found its way into his heart, and so great displacement was

effected, and a horrible emptiness craved attention. Could not the sobered love which belongs to memory coexist with the intoxication of a hope that pleaded its suddenness as a proof of its innocence and inspiration? Thus the fiend talked to Boston Bell, and told him all the great lies which the devil has ever invented and which require a devil to put them into words which the heart can understand. Expressed in these poor terms the vulgarity of the lie is palpable, but whispered to the heart in medicated hints — meant for good — fitted to the mystery of nature — perfumed with poetic odors — who can tell what havoc they may work! What a lure, too, there is in life, leading us all along by slippery lines and tempting us to think that we will not go farther than the point we have fixed upon in some nice calculation of experiments. We will come back unscathed. We will come back quite soon. The door may be left ajar, for it is but a moment we shall be gone. Thus the fiend plies his victim. Boston Bell felt that in his case the temptation itself was a sin. Had he been talking to another man he would have said the contrary, but upon himself he was always severe. To another man he would have said — Christ was tempted, yet without sin; in every temptation recognize the greatness as well as the infirmity of your own nature; because you are worth destroying you are worth saving. To himself he could not say this, yet, poor soul, he sometimes needed this very gospel. Out of all this experience came not a little of his wonderful power as a preacher, and yet even in the happiest use of this power there was the bitter sorrow that his influence was the result of an undeclared experience. If Boston Bell had been less pure he would have been less sensitive. He trembled on the brink, but an unseen hand saved him in his uttermost weakness.

“Would it be wrong for me to see her again?”

The fiend derided the suggestion.

“She is a wonderful girl. Those opalescent eyes haunt me. That speech in the hay-loft was the speech of a fine-hearted apostle. There could be nothing wrong in an interview with such a woman. I want to know her methods of working. I want to know her very mind” —

“Why not?” said the fiend.

Boston Bell was walking by the side of the night-shadowed church as he said this, and the churchyard trees were swaying in the wind.

“Perhaps she might be brought to work in this parish. We have room for such a worker. The villagers would be struck by her winning manner. The children would adore her” —

“Why not?” said the fiend.

“My God, was that the deep baying of an angry hound I heard just now? It makes me tremble. — I could easily run up to London for three days and make all necessary inquiries. I might take a friend with me, for safety. Curfew might go. Curfew ought to see what Christian work really is. — What was that shadow? Was some one crossing the churchyard? Is some one calling me? I heard what might have been a voice from a far-away shore. Do spirits call to us? Do dead mothers come to save their

sons ? . . . The shake of her hand sent a thrill through me, and her voice . . . can the dead hear, or see, or feel ? Thank God for these shadows, they are most friendly . . . they make sin possible . . . they almost pardon it . . . if I found it convenient to go to London ” —

“ Why not ? ” said the fiend.

“ God — God — why are we so made ? Is it best ? Will all end well ? Will the lion and the lamb, the wolf and the kid, the hawk and the dove within us, be brought to a happy reconciliation ? Will Iscariot become as John ? Will he quite rub out the blood-mark ? . . . To-night I am in the power of the enemy. . . . There is a hot streak in this cool night wind . . . it is a heat with judgment in it. . . . I am not alone, and I know it ; the battle within me is being also fought in the air by others. . . . There is a prayer in my throat, but I cannot utter it. . . . O my mother, come to me and be to me as God.”

Boston Bell worked out the whole mystery of life from his heart as the centre. Other men work intellectually and never go farther than logic will carry them. Boston Bell was impatient of formal argument because it never glowed and throbbed with passion. It was enfeebled by its own vanity. Mere cleverness may run the errands of life, but can never carry its testing cross. By the heart Boston Bell judged everything, — the Bible, the landscape, the star-crowned night, the dogmas of religion, the offers of the gospel ; whatever touched his heart in its divinest moods bowed him in willing and tender homage. Hence his conflicts, his sorrows, the aberrations which separated him from reasoned and calculated respectability, and hence, too, the thrill of countless and unutterable joys. A man can easily find companionship for his intellect, because it can live in public and talk aloud ; but the companions of his heart must enter by the use of passwords, for strait is the gate and narrow is the way leading to the innermost shrines of trust. By this protected road Curfew Jessell had penetrated into Boston Bell’s very soul ; had, indeed, won a woman’s victory over a strong man’s faith.

“ If Curfew goes with me to London I shall feel quite safe. What a child he is, yet what a man — what a hero. . . . I would not speak to the young woman but in Curfew’s hearing. . . . I might get her address through one of my four friends . . . but I forget . . . I asked her where she might be found, and she gave me her official address . . . that is best, for I want official information, and in that information Curfew would be interested. . . . O my head . . . my temples throb . . . the old church walls have softened into shadows . . . the stonework is all gone . . . I heard the rustle of garments passing me in the wind . . . I am not afraid : I am spell-bound.”

When he returned to his study an enemy might have pitied him, for his look was that of a man who had lost all his strength. The books had become shadows, too ; the house was but a cloud, and the place he knew so well felt strange and cold. His own voice now startled him, for he thought it was telling secrets even when talking forced commonplaces, and his attempts at

easy intercourse seemed to convict him of dishonesty. But the fight was done. When the morning came and reconstructed the church and set up everything in its familiar place, it carried on its blessed work as if it knew that a great victory had been won at great heart-cost. Never did the old church look so hospitable ; never did the gravestones carry such a treasure of light ; never did the dew look so little like tears and so much like jewels ; everything lay within the protection of the deep and tender peace : the pasture, the browsing cattle, the wheeling birds, the thatched village — all seemed to be parts of a lovely whole, and to have some consciousness of the presence of a mystery. Yes, the agony was all over. By the power of God the troubled soul, at once so strong and so weak, had dashed the enemy in pieces like a potter's vessel.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE DOCTRINES OF THE JESUITS. By PAUL BERT, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, Professor at the Faculty of Sciences. English Translation. Boston, Mass. : B. F. Bradbury & Co. 1889. 8vo, pp. 612.

This work deserves careful study and wide dissemination. It is not an attack on the Catholic Church, but upon the principles of the Jesuits as exhibited in their latest standard text-books on morals. It consists for the most part of a translation of the celebrated treatise of the Jesuit Father Gury of the College of Rome, on Theological Morality. The instruction of Roman Catholic priests is conducted on the basis of the principles of this volume in scores of institutions under Jesuit control. The revelations of the character of Jesuit morality made in this translation are likely to amaze readers who suppose that the principles and practice of the Jesuits have changed for the better since the days when Pascal held them up to the execration of civilized mankind.

Professor Bert, of the French Chamber of Deputies, is one of the chief opponents of the Jesuits in their attempt to control education in France. Several speeches of his in a debate in the Chamber in 1879 drew upon him a storm of ultramontane criticism. He replied by translating the larger part of Gury's authoritative work from Latin into French. The result was an overwhelming exposure of the harm resulting to society from allowing Jesuits to become instructors of youth. We have been accustomed to read Gury in the original Latin, and rejoice that the public at large has now the means of examining in English this astonishing, but thoroughly characteristic Jesuit treatise. From the preface of Professor Bert's work we extract the following summary, which we find fully justified by the pages to which the references point.

I do not insist on Pascal's revengeful imprecations, which vibrate yet in all memories. But it will be sufficient to look over the present book to see that the Jesuits have in no point renounced the famous doctrines of probabilism (pages 65-72), and of philosophical sin, cause of the invincibly erroneous conscience (page 62-72).

A great deal might be said about *secret compensation*, so energetically condemned by the civil law and by lay morality ; so completely approved, and oftentimes so spiritually taught, by the Jesuit (pages 88, 187, 272, 282, 291). The theory and practice of this thieving art is found in many passages of the book, and one shudders in thinking how many deluded persons such teaching has sent before the criminal tribunals when it fell on well-disposed natures. What of the theory of theft so-called ? Its gravity is according to the fortune of the victim ; and not, as in our codes, according to the circumstances of escalade, infraction, etc., etc. (page 183). And the light theft, which is not passable for damages ! And indul-

gence for thievish servants (page 184)! And necessity excusing theft (page 184)! And the possibility of interesting God for the success of a theft (page 103)!

In reading the Jesuits, I have often evoked before my mind the image of what would be a complete specimen of their intellectual and moral fabrication. We can almost see him, while I write, stealing on over there, discreetly, in the shadows of the wall. It is not that he always puts on the mask of humility given to him in the comedy: often, he is loud in talk, and of arrogant bearing. But you will recognize him in this, you can never see his eyes: the constitution of his masters have taught him "to look lower than the one to whom he speaks." His secret thought will escape you, and his close-shut lips will not betray him. But such as he is, young or old, if he is well impregnated with his authors, with Gury only, be on your guard.

Trust him not, O young maiden! do not say that thou art without fear, because he is betrothed to thee in a half sacrament. If thy fortune disappears, or if his increases, he will abandon thee without remorse, with authority from his director (pages 373, 404); it is his right to do so, if between thee and him there is a notable difference of situation (page 400), and that whatever may have been his previous protestations (page 463). Be on your guard; because, if warmed by his immoral reading, he incites thee to evil-doing, even after a solemn promise of marriage, he may abandon thee with thy child (pages 203, 267, 417). Trust him not, even if he marries thee; for he can, by the simplest of processes, sever the bond two months after marriage, if he declares its requirements not to have been fulfilled (page 376), and leave thee mercilessly, and dishonored. Trust him not; because if, in pronouncing the sacramental words, he has had the intention not to contract marriage, the act will be void: mind it (pages 407, 408). Trust him not; because he will not trust thee, knowing that, if thou art a pupil of the same masters, thou canst, without remorse, and persuaded that thou dost him "no wrong," abandon thyself to others before thy marriage, and hide from him the existence of children born of thee (pages 375, 405).

Trust him not, ye his wife! if some contagious sickness is upon thee; for his moral law does not oblige him to take care of thee (page 468). Trust him not, as he will not trust thee; because thou hast the right to abandon him in the same case; and besides, the casuist authorizes thee to borrow from his purse recklessly (pages 178, 215).

Do not take him as a servant; because he knows thoroughly the theory of little thefts, thefts of articles of food, with the conditions of restitution (page 184); and if he judges that you do not pay him enough, or make him work too much, he will find a way to establish the just equilibrium (pages 188, 218).

Beware of him, all of you, and avoid him as the plague! neither your goods nor your life, nor your honor are in safety with him.

Because if he advises and induces a thief to plunder your house, he owes you nothing (pages 194, 108, 233); because if he is a judge and renders against you, for complicity with his colleagues, an unjust sentence bought with a bribe, he owes you nothing (page 234); because, if his children or his servants have destroyed some of your property, he owes you nothing (page 235); because, if he sees a thief take away your goods, and he receives money as a bribe for his silence, he owes you nothing (pages 237, 249); because if he has set fire to your house, wanting an occasion to steal, he owes you nothing (page 196); because, if he has killed your cow, in firing willfully at your donkey, he owes you nothing (pages 56, 196, 247); because if he has burned your house, wanting to burn your neighbor's, he

owes you nothing (pages 196, 228, 233); because, if he is the thief and you are accused and condemned for his theft, he owes you nothing; even should he have committed that theft in order to have you suspected of it (pages 195, 216); because, if you are the creditor of a man whom he has assassinated, he owes you nothing (page 203); because, if you are the wife or the child of a man murdered by him, and if that man was leading a bad life (page 242), or even was soon to die (page 203), he owes you nothing; because he in no case owes you anything, if in killing your father he believed he was killing another man (page 228); neither if, having voluntarily murdered your father, he deems that you are able to provide for yourself (page 203).

Because he can defame you freely, if he is skillful and has profited well by his lessons (pages 161, 168); and even when the defamation is without excuse and compels damages, he can avoid paying them, if he deems the conservation of his good reputation "useful to religion" (page 162); because he can seduce a young girl, even under promise of marriage, and have children by her, and then abandon her mercilessly, if he can argue a certain inequality of situation either previous or subsequent to the promise (page 463); and do not speak to him of coming to the help of the poor girl, because he would answer you loftily, that "the loss of virginity can neither be estimated nor indemnified" (pages 204, 243); because, if you take in his house some poisoned nourishment destined for another, he is not bound to warn you, and besides, after your death he will owe nothing to anybody (page 223).

What yet remains to be spoken of? Absurd superstitions (pages 111, 112): the devilry of turning tables, for instance (page 113); diabolical possession (page 113); carnal intercourse with devils! Political formulas: kings holding their power only from the church (page 78)! Doctrines of the most savage intolerance; heretics considered, though rebels, as subjects of the church, and under its laws (pages 80, 356, 382); terrible phrase which logically calls for the *auto da fe*; their children baptized in spite of them (pages 329, 346); interdiction to notifying a Protestant minister that his co-religionist is dying and calls for him (page 108); audacious infractions of the prescriptions of civil law taught and justified (pages 83, 311, 326); substitution and trusts (page 254); dissimulation of inheritance (page 253), fraud of duties (pages 91, 205), etc.; the difference of gravity of sins according to their being advantageous or not; wonderful Jesuitical discovery (pages 127, 136); the murder of an innocent one, the excuse for which is hidden under obscure and fearful conditions (page 137); the theory of denunciation, commended by the constitution of Ignatius, introduced in the lay world, and highly recommended (page 104); destruction of books under interdiction, and their theft openly preached (page 106); contempt for paternal authority, when it is a question of entering into religious orders; and ferocious heartlessness towards parents (pages 131, 133, 319); the art of cheating at play (page 297); the legitimacy of slavery and the slave-trade (page 177); illegal opening of bodies (page 330); the most brazen-faced usury, hidden behind the prescription of the church which prohibits it (pages 255, 259, 260); violation for money of a promise of marriage (pages 373, 404); the injustice of the civil marriage (page 380), the numerous causes for the destruction of the marriage tie (pages 376, 384); scorn for the people, and crawling before the great (pages 103, 384, 400, 412); false witness (page 157); lies (page 165); perjury, mental restriction (page 156); the nullity of marriage with infidels or heretics; distinction between the value of legacies not under legal formalities; void if profane, valid if pious (pages 252,

280); the chase in prohibited time (page 180); the audacious clerical impertinence of taking up the old thesis that the clergy are not under the civil law. (page 80).

MISSOURI: A BONE OF CONTENTION. By LUCIEN CARR. American Commonwealths Series. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888.

A number of the volumes of this interesting series are pleas for certain views of local and national history. Their sub-titles give a hint of this. Dr. Barrows argues piquantly against the British claims on the Columbia, in "Oregon: the Struggle for Possession." Mr. Browne champions Lord Baltimore *v.* The Puritans from Virginia, in "Maryland: the History of a Palatinate." Mr. Dunn, in his "Indiana: a Redemption from Slavery," shows strong predilections as to former political parties and against Governor W. H. Harrison, and, to mention no others, Mr. Carr in his "Missouri" gives judgment against anti-slavery in State and nation at every opportunity. The volumes are rich in local coloring, and minute in unappreciated but instructive local history. Yet in reading them one needs to be aware of the bias of the authors on certain leading topics that he must treat, which indeed is very speedily discovered.

What the world knows best of the martyr Lovejoy is not, to be sure, a part of Missouri history. "He did not meet his death in a slave State, or at the hands of slaveholders," says Mr. Carr, excusing himself from detail of circumstances in the midst of his expressions of opinion. He adds: "It would have been better for the cause he had so much at heart, and for the people he sought to benefit, if he had never been born." Very likely there are men who say the same of Abraham Lincoln. And it is easily said of any man who in promoting truth and right meets severe and dangerous opposition. But issues of great moral conflicts have too often reversed and shamed limited views to entitle them to much notice. If Lovejoy's death was not a sacred and renowned contribution to a noble cause, whose among hundreds of thousands has ever been such?

"His ill-advised agitation," this writer calls it at the outset, and moralizes afterwards on the "attempt to improve the domestic institutions by a system of abuse;" but he is obliged to admit that while Mr. Lovejoy's "Observer" was issued at St. Louis, "There was nothing new or objectionable in the doctrines he advocated; and the tone and temper of his utterances, when contrasted with the fierce phillippics of later times, were as gentle as the cooings of a dove." The fact is, that Mr. Lovejoy's far more pungent editorials against Romanism, even in a city so largely Roman Catholic as St. Louis, aroused no protest among his subscribers; and he said nothing of the coeval Missouri institution, slavery, till atrocious outrages (by Protestant church-members, among others) had occurred. Dr. David Nelson published in his columns a Christian argument on slavery; and the editor, commenting on it, declared against immediate emancipation. "Gradual emancipation," he said, "is the only feasible and the only desirable

way." "The example of England is showing us that (it) is safe, practicable, and expedient." To be sure he favored a free constitution for Missouri, like that of Illinois, as the outcome of a State Convention about to be held, and so did the "Republican" the oldest political journal in the city and State. But when some sixty "respectable citizens" whipped two men on bare suspicion of abducting negroes, — 150 to 200 lashes each, — and a mulatto murderer was burned by a mob, he condemned this fury of lawless violence — as who would not now? And when "Judge Lawless" — suggestive name! — took up the defense of the negro burning, he replied on Christian principles calmly and carefully. He disavowed all the while any right to send publications touching slavery to the members of the legislature or to slaves. No other editor condemned the outrages named, and no other was bidden by those interested to "distrust his own judgment so far as to pass over in silence everything connected with slavery." The simple difference between him and them was, that he, as a Christian editor, condemned gross and fearful moral wrongs, and other editors did not. When his first press was destroyed in part, they approved, and when others were destroyed at Alton, they declared that he had forfeited all right to protection under law.

Of all these things this interesting volume, published in "Boston and New York, 1888," has not a word of condemnation. Mr. Carr says of the Christian minister thus treated: "In consequence of his persistence in this objectionable course," *i. e.* condemning man-whipping and man-burning (*not* in advocating state freedom), "he found that a longer residence in St. Louis was neither profitable nor safe." Not a word of censure of mobs at St. Louis or at Alton. Is this creditable history in 1889? "The people of St. Louis took the law into their own hands, (and) exercised a right or a power — it is immaterial by which name you call it — which is inherent in all communities." Is it "immaterial" whether books in the hands of American citizens and American youth apologize for lynch law or not? In this day of anarchy is it "immaterial" whether attractive volumes, widely read, teach the true American doctrine of reverence for the laws, or merely call an outburst of brutal mob violence "a sad tragedy," and characterize a Christian condemnation of it, in ever so excellent a spirit as going "into a powder-mill with a lighted candle."

Having had occasion of late to go over the original historical statements with the recent volumes, like that of Henry Tanner of Buffalo, "an eyewitness," and the biography of Enoch Long (Chicago Historical Society's Collection, vol. ii.) the present writer has been impressed with the extraordinary gentleness of the Alton martyr and the lack of appreciation of it on the part of the general reading public. Lovejoy's letters to his mother and to Dr. Joshua Leavitt do not show any more quiet heroism than they do mildness and kindness. Avowing his principles in a public address, 1835, he said: "I am ready not to fight, but to suffer, and, if need be, to die for them. . . . Have I ever by word or deed, directly or indirectly, attempted or designed to incite slaves to insubordination? God forbid. I would as soon be guilty of arson and murder." "I stand upon the Constitution."

The next year in his first issue at Alton he said that he would not yield to "the new system of attempting to destroy by mob violence the rights of conscience, the freedom of opinion, and the freedom of the press." He added, "We intend not to deal in harsh denunciation. . . . The only weapon we would use is the truth, the only sentiment we would appeal to, the moral sense of the community." In the very climax of the tragedy at Alton, it is testified by all that "there was no bitterness in his heart, no venom on his tongue, no sound of fury in his voice." The personal descriptions give him "a round, pleasant face, full of good humor,"—"a countenance expressing great kindness and sympathy." It is a revelation to find how devout and Christianly sweet the temper of the man was in awful peril, as of one who in close communion with God had quietly placed himself in his hands for life or death. The promises of the Psalms were very real and delightful to him. His preaching was that of one who had been with Jesus. The rugged seriousness of the time made all sentimentalism impossible, but set off the more strongly an elevation of character which has been compared to that of St. John and St. Francis d'Assisi. "Not a Boanerges, but a *gentle* man always." One who was present when he made his defense at a public meeting says: "Not an epithet or unkind allusion escaped his lips, notwithstanding he knew he was in the midst of those who were seeking his blood. . . . He had been all day communing with God. His countenance, the subdued tones of his voice, and whole appearance indicated a mind in a peculiarly heavenly frame, and ready to acquiesce in the will of God, whatever that might be." One is glad of the occasion furnished by Mr. Carr's publication to recall these facts.

It is said in the volume that before his murder, "no personal injury was done him;" but it is not said how narrowly he had escaped death at Alton and St. Charles (where he was attacked), his presence of mind and calm bravery disarming furious mobs. It is said that "he was not shot until he, or some of his friends, had fired upon and killed one of the mob." But it is not said that this was in returning the fire of the mob upon the warehouse (see letter of Winthrop S. Gilman, Esq., now of New York; Tanner, 155), which puts an altogether different face upon the matter. It is said that "when he arrived in Alton he resumed his crusade against slavery, in defiance of pledges which his opponents assert he had made to the contrary." The order of words here, like all the representations in the book, is prejudicial to the martyr as far as possible. Is there any evidence of such pledges? He intimated that being now in the free State of Illinois he should have *less* occasion to refer to slavery. Is this a pledge of silence? He was still opposed to abolition. He might yet advocate colonization *v.* abolition! Mr. Tanner pronounces the story of such pledges "a false report." At the meeting even, where he is asserted to have made them, "he avowed himself an uncompromising enemy of slavery," and ten of the most respectable citizens testified that he closed his remarks as follows: "But, gentlemen, as long as I am an American citizen, and as long as American blood runs in these veins, I shall hold myself at liberty to speak, to write, and to publish

whatever I please on any subject, being amenable to the laws of my country for the same." Is there any "defiance of pledges made to the contrary" in all this?

There is a notable editorial of this Christian martyr on the question, "*How and by whom is emancipation to be effected?*" "The answer is by the masters themselves. No others can effect it, nor is it desirable that they should, even if they could. Emancipation, to be of any value to the slave, must be the free, voluntary act of the master, performed from a conviction of its propriety. This avowal may sound very strange to those who have been in the habit of taking the principles of the Abolitionists from the misrepresentations of their opponents. . . . As to the *particular mode* of effecting emancipation. This too, belongs to the master to decide. When we tell a distiller, or vender of ardent spirits, that duty requires him to forsake his present business, we go no farther. It belongs not to the preacher of temperance to dictate what particular use they shall make of those materials now so improperly employed. He may do anything, convert his buildings and appurtenances to any use so that it be a lawful one." He cited the old Illinois State Temperance Society as purposing no violent shutting of "a single grog-shop belonging to their neighbors." And for this sort of gentle advocacy of reform by "light, and love, and argument, and fact," this good man was murdered, November 7, 1837.

If the story of those evil days is to be retold, even in part, there should be no variation from established facts. No "attempt to apotheosize Lovejoy" is perceptible anywhere; but if one indulges in censure while declaring, as Mr. Carr does, "with the circumstances of this sad tragedy we do not propose to concern ourselves," his censures should be only such as the circumstances justify. Else violence is done to history, is it not?

One thing should never be lost sight of in any representation that professes to be a true one. It is that the immediate cause of the shocking Alton riot of November 7 was a public meeting of citizens four days before. Other meetings had inflamed the people against the friends of liberty and law. But this was the worst one held even in Alton. Mr. Gilman had offered some resolutions "declaring in substance the right of every citizen to speak, write, or print . . . being responsible to the law," and pledging protection of person and property "irrespective of all moral, political, or religious sentiments. . . . *on the ground of principle solely.*" Being referred to a committee, the next day (November 3) it was reported that they demanded too much and conceded too little, and there must be a "mutual sacrifice of prejudices." One thinks of Mr. Webster's bidding the North "conquer her prejudices!" A resolution in favor of a properly conducted religious paper was rejected, and it was voted "indispensable that Mr. Lovejoy should not be allowed to conduct a paper." Mr. Tanner says: "Had the leading citizens united with us at this meeting to sustain the civil rights of Lovejoy, any mob that could have been raised might have been overcome." And murder could not have followed. This judgment of a competent witness, writing after long and calm reflection upon personal experience at

the time, is far more trustworthy than that of a manifestly prejudiced advocate of Missouri prejudice.

It is essential to a candid history of any reform that the historian should appreciate the end in view and the spirit of the reformers. Else acts and positions in detail will be misjudged. The literary rule, "look at the work from the author's standpoint," is not entirely applicable, yet not entirely inapplicable to the work of reformers. Mr. Carr fails utterly in his estimate of the ends and spirit of Mr. Lovejoy and his Illinois friends, and therefore his one-sided representations — though bearing a Boston imprint and the date of 1888 — cannot be accepted as candid and fair history.

GEORGE F. MAGOUN.

GENERAL GORDON. By SIR W. BUTLER. New York and London : Macmillan & Co. 1889. 8vo, pp. 255.

In a series entitled "English Men of Action," Macmillan & Co. have made the reading public their debtor by issuing the *Life of General Gordon* in a form both attractive and convenient. The narrative of the life of this great moral hero and philanthropist is so concise, clear, and comprehensive as to captivate the reader. A man who "knowing neither sorrow nor fear, walks alone all confident in his courage — such a man" says the Chinese philosopher, "although he may love life, will love something better than life, and although he may hate death will hate something more than death." This description of a perfect man, written more than two thousand years ago, is a just characterization of Gordon. "I esteem it a far greater honor to promote peace than to gain any paltry honors in a wretched war," was his reply to the question why he again proceeded to China in answer to urgent calls. "People have little idea how little glorious war is. It is organized murder, pillage, and cruelty." "Every one laughs at me, but I do not care." "The praise and blame of the world are equally indifferent to me." "I am much worn, and I wish I had my rest, but it will not come till I have done His work." "I have set my face to the work, and I will give my life to it." "God must undertake the work, and I am for the moment as His instrument."

Gordon knew that from God alone could be received strength to sustain him in the long lonely hours in the desert or in besieged Khartoum. "The Almighty God will help me," was the last message which an anxious world received from him. Scorning the dictates of petty superiors who were ignorant of the needs of this vast African country, he braved death in his endeavors to suppress the horrible slave-trade. "I declare if I could stop the slave-traffic, I would willingly be shot this night," he says, and so he labored to establish a permanent system of government in the valley of the Nile.

The tragic death of this "martyr to duty" is thus described by Mr. Butler : —

On the morning of Monday, January 26, . . . just as day was breaking, Gordon, roused from one of those short and troubled slumbers which for months had been his only rest, quitted the palace and moved at the head of a small party of soldiers and servants toward the church of the Austrian Mission. Walking a few yards in advance of the party, Gordon drew near the church. The short and mysterious dawn of the desert was passing into broader day — over the palm-trees on the edge of the Blue Nile the eastern sky was flushed with the red of the coming sun. From the lost town, still lying in shadow to the right, the shouts of a victorious enemy and the cries of a perishing people rose in deeper volume of sound. Ere yet the little band of footmen had crossed the open space between palace and church, a body of Arabs issued from a neighboring street. For a moment the two parties stood face to face, then a volley of musketry flashed out at close range, in the yet uncertain light, and the bravest and noblest soldier of our time was no more.

Thus ended the career of one who had given his life for his country and humanity. The underlying causes which resulted in the sacrifice of this noble man are not far to seek — greed of gain and jealousy in Egypt, party strife in England, combined with presumptuous ignorance.

His death and the difficulties experienced in sending out the Gordon Relief Expedition because of party strife, illustrate the disastrous effects often arising from partisan politics devoid of genuine patriotism.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY THE REV. PROF. SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, D. D., CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

67. Is the Divine character of the Bible, as an inspired book, in danger of being overthrown by the results of modern Biblical criticism?

I recognize the exceeding delicacy of the discussion to which this question leads. Indeed, I have not been in the habit of taking up any critical inquiry without prayer for Divine guidance. It is legitimate for us to inquire whether the authority of the Scriptures, as inspired, is in danger of being overthrown by modern critical theories.

Modern criticism, as set forth by Christian scholars of the advanced school, claims that the Pentateuch is made up of various documents, at least five in number, written down at various times long after Moses, although having the stamp of his personality and of his spirit. Critics of the grosser sort, like Kuenen, see in two of these writings more or less distinct traces of what they are pleased to call pious fraud, while men like Professor Delitzsch see in them traditions preserved with a good degree of faithfulness which have come down from the great law-giver.

Modern criticism on internal evidence disputes the genuineness of the Psalms ascribed to David, and not only assigns the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah to a later author, sometimes called Deutero-Isaiah, but also considerable portions of the first part to other writers. Indeed it is perfectly untrammelled in its discussion of the authorship of all the Old Testament books, assigning Daniel to the year 165 B. C.

Supposing we were compelled to concede the main positions of the critics as proved, regarding the authorship and composition of the Pentateuch, and of other Old Testament books, should we thereby overthrow the Divine authority of the Bible? Can it be overthrown in any such way? It is true that some of our theories regarding the nature and extent of inspiration might be overthrown, but it must be remembered that, after all, the Bible rests on two immovable rocks:—

1. The existence of Christianity.
2. The character of the Scriptures themselves.

1. The existence of Christianity must be accounted for. There is no adequate way of accounting for it without a Divine revelation; the Scriptures do account for it; therefore we have reason to believe them to be Divine.

The line of argument is perfectly familiar which goes to show the supernatural origin of Christianity. We have no example of any other religion which can be compared with Christianity in its purity, and in the inexorable

character of its demands upon mankind for right living. It demands the crucifixion of self in the interests of humanity. Other forms of religion contain much that is praiseworthy, but they simply display scattered rays of light in the midst of great darkness. No religion but the Christian presents the source of light.

The study of comparative religions in recent years has become a science, and the theory of development is thought by many scholars to account for the advanced stage which we find in the Christian religion. The critics think they can show, in the Old Testament Scriptures, the progress of fetichism through polytheism and monolotry up to monotheism. But we do not find any such progress among any other people. Indeed, as far as we can see, among the great civilized nations of antiquity, it seems to be quite as likely from external evidence, that the representation of Paul is true that men have fallen from monotheism into polytheism (Romans i. 21-23). We certainly do not find among the Israelites, nor among the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Greeks, or the Romans, any such upward development as is postulated. It was in the time of Paul that we find in Athens, where classic culture had reached its height, not one god, as the result of ages of development in Greece, but many. It is under Agrippa, son-in-law of the Emperor Augustus in Rome, that we find at the end of seven hundred years of Roman history the Pantheon. It was on account of the multitude of deities among the Greeks and Romans that thinking men became infidels. In no other nation, as far as I am aware, beside Israel, does the theory of critics seem to hold that there is a progress from lower conceptions of God to higher. Nor does it hold there except by an arbitrary reconstruction of religious history.

Nor have we any reason to suppose that we have in the Christian religion, as revealed in the New Testament, a combination of that which was best in other systems. Ancient Israel was the most retired and secluded of all the peoples. It cannot for a moment be shown that its system of truth was derived from other peoples; indeed the very reverse is true — that peril to Israel came from contact with the nations of antiquity.

Granted that the progress of human thought has had more or less to do with giving shape to primitive Christianity, yet the fact remains that the Christianity of the first two centuries cannot be accounted for as an evolution of religious thought among the Israelites and the Jews, or as an evolution of the religious thinking of other peoples as gathered up in Jewish channels. Christianity must have had a Divine origin in a Divine Person — Jesus Christ, just as the religion of ancient Israel must have had a Divine origin through the mediatorship of Moses. The reason why the religions of ancient Greece and Rome ran out into polytheism was because they were natural, not revealed religions. The reason why we have monotheism at the end of Israel's history as well as at the beginning is not, as a French scholar has incorrectly said, because the Semitic peoples have a genius for monotheism, but because of a Divine revelation.

Christianity is the result of God working in history.

Now the Bible rests on this rock, the existence of Christianity. It is certain that there could be no Christianity without the Bible. We can say, in view of the history of the church, that without this book pure Christianity would have perished from the earth. We can say that without the Old Testament there could have been no Jewish Church. The law prepared the way for the prophets, and the prophets prepared the way for Christ. The natural growth of mere tradition is shown in the extremes of Judaism in the time of Christ, and in the corruptions of Romanism before the Reformation. Emphatically we can say Christianity is the religion of the Book ; but Christianity, as we have seen, must be Divine, hence the Book which prepared the soil for it, and to which it owes its existence, must be Divine.

2. Whatever modern Biblical criticism may prove regarding the origin and composition of certain books, the fact remains that our Bible is infinitely superior to that of any other people.

Scholars now have the means of judging for themselves. The University Press of Oxford has issued under the editorship of Max Müller about thirty octavo volumes containing the Sacred Books of the East as found among the Brahmins, the Persians, the Mohammedans, etc. It would be strange if in this array of literature bright grains of truth were not to be found, but they are mixed with heaps of rubbish.

It is not to be denied that there are points of contact between the Old Testament and certain things that we find in other literatures. It does not follow, however, that one is derived from the other any more than that words which resemble each other in the Indo-European and Semitic groups of languages have a common origin. They may simply have arisen from similar conditions.

Assyrian scholars have shown the close correspondence between the Chaldean Genesis and our own in many respects, but the differences are fundamental. We find in the Chaldean Genesis a polytheism which is gross, if not grotesque. We may well believe that Abraham brought these ancient traditions with him from Ur of the Chaldees, and that through the Spirit of God the grosser elements have been eliminated.

Egyptian scholars are reminded by the story of Joseph of the Tale of the Two Brothers, but the latter is full of wild and fantastic fancies, and is evidently mythical.

Brugsch thinks he sees that "Moses, in compiling his code of laws, did but translate into Hebrew the religious precepts which he found in the sacred books." But while the Ten Commandments declare the whole world guilty before God, the Ritual of the Dead, one of the most important religious works, represents the departed spirit as standing before the Judgment Seat of Osiris, the dread sovereign of the under world, and as proclaiming his innocence: "I have not blasphemed, I have not deceived, I have not stolen, I have not been drunken . . . ye know that I am without fault, without evil, without sin, without crime." This certainly proves nothing except that before the Ten Commandments were graven on stone, they

were also graven on the hearts of men. In the Bible, as I have said, man is convicted of sin ; in the Ritual of the Dead he wraps the robes of his self-righteousness around him. It is quite likely that regulations which we find in the Mosaic ritual regarding the priesthood may have been affected to some degree by similar regulations regarding the Egyptian priesthood and worship.

We also find in the Chaldean literature penitential psalms which are as tender in their confessions as those which we find in our own psalter. Many other resemblances might be pointed out ; the fact, however, remains, that when the critic and the student of comparative religions have done their utmost, there is still a great gulf fixed between our Scriptures and those of all other peoples.

We are of course aware of the dispensational and progressive element in Divine revelation. On account of the hardness of men's hearts, God did not bring them up to a perfect standard of living in those dark ages. He suffered polygamy, divorce, and slavery in a way which is not favored by New Testament Christianity.

But the difference between the conception of God as it obtains in the ancient religions and that which we have in our own Scriptures is heaven-wide. Both require self-sacrifice, but some forms of ancient religion require the sacrifice of life and virtue. Among the ancient Syrians every woman was expected once in her life to prostitute herself at the Temple of the Goddess and to contribute her hire to the treasury.

If we look at the most civilized nations of a younger antiquity, Greece and Rome, we find that the gods are simply deified men and women with all the passions of earth, although they are raised to Olympus. The father of gods and men appears in ancient mythology as guilty of the most shameful crimes.

Some Biblical scholars have been pleased to speak of Jehovah as a cruel and blood-thirsty tyrant. This, however, is not a conception which is derived from a study of the Old Testament. He is nowhere represented like the gods of the heathen as the incarnation of the most abominable human lusts ; He is pure and holy and demands that men should be the same.

There is no other literature which presents such a conception of God or of human society. Even Plato in his *Ideal Republic*, in which he embodies the highest conceptions of the Greek mind, falls infinitely below the Scriptural representation of the republic of God.

How do we account for the difference ? Is it because the Jews were naturally better than any nation that ever existed under heaven ? This cannot be. We know from their history that they fell into the vices of the peoples around them, but in the Bible we have a book prepared at different times during fourteen hundred years of their history which nowhere presents an unworthy conception of God, or demands an ignoble character of man, and this too, when we see into what extremes the people ran when left to themselves as illustrated by Judaism. How can we account for the fact

that ancient Chaldea, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, or any other nation under heaven, should have utterly failed to produce such a book, when the Hebrews, who in their natural state were much like these nations, succeeded in producing the book which to others was perfectly unattainable? How, except as we believe the representation of the Scripture, that in the Bible we have a revelation from God?

If the Christian system be Divine, the book which teaches that system must also be Divine. In its infinite superiority to all other ancient books it must be Divine. On these two rocks, then, the Divine character of the Bible stands and cannot be swept away by any floods of critical or scientific research that may rush against it.

We may as well admit that there are certain difficulties in the literary and historical problems of the Bible,—difficulties which infidels try to exaggerate and pervert to such an extent as to draw away the attention of men from the grand scope and power of the Scriptures as a whole.

A person of narrow mind may be so occupied with the faults of a great and noble man as utterly to blind himself to the appreciation of his virtues. The same is true of unbelief with its stale objections to the inspired character of the Scriptures. I like to think of the union between the human and Divine elements in Scripture—the written word—as being the same in kind as the union between the human and Divine in the person of Christ—the living Word.

God does not seem to have taken any great pains to have overcome the doubts of men, either in regard to Christ, or the Bible. The Pharisees sought a sign from heaven, but Christ declared that no sign should be given them but the sign of the prophet Jonah. Thousands saw Christ, but their preconceived views of the Messiah were such that the great majority were in doubt whether he was the true Messiah or not.

If we had been left to determine his genealogy we should have perhaps sought a different ancestry for Him from that represented by Tamar, Rahab, and Bathsheba. As the Jews had their preconceived notions of what the Messiah should be, so men have had their preconceived views of what the Bible should be, and have declared if these were overthrown all would be lost.

Men once argued that in Scripture as the work of the Divine Spirit we have the highest style. This is not true. The style is that of the men who wrote. In it human genius soars aloft, while at other times it droops. There is no style which we can consider the style of the Holy Spirit. The message, however, is not less Divine by reason of the imperfection of the messenger. Nevertheless it is true that the noble, elevated, and Divine thoughts which have filled the minds of the writers have produced a literature unequalled in the annals of antiquity, so that our greatest orators, like Daniel Webster, moulded their style after the model of Isaiah.

It was once maintained that the Hebrew text of the Old Testament had been transmitted with absolute perfection, that the vowel points were inspired. But this has not been found to be so. The vowel points, instead

of originating in the time of Moses, were gradually developed by the Mas-sorites, or the guardians of tradition, perhaps between the fifth and seventh centuries A. D.

Now while these concessions were made in the last century it has been deemed essential to the maintenance of these doctrines of inspiration which are held regarding the Scriptures, that we should maintain the infallibility of every statement bearing upon history and science, as well as the infallibility of those which bear upon doctrine and life.

I have not seen any reason to believe that we have in the Scriptures any tendency to represent facts differently from what they were or from what they were understood to be. The question is simply this : "Did God suspend the ordinary laws in writing history, as they obtained in a time when the Scriptures were written, so that men wrote the infallible truth, or did He permit the ancient prophets to use history as their contemporaries used it?"

It is impossible even now to secure the exact truth in history. In those ancient times it would have been necessary for God to have suspended the ordinary workings of the human mind and to have taken them absolutely under his control to have secured a perfect record. We have a conspicuous example of the truth that these laws were not set aside in the account of the inscription on the cross given by the four Evangelists :—

Matthew : "This is Jesus, the King of the Jews."

Mark : "The King of the Jews."

Luke : "This is the King of the Jews."

John : "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews."

Now this illustrates the methods of Old and New Testament historians regarding facts where there is evidently an effort to record the exact truth. Substantial unanimity of statement is secured without exact uniformity.

In other places arising from the homiletical use of Scripture, there seems to be considerable freedom among the prophetic and priestly writers in using the facts of history, almost as much as there is among conscientious ministers in the versions which they give to certain anecdotes in the illustration of truth. But we never find any such strange conceits in the versions of Scripture stories that we find in Mohammedan literature, for example in the history of Joseph. The point which I wish to urge is that except in certain historic facts which are the pillars of our faith and are recognized as such, like the leading events of Christ's life, history is not given for its own sake, but its primary end is instruction and warning. It is used for a homiletical purpose ; hence it is that some devout scholars like Professor Delitzsch even admit a mythical element in Scripture, just as all these elements of history, anecdote, and myth are now used by the most godly men in the illustration of truth.

So far as scientific facts are concerned, it is evident that popular language has been used. Whether the profoundest science which the world shall attain regarding the origin of all things is contained in the first chapter of Genesis, or whether we simply have impressive statements regarding God as

the Creator of all things, we need not determine. Certainly one important object of the narrative is to teach that God made all things.

It is nowhere announced in Scripture that its object is to teach historic and scientific truth. It is clearly announced that the Old Testament Scriptures testify of Christ, and that "every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work."

We certainly need not make higher claims for the Scriptures than they make for themselves, especially when we remember with what freedom Christ and the New Testament writers quoted from the Old Testament, sometimes perhaps using the Aramaic version, sometimes the Septuagint, and sometimes their own rendering.

There is one point which I have not touched upon, that of doctrine. While I believe that there is much that is rudimentary and incomplete, and which passes away in the Old Testament, I hold that it is the necessary preparation for the New, and that in the New Testament we have the only revelation which the church is to expect concerning doctrine. The ethics of the Old Testament is, according to the testimony of Christ, imperfect, because it is adapted to the needs of a people suffering under it the limitations of an ancient civilization; but, with the exception of certain temporal injunctions evidently designed for the contemporaries of the Apostles, the New Testament contains the only revelation which we are to expect and is infallible in its teaching.

While I do not affirm that the positions of the modern critics with reference to the origin and composition of the Old Testament books are established, I do affirm that if they were, the Divine character of the Bible as an inspired book could not be shaken, when we consider the Divine character of Christianity which is based upon it as well as the infinite superiority of the Scriptures themselves to all other books.

While this is so I do not believe that any good can come from proclaiming these things to our congregations. As a general thing they are not prepared for such discussions, and might only be harmed by them. It does not follow that there are not occasions when they may be legitimately discussed. There are certain subjects which a father may speak of in private to his son which would not be adapted for a promiscuous assembly. There are certain difficulties in the Scriptures which we may treat of in private without injury where a public discussion of them might simply be harmful.

We should remember that the best evidence that we can give of the Divine character of the Bible is in lives conformed to its precepts.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE liquor traffic fleeces the community and so rules it. The United States are the wealthiest of modern nations. The profits of the whiskey syndicates, already enormous, are likely to increase faster than those of any other business. Alcohol becomes king, as cotton did, by commercial predominance; the money there is in it makes the liquor traffic powerful, lawless, and desperate. The sovereignty of the saloon in politics is maintained by the expenditure of millions for self-defense. In 1866 the National Liquor Dealers' Association massed the power of the liquor traffic so that its whole weight can be brought to bear upon any local struggle. Its policy is very evidently to control the machinery of both great political parties. There is now no doubt in candid minds that its influence is the greatest political danger of the republic, not only in municipal, but also in state and national politics. The severe but simple truth is that the most urgent question in American politics for some time to come will be, Shall our chief robbers become our chief rulers?

Emboldened by the defeat of constitutional prohibition in Michigan, Texas, Kentucky, West Virginia, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and by the repeal of the prohibitory amendment in Rhode Island, the vast wealth of the liquor syndicates is now to be used to secure the repeal of prohibition in Kansas and Iowa. A great contest impends over the republic, and seems not unlikely to tax its strength and virtue more severely than any struggle in its past history, unless it be that with slavery.

In spite of recent reverses, we do not doubt the ultimate success of constitutional prohibition, both state and national.

1. Twenty-nine out of sixty-seven counties in Pennsylvania voted for the prohibitory amendment. It would seem that county local option would rescue these portions of the State from the grasp of the liquor traffic.

2. It is not often enough noticed that in recent defeats of prohibition, the anti-prohibitionist vote has nowhere been a majority. In New Hampshire, for instance, the opponents of constitutional prohibition cast only 30,976 votes last March, or 14,486 less than a majority of all the votes at the presidential election of 1888. In Massachusetts, in April, 185,085 were polled against prohibition or 39,164 less than a majority. In Pennsylvania, the vote against the amendment was 484,644, that is, 13,941 less than a majority. It is estimated that, in fourteen States and one Territory in which a vote has been taken since 1880, on the question of constitutional prohibition, 1,621,300 electors voted for prohibition, and 1,965,785 against it, while 837,639 failed to record their preferences. Prohibition voters and non-voters taken together outnumbered the anti-prohibition voters by 483,154. This neutral factor of nearly half a million voters prevented a decisive result. ("The Voice," July 11, 1889.)

3. Scientific temperance education in elementary schools is now compulsory in twenty-five States and Territories, and is educating, slowly but surely, a better class of voters. "The star of hope for the Temperance reform," as Mrs. Hunt has said, "hangs over the schoolhouse." The great power of the Women's Christian Temperance Union will no doubt be exerted with new emphasis in present exigencies to advance educational as well as political temperance work.

4. Although large portions of the secular press are subsidized by the liquor syndicates and utterly misleading in their discussions of temperance issues, a sound temperance press is growing in power and rapidly acquiring national influence.

5. The churches are right with few exceptions, and so is the religious press.

6. The prohibition political party, already a makeweight of extreme importance, is likely to grow in power with every increase of the audacity of the saloons and of the political subserviency of the older parties.

In present circumstances of disaster we see no ground for dismay. It has always been our conviction that only a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together, as well as a prompt pull by the various temperance forces, can break the yoke of the

liquor traffic from the neck of the nation. We are unflinching opponents of license high or low. It robs Peter to pay Paul. It diminishes for a time the number of places where liquor is sold, but not the amount sold, nor the extent of drunkenness. It entrenches the liquor traffic behind the cupidity of the taxpayers. It is justly denounced, in the famous language of the most powerful of American churches, as "vicious in principle, powerless as a remedy. The liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin."

What combination, then, of temperance efforts is needed to meet the demands of a somewhat dark and ominous hour?

1. Vigorous promotion of compulsory, scientific temperance instruction in elementary schools.

2. The adoption of prohibition under the forms of county local option wherever a whole State does not seem ripe for the reform.

3. The withdrawal of temperance men from the support of every political organization that is dominated by the saloon.

4. The organization of anti-saloon political sentiment in entire independence of parties governed by the liquor interest.

5. Omnipotent temperance activity of all religious and philanthropic organizations.

These measures are of immediate urgency; but other expedients of undoubted indispensableness should be always kept in view.

6. Agitation for national prohibition, so that the reform may not be defeated by its weakness in isolated prohibitory states.

7. The ballot in the hands of women on the temperance question, as an offset to the foreign vote.

8. An educational test for the suffrage.

9. Ballot reform, including the Australian system for the prevention of corruption at the polls.

10. Compulsory voting, to destroy the mischiefs of absenteeism.

PROFESSOR DRUMMOND, whose work on "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" is so well known to students, and whose volume on "Tropical Africa" contains so many valuable suggestions as to the abolition of the slave-trade, has contributed

to the June "Scribner's Magazine" an article on "Slavery in Africa," so timely and forceful that we gladly make its essential paragraphs a part of our record of current reform.

The cause of this revived activity of the slave-trade is not far to seek. It is the normal expansion of a paying business. More men engage in it; more capital is invested in it. The Arab never retires from business. With the profits of his first small caravan he equips and heads a larger one. As the years pass, his flying columns grow larger and larger, and fiercer and fiercer. Now, he can attack with impunity a region which, in former days, he must have let alone. Formerly he fraternized and traded with the great interior nations; now he overthrows and carries them off bodily. Having much capital and better firearms he can push farther and farther into the country, establishing depots as he goes, which become minor centres of the trade. Long ago, the Arab dared not venture beyond a limited distance from the coast-line. Now he pervades and almost dominates the continent. As one region after another is drained of its slaves and ivory, fresh and remoter fields have to be sought out. So home after home is made desolate, region after region is ravished, state after state is demolished, nation after nation is mowed down like grass. Such being the state of matters in the interior of the country, to talk of the civilization of Africa, till this butchery is stopped, is but a mockery. No nation has either time, or heart, or encouragement to improve. To be rich is to excite cupidity and invite disaster; to be poor is to be the prey of the first murdering Arab who happens to pass that way.

Where do the slaves go to? What is their final market and destination? These questions are among the first to be asked by those whose interest is awakened in the slave-trade, and the answers are not so easy to put together. In the first place, multitudes are used up as mere beasts of burden. The mortality in a slave-caravan has already been referred to. Now, in all cases where a slave who is a carrier or porter succumbs on the march, a fresh man has to be secured from some neighboring tribe to carry on his load. Vacancies caused by desertion are supplied in the same way. The vacancies caused among the local tribes due to the filling up of these vacancies, again, have to be supplied by fresh seizures of slaves from surrounding tribes, so that a perpetual circulation of this human currency is set in motion. Again, the domestic slaves of the coast-regions were for a long time drained away by shipment from the various slaving ports. The supply throughout vast littoral territories was thus exhausted and had to be continuously replenished from caravans arriving from the interior. These domestic slaves were absolutely necessary to the coast-tribes for household and agricultural purposes, and there can be no doubt that enormous numbers of slaves have lately been absorbed to replace those exported from the littoral zone at earlier periods.

But, in addition to this, it is an open secret that several large and defined markets for slaves exist in many parts of Africa and in the adjoining isl-

ands. Off the Zanzibar coast, for instance, the extensive plantations of Pemba are wrought by slave-labor. Owing to the nature of the work and the fatal insalubrity of the climate the death-rate here is terrible, and a ceaseless traffic with the coast has to be kept up to supply the almost daily blanks. The slavers of the Mozambique Channel find a ready market in the Comoro Islands, and even in Madagascar. Abyssinia, again, has many slave-markets, the slaves being taken overland to Roheita, on the south of Assab Bay, whence they are shipped during the night in dhows to Jeddah, Hodeida, and elsewhere in Arabia. Turning to the north of the continent, we find that almost every town in Morocco is furnished with its slave-market. A few years ago these markets existed in all the Mediterranean provinces, and they are still in active life everywhere south of the European boundaries. In a word, it may be said that almost every Mohammedan town in the country is a receiving and distributing centre for slaves.

At this moment a freshly organized slaving centre has just been erected in the heart of one of the most hopeful districts in Africa — the north end of Lake Nyassa. Civilizing and missionary agencies, after years of work, and after the most serious cost in lives and money, were just beginning to tell upon that country. But everything is now disorganized, paralyzed, and put to confusion; and till these Arab intruders are driven from their intrenchment no further progress can be dreamed of. The very existence of the tribes who are there being worked upon is threatened, and those who know the local conditions intimately are compelled, against all their previous policy and inclinations, to call for the help of arms. Fortunately, this cry for help has been heard by willing ears, and a Nyassa Defense Fund is now being raised in Scotland to deal practically with this special crisis.

But it is evident that if action along this line is to be taken at all it must not be local or temporary or spasmodic, but an organized system with ramifications in every quarter of the continent. And hence schemes of a larger kind are being discussed. The general basis of these proposals is to have armed boats on the great inland lakes, with depots of men here and there who would act as a sort of police-patrol. To be more than child's play, such schemes would have to be international in character; and coöperation between all the countries and agencies at work in Africa would be a first condition of success.

Two things give one hope that some such scheme may yet take definite shape. The first is the formation of Anti-slavery Societies all over Europe. Mainly as the result of the noble crusade of Cardinal Lavigerie, these societies are now organized in Germany, France, and Belgium, and others are following in Italy, Spain, and other countries of Europe. Large sums of money are pouring into their treasuries, Pope Leo XIII. having headed the subscription-lists with a donation of 300,000 francs. What the policy of these various societies may be, remains to be seen, but the mere awakening of an interest so widespread and practical must be an important factor in the solution of the problem.

The second hopeful sign is the adoption of the anti-slavery policy by the

German Reichstag, and its coöperation with England in the blockade of the Zanzibar coast. Germany has a great and momentous future in relation to this question. Vast tracts of Africa are now under her wing, and if she rises to her opportunity immediate progress may be made. But the practical interest of England and Germany must not be limited to this. Merely to operate on the coast is not even to half do the work. The real mischief is in the interior. It is there the Arab must be dealt with ; and even apart from that Arab slavery which finds its main outlet at the various seaports, the raiding of African chief against chief and of larger tribe against weaker is in some regions almost as bad. Nowhere is there any real security to the native, either of life or property ; and the whole country, in a word, requires administration. Any scheme, therefore, which is permanently to improve the country must strike at once for its heart. And on the whole, and until the various colonizing and missionary agencies have begun to tell upon the lives and habits of the people, the establishment of some definite police administration throughout the interior seems to be the most rational policy.

Such ideas as these are already possessing the public mind in England. Everywhere meetings are being held to discuss this question. The government, the church, and the most famous names in the country are interested in it; and the time for action on the large scale cannot be far away.

What will America do to help ? Time was when the United States kept a cruiser on the west coast of Africa to check this trade. But when the attitude of America to the Congo treaty is remembered, and her refusal to touch the question of the exportation to Africa of arms, ammunition, and liquor, can it be said that she keeps her place to-day in that moral reformation of the world which is the duty and privilege of all the foremost nations ? Is it true of that Constitution of which she is so worthily proud, that with reference to these questions, and in the words of the Prime Minister of England : " They (the United States) have told us that, owing to the peculiarities of their Constitution, they are not very anxious to enter into obligations with foreign powers ? " America has never been provincial. She must not become so. So manifold and pressing are now the interests of her own great country that she might also be pardoned if she did. But the world will be bewildered and disappointed if she separates herself now from the rest of mankind in facing those great wrongs of humanity from which seas cannot divide her and which her poorer brethren in every part of Europe are giving themselves to relieve. America does well in refusing the entanglements of European politics. Let her be careful lest she isolate herself from its humanities.

MR. GLADSTONE, speaking at St. Austell recently to an audience of some 6,000 people, advocated the principle that the settlement of the question of church disestablishment in England, Scotland, and Wales should be left to the choice of each of these countries by itself. His remarks have caused great satis-

faction among Nonconformists and great dissatisfaction among Churchmen. We add a *verbatim* report of the entire passage on this large and intricate topic of reform.

Now I am going to fulfill my promise — and the fulfillment of that promise will, as usual, entail a burden on you [“No,” and cheers] — the promise was that I would refer to the subject of disestablishment which you have mentioned in this address and which naturally possesses a special interest and attraction in a county inhabited very largely by conscientious Nonconformists. [Loud cheers.] You have in one sense given me more credit than I deserved. [“No.”] You say that I am entitled to the credit of having introduced disestablishment into the programme of the Liberal party. [“Yes,” and cheers.] Well, now, disestablishment is both a vast and a varied subject so far as England is concerned. [Hear, hear.] I apprehend there are few of you who think that a legislative settlement of that question is very near at hand. [Hear, hear.] It is a subject of the deepest complexity and attended with the greatest possible differences of opinion. [Cheers.] I do not think that the most sanguine among you would presume to say that there has yet been in England a distinct pronouncement of the national voice upon the subject of disestablishment. [Cheers.] You see, or you believe you see, a movement of opinion in that direction, and I believe that you are wisely content to watch those results which are achieved in this country when the due season has arrived. [Cheers.] Naturally, at my time of life such a subject is placed beyond all possibility — all reasonable possibility — of contact with myself. [Hear, hear.] If it ever comes it will come to a prepared people [cheers]; it will come without the bitterness which unfortunately has too much marked our recent conflicts on the subject of Irish privileges. [Cheers.] It will come, I think, to the great religious community which will have learned before that time to disavow all selfish dependencies upon the temporal and secular arm [renewed cheers], which will know that the establishment is one thing and that the Church is another thing [loud cheers], and which will have ample means undoubtedly, if the spirit be not wanting to provide, to fill up whatever void might be caused by the withdrawal of the support from national property which the Church may now be considered to receive. [Loud cheers.]

That is all I mean to say on the subject of English disestablishment, but I come now to the question of disestablishment in other parts of the country, which undoubtedly stands in a different position. [Cheers.] But here I do not think I deserve the credit you have given me, because my leader in this matter was Lord Hartington. [Laughter and slight hissing.] He was my leader [laughter] — whether he is my leader I am not so certain. [Laughter.] But I am quite willing that he should be my leader, provided he will lead in the direction which he himself has pointed out. [Laughter.] I feel a doubt about it, because there have been subjects on which he has given important popular votes as a member of the Liberal Government and on which he has given votes directly the reverse for the purpose of support-

ing the Tory administration. [Laughter and hisses.] I have, however, some misgivings — I am not going to dwell upon his shortcomings [laughter], but I am going to dwell upon his longcomings. [Cheers and loud laughter.] I am going to dwell upon words that he spoke when he was the leader of the Liberal party — about the year, I think, 1878. He attended a public celebration in Scotland, and courageously referred to the question of Scottish establishment or disestablishment, and he said in terms unequivocal, “That is a question which ought to be settled according to the sense of the people of Scotland.” [Hear, hear.] Now, I took the earliest opportunity of giving in my adhesion to that declaration, and I acted by that declaration, I abide by that declaration now, and I extend it, as it ought to be extended, and as I hope Lord Hartington will extend it [laughter], to the people of Wales.

Now, gentlemen, I am going to say a few words in self-defense against my own friends. [Laughter.] You will hear them with patience, and I am very sanguine, myself, of their effect, because I can, I think, perfectly explain what has been a little misapprehended. I have read various declarations of friends — excellent political friends of my own in Wales — who have stated their regret that I was absent from the recent division in the House of Commons upon the subject of the Welsh Establishment. Now, gentlemen, I will ask you to consider with me the connection that there is between that question and the declaration of Lord Hartington on one side, and the essential importance of keeping the Scotch question in its position as a Scotch question, and keeping the Welsh question in its position as a Welsh question. I have always said to those in favor of disestablishment in Scotland that nothing could be more judicious with reference to their interests than the declaration of Lord Hartington, because this case might have happened, and this case, I believe, would have happened. There are those who say that everything ought to be determined by the aggregate majority in Parliament — the aggregate majority, that is to say, if England, with its enormous proportion of representatives, think one way, and if Scotland and Wales, with their comparatively limited proportion of representatives, think the other way. Then, however Scotch or Welsh the question may be, however little England may have to do with it, yet the vast majority is sometimes supplied by the numbers of Englishmen, who reach much more than two thirds of the entire House of Commons, and that is to be the position which Scotland and Wales are contentedly to accept, and apart from their own convictions. Now, ladies and gentlemen, what I have always thought is that the main object was that such a question as Establishment should be reserved for Scotch decision or for Welsh decision. Of course, I do not mean that England is to have nothing to say to it; but I mean this, that England, in giving her decision, ought first to ask herself whether it is not a subject that should be decided according to the views prevalent in every portion of the country with respect to it, and with respect to it separately and distinctly. Well, now, what has happened, gentlemen, is this. There is a certain rivalry between the Scotch and Welsh upon the subject of disestablishment. [Applause.] The Welsh think, or may appear

sometimes to think, that their question should take precedence, and the Scotch think their case should take precedence. Now, the case, I think, stands thus — the Scotch question was first in the field. The matter of Scotch disestablishment, if Parliament were to decide upon it, is a matter infinitely easy of execution. It would produce no religious shock or change, because the Scotch are so well accustomed to the principle of voluntary support, and because, indeed, in the case of the Free Kirk, and in the case of the United Presbyterians, they have given examples, perhaps the most remarkable to be found anywhere on the face of Christendom. [Cheers.] There could be no shock of any sort attending it, but, on the other hand, it is a fact in Wales that legally the Welsh Church is a part of the Church of England, and executive difficulties and legislative difficulties would have to be encountered in disentangling one from the other. [Loud cheers.] I have no doubt that that difficulty could be confronted when the case has arisen. Now, in Wales they have also this, that, although there is a large majority of Scotch representatives favorable to disestablishment, yet the majority of Welsh representatives is larger, and it may even be a question whether in the next Parliament in both countries this majority will not be largely increased [hear, hear] and whether in Wales there may not be almost a unanimity of representation on this important change.

Now, gentlemen, I will tell you the course I have deemed it my duty to take. I have said the Scotch question should be settled according to the sense of Scotland, and the Welsh question according to the sense of Wales, but I have also felt that it was my duty, my absolute duty, to have a clear, unequivocal, undoubted, constitutional proof of the existence of that sentiment. It was not a matter into which I could have rushed precipitately. [Hear, hear.] Supposing that I had given a precipitate vote on Welsh disestablishment before full and adequate evidence was supplied to me, what should I have done? I should have given an excuse and precedent to all English members and to all non-Welsh members for doing that very thing which I wish to prevent them from doing — namely, from deciding upon this important question for Scotland and for Wales otherwise than according to the clear and ascertained sense of the people. Now, gentlemen, some of my friends in Wales, when they saw the list of the division on the Welsh disestablishment the other day, and saw that my name was not on it, perhaps not unnaturally they thought that I had done that which is sometimes found by some portion of the House of Commons to be a convenience — namely, to shirk giving a vote upon a question. [Laughter.] It was not possible for me, gentlemen, to take any such course. It has never been my Parliamentary practice [hear, hear], to avoid the difficulty by declining to give an opinion. It was, in my opinion, my absolute duty to do these two things — first of all, to wait for a full, undoubted, and I will even say repeated declaration that there might be no question at all upon the subject; and, secondly, to pursue the same course with regard to Scotland and to Wales. I had therefore, allowed the question of Scotch disestablishment to go to a division twice in separate sessions of Parliament before taking any part

upon it myself. [Hear, hear.] Having witnessed that double result I confess that I am of opinion that the time has come when the sense of Scotland has been sufficiently and unequivocally declared. [Loud cheers.] I did the very same thing in regard to Wales. Once there had been a division on Welsh disestablishment before I declared at Nottingham my strong opinion that the Liberal party ought to have these questions settled according to the convictions of the respective countries, and I thought it my absolute duty to Scotland, as well as to the country at large, that I should lay down for myself the very same condition in respect to Wales [hear], and, as I had required a double declaration, with a reasonable interval of time between, before I could say that Scotland had spoken unequivocally upon Scotch disestablishment, so I should wait for the second occasion of a Welsh vote before I should say that Wales had spoken on the subject of disestablishment in Wales. [Hear, hear.]

I am sure, gentlemen, you will understand that this was no more than the duty of a person holding the position that I had the honor to hold in Parliament, whose vote never can be considered as a merely personal vote, but whose vote always assumes more or less the character of an appeal to all those whose general confidence he may have the happiness to possess to vote as he has done. [Hear, hear.] You will understand, then, that the condition which I laid down was this full and unequivocal evidence of the two countries. Having that full and unequivocal evidence before me, when the question is brought forward again with respect to the one country or the other I shall be ready to render a distinct account of my opinions. I shall not flinch from entering into the division lobby [cheers], and from what I have said you may be able to form a conjecture of what my vote may be. [Cheers.] But, at any rate, that will be the course which I shall take, and I shall feel that in taking that course I have done all that I can to secure for Scotland and for Wales the privilege of exercising a determining influence upon what is so important to their feelings and to their condition, and of saving them from the danger in which they might otherwise stand of being overborne by an English majority rushing upon them and deciding these Welsh and Scotch matters according to a possible balance of English opinion in a directly opposite sense. [Hear, hear.] Well, gentlemen, that is an important matter of policy with regard to which I have no apology to make for the line that I have taken. I fall back again upon the principle of that declaration which I quoted from Lord Hartington in the beginning of my remarks, and I trust that you will with me look in respect to these subjects, not only to your own personal preferences in favor of disestablishment, which you may possibly find to be overborne by an English majority the other way, but that you will stoutly insist that we are bound to pay a certain equitable regard to the feeling prevailing in other divisions of the United Kingdom with respect to questions that concern almost exclusively the interests of those divisions. In so doing I believe that you will take the course most agreeable to the people of Scotland and to the people of Wales, and the course that is most in conformity to the political principles that you profess. [Hear, hear.]

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, A SAFEGUARD OF THE REPUBLIC.

ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PROFESSOR L. T. TOWNSEND, D. D., AT DARTMOUTH
COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT, 1889.

WHEN the Athenian Commonwealth was in peril, her great orator, though abundantly qualified to discuss in classic style either the problems of history or the advantages and triumphs of learning, called the attention of the people, with an earnestness rarely equaled, to the aggressions of Philip of Macedon. And we may therefore infer, had there been then, either in the groves of the Academy or in those of the Lyceum, a gathering of scholars answering to a modern College Commencement, that he would not have allowed the opportunity to pass without calling the attention of those assembled scholars and other men of influence to the political duties devolving upon them in times of national disturbance and danger.

Likewise, when the Roman Republic was in peril, her matchless scholar, statesman, and orator, whose versatility and elasticity of mind would not have failed him, whatever the place, the occasion, or the subject for discussion or debate, chose such themes as enabled him to utter to his fellow-citizens words of earnest entreaty and warning. We easily can imagine, therefore, had Cicero been invited to speak at the Commencement of any of the Roman schools of poetry, philosophy, oratory, or

art, which were then flourishing, that unhesitatingly he would have seized upon the opportunity to show that the adornments of learning, desirable and worthy of the highest praise as they are, would afford only small protection against national ruin, and that the people would not long possess the scholastic privileges then enjoyed, if the disloyalty and conspiracy of Catiline were not rebuked, and if the designs of the triumvirs, Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, were not speedily thwarted.

Frequently in other of the states of Europe, and in our own republic, as well during her two contests with Great Britain as during the War of the Rebellion, not only college halls echoed on Commencement days to words of warning and even to a call to arms, but also in cathedrals and in churches there was preached a militant gospel without doing any violence to the sense of propriety in those who had gathered to listen.

If, therefore, our republic at present is in any way endangered, and if one is inclined to point out impending evils, or if one thinks there are safeguards that should be thrown up or strengthened, is one not justified, even in this scholarly presence, and amid these quiet retreats, happily secluded from much of the political tumult heard elsewhere, should one select, not some classic theme, such as the history of literature, the advantages of the higher grades of education, the triumphs of art and science, or the glories of ancient or modern civilization, but in its place some subject purely political? Indeed, would not one be justified should the whole hour be devoted to depicting the mischievous trend of social and political affairs and the probable disastrous outcome unless certain tendencies are speedily arrested, or unless existing safeguards are made more secure and effective?

Though such a discussion would be fully justified, both by the examples just cited and by the evils now menacing the nation, still the intention of your speaker is not to take full advantage of the privileges of the hour, by confining attention to thoughts which in their discussion allow of no departure from our national perils, but rather we ask attention to a theme whose fitness we trust will commend itself even to the most conservative, though there shall be heard, as a sort of undertone,

warnings as to what possibly may become, if our carelessness continues, a disastrous tempest. Our subject is,

THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE, A SAFEGUARD OF THE REPUBLIC.

The proposition around which the introductory parts of the discussion will be found to revolve is wellnigh self-evident, and is this, that the intellectual and moral character of a people is decisive as to the form of government best adapted to that people.

It may not be devoid of interest, in seeking for an application of the principle involved in this proposition, to study for a moment the general forms under which governments may exist. They are usually and easily classified under three types — government by one person, government by a few privileged persons, and government by all the people directly or representatively. Often, however, there is a combination of two or more of these.

The extreme poles between which are found most of the extinct and existing forms of government, including aristocracies and federal republics, are, therefore, pure despotisms on the one hand, and pure democracies on the other.

Sparta, during her independence, especially while under the rule of the Magistrates and Senate; Athens, just after the times of Solon; and the Italian republics, notably those of Venice and Genoa, present, perhaps, the best types of government by a few privileged persons, though existing under the names of republics.

It is worthy of note also that republics are of two types — centralized and non-centralized. When the general government represents the sovereignty of the people, independent of local governments, and when the power of the whole nation, as in case of France and the republics of South America, is exercised by a general government, we have what is termed a centralized republic. But when the general government, as for instance, that of the Greek republics, the free cities of Germany, and the United States, is restricted constitutionally so as not to control or interfere in certain respects with the local government of the several states, and when the voice of the different states is

necessary in order to accomplish certain measures in behalf of the general government, then the republic is termed non-centralized.

Now, whatever may be the form of state or national government, whether it be monarchic, aristocratic, democratic, centralized or non-centralized, or a combination of any two or more of them, its existence can be justified only as it secures or contributes to the following ends : —

The defense of person and property ;

The administration of justice ;

And the development of society.

These securities are regarded as the specific aims of government, each one of which, however, as will be observed, rests upon the fundamental principle that the ultimate object of government is to secure perpetually the greatest good to the greatest number ; this primal purpose of government we shall not lose sight of during this discussion.

Only a moment's reflection at this point is necessary to convince any thoughtful person that a form of government which secures the greatest good to one people may not secure it to another, and that a form of government which is best for one generation may not be best for another. A government which is most desirable in the British Isles, for instance, may not be the most desirable one for the aborigines of North America ; and that which is best for Britons to-day may not be best to-morrow ; indeed, certain changes in the government of Great Britain, if we mistake not, will soon be inevitable. A federation is not improbable ; and disintegration may follow.

At this point our leading proposition, that the intellectual and moral character of a given people is decisive as to the best form of government for that people, recurs, with this additional factor, that the character of a given people is prophetic of the government to which that people ultimately will be subjected.

The existing mountain republics of Europe, though small, are strong and orderly. The people there make them such. The republics of Central and South America are weak and turbulent ; the people there make them such. Could the mountaineers of Switzerland, and the inhabitants of San Marino or An-

dorra, be transported to San Salvador or Bolivia, there would be, for a time at least, as orderly republics in those countries as among the mountains of Europe, and they would be as secure against subversion and overthrow. In general if the character of a given people improves, the government of that people will improve; if the character of the people degenerates, the government will degenerate. Whatever the form of the government, if the condition of the people becomes such as to justify a *Magna Carta*, it will be demanded and granted. The improved conditions of citizenship in Japan have secured there within a few weeks a remarkable and bloodless revolution in the government of the country.

On the other hand, several once flourishing republics became after a time, through the degeneracy of the people, monarchies and even despotisms. Indeed, a day came in the history of nearly every one of the extinct republics, when patriotic and law-abiding citizens asked for a ruler, whether dictator or despot they cared not, provided he had ability to command obedience and power sufficient to bring order out of confusion.

It must be apparent to every one, after a moment's thought, that these principles are general, and, therefore, are applicable to the United States of America. The application leads to these statements: —

The form of government which was best in this country when English yeomen chiefly constituted the population of the colonies and when Puritanism prevailed, may not be best when the United States are crowded with hastily-naturalized and ignorant foreigners, or when some phase of anarchism is supreme in all our cities. The desirableness and fitness of government hinge upon the principle before us, — namely, the government in a given instance which secures for the longest time the greatest good to the greatest number is the best government.

There have been, and doubtless are to-day, conditions of citizenship in our country which render a federal and representative form of government the most desirable possible. But since the benefits of a republican government are not secured unless the people have right-mindedness, it follows that a quarter or a half century hence, possibly, within either of these periods,

there may be such conditions of citizenship that our federal compact will be the least desirable possible, less desirable than the centralization of France, less desirable than the aristocracies of Genoa and Venice, less desirable than the limited monarchy of Great Britain, less desirable even than the comparatively absolute monarchies of Russia and Turkey. What was best for the United States yesterday may not be best to-day; what is best to-day may not be best to-morrow, are political postulates from which there is no easy escape.

"Every age," as Heine forcibly expresses the thought, "is a sphinx, which sinks into the earth as soon as its problem is solved."

In a word, it is only when the will of the multitude is most likely to secure for the longest time the greatest good to the greatest number, that a democracy for the United States is to be regarded as the most desirable form of government; hence should a day come when the *will* of a monarch or that of a dictator would secure the greatest good to the greatest number of our people, then a monarchy or a dictatorship, for that time at least, would be the best government.

Doubtless we may advance a step farther without provoking antagonism. For since forms of government strongly sympathize with or represent the character of the people governed, and since the character of the people of almost every nationality is so fluctuating that change rather than permanency, from the nature of the case, is the rule with all human institutions, it follows that great political changes in our republic are not only possible but are inevitable, and even desirable, unless there is resort without delay to ample protective agencies.

There is, therefore, no occasion for surprise that thoughtful people, who measurably understand the fundamental principles of government, or who are familiar with the fate of the extinct republics, are asking in all seriousness what can be done to avert political evils that have in more than one instance proved fatal to national existence. Men are asking if the immigration and naturalization laws of the United States cannot wisely be made less generous than they now are. Are not a higher standard of educational, and even a property, qualification for the

rights of suffrage possible and desirable, is a question that by our best citizens is more and more tolerated, to say the least, as the years go by. Something must be done is the feeling of all patriotic citizens, while not a few are hazarding the opinion that unless certain reforms are speedily secured the day is not distant when those who have property to protect and families to defend, feeling that the guardian power of the republic can be no longer relied on, will welcome, as a choice between evils, an imperial government, as was done when the most patriotic Roman citizens asked Cæsar to protect the unprotected and put under his feet a republic that already had been wrecked.

Men now respectfully listen to Macaulay's political prophecy, who but a few years ago smiled at it as the extravagant and envious dream of an imperialist. Will you allow the repetition of a few passages from that famous prediction ?

I am certain that I never wrote a line, and I never, in Parliament, in conversation, or even on the hustings, — a place where it is the fashion to court the populace, — uttered a word indicating an opinion that the supreme authority in a state ought to be intrusted to the majority of citizens ; in other words, to the poorest and most ignorant part of society. I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must sooner or later destroy liberty, or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. . . . You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World, and while this is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams, and in those Manchesters and Birminghams, hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. . . . It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who

are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when in the State of New York a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half a dinner, will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith. On the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne and ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folks are in want of necessaries. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should in a year of scarcity devour all the seed-corn, and thus make the next year, not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The spoliation will increase the distress. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century as the Roman Empire was in the fifth, with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman Empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your own country by your own institutions.¹

It is possible that there are still among us those who are disposed to sneer at these words as extravagant, or groundless. To all such it should be said that it ought to be more of a surprise than it appears to be that already a change from what is generally regarded as a higher to a lower form of government is now actually going on in the administration of our larger American cities; a change that seems to furnish indisputable evidence that our democratic institutions are a failure in the great centres of population.

The right of self-government one might suppose would be defended tenaciously by the leading citizens of Boston, a city

¹ Letter dated May 23, 1857, to Dr. H. S. Randall.

which we are accustomed to speak of as the birthplace of American freedom. But the condition even of that Puritan city became such in 1878, that her best citizens were willing to surrender, in a measure, this right of self-control, and petitioned for a State Board of Police, to which was granted almost absolute authority in police matters; and had there been no change in the sectarian make-up of the school committee at the late December election, Boston would have petitioned for a State Board to manage her educational as well as her police affairs. It was the character of the citizenship of that city in 1878 that justified a revolution in her municipal government; and it was brought about without bloodshed or noticeable remonstrance.

More than this, it is not among the improbabilities that the only solution of the problem now perplexing thoughtful minds as to the management of our large American cities, may be in every instance the surrender of the right of municipal government and the acceptance of a government at the discretion of the State. Such changes are undemocratic, and of course humiliating; they may be, however, inevitable.

What is true of cities is equally true of commonwealths. One commonwealth in our republic after another, overrun with hordes of ignorant, brutal, and lawless men, crowded with foreigners who take the sacred ballot in their hands before they are washed from the nastiness of Europe, infested with unprincipled demagogues, whose souls are strangers to everything noble and patriotic, all together bringing on civil, or rather uncivil, conditions in which no one's person, property, or family is safe, may surrender, at the solicitation of the most law-abiding citizens, their rights as States, and submit, at the discretion of Congress, to territorial government. Indeed, when other cities are in the condition of New York, and are strong enough to outvote the rural districts of a given State, the only redress left for well-disposed people in that State will be to make appeal to the federal government for both the enactment and administration of laws that shall secure protection.

And in the end, when the general government is itself polluted, and to that pollution, as no one can deny, we are hastening, then the wrecked republic can do no better than surrender

to any Augustus Cæsar who shall be able to protect the wealth of the property holder, encourage the scholar in his literary pursuits, and secure the homes of all against lawless invasions. But it should be remembered that after Augustus Cæsar, assassination and barbarism may come again.

There is the moral of all human tales,
 'T is but the same rehearsal of the past,
 First freedom, and then glory ; when that fails,
 Wealth, vice, corruption, — barbarism at last ;
 And History, with all her volumes vast,
 Hath but one page.

To be sure we had indulged the fond expectation that on these shores, in this new world, would be builded up a superb government such as would realize the dreams and ideals of the good and noble of all ages ; we had strong reasons to hope that the sacrifices of the past were not to have been in vain, and that the majestic American Republic would last to the end of time. But with a duration as yet briefer than that of more than one of the extinct republics, thoughtful men, as we have said, are already perplexed and do not know what will be the contents of the next centenary volume of our national history.

We are aware that there is a vague impression among our complacent and less thoughtful people that our republic is in no danger, and it is confidently asserted that there are in the United States securities against national overthrow which did not exist in the earlier republics.

The magnificent extent of our domains, the vast resources of wealth and aggrandizement, as yet only partially developed, the triumphs of mechanical industries, and our system of public education have been emphasized and expatiated on by popular orators during the last three fourths of a century. But does not all history and the condition in which the country to-day finds itself admonish us not to depend for national security on extent of territory, or on material possessions, or on the general distribution of information, or on facilities for intercommunication, or on the temporary domination of any political party ? Are we not amply admonished that our protection and perpetuity depend rather upon that which enters and controls the national life of the people ?

What constitutes a State ?

Not high-raised battlements, or labored mound,
Thick wall or moated gate ;
Not cities proud, with spires and tunnels crowned,
Not bays and broad-armed ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride ;
Nor starred and spangled courts,
Where low-browed baseness wafts perfume to pride.

No. Men, high-minded men,

With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude —
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and, knowing, dare maintain,
Prevent the long-armed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain, —
These constitute a State.

Unless wealth shall make men less selfish and more patriotic, it is no national safeguard. And need you be told that the millionaire is often less devoted to his country's welfare than is the man in moderate circumstances? It is the wealth of the country that is sometimes used to control and corrupt, chiefly with selfish intent, every branch of our government.

Unless rapid and easy transit between States shall improve the moral quality of our citizenship, the country is not a whit safer than if the only means of communication between East and West were confined to stage-coach or horseback.

Unless steamboats, railroads, telegraphs, and telephones aid in making men more temperate, more honest, and more pure, they should not be mentioned among the things contributing to the permanency of the republic.

The man who watches his flocks on the hillside by day, and sleeps in a mountain hamlet at night, is as free from demoralizing temptations, and is quite as likely to be a valuable citizen, as is the man who rides in a palace steamboat. The citizen, not the steamboat, affords national security. It is not the railroad, but the citizen, that is to decide what form of government is best, and therefore inevitable in our country.

And, too, unless our system of public education, popular as it is, adds to the patriotism and the integrity of our citizens, by the

development of what is noblest in man, even this boasted advantage will not in any considerable measure make for the perpetuity of our free institutions. Indeed, men of the highest intellectual culture have been unsafe citizens; and men who can read and write may be our most dangerous criminals.

In the memoirs of Duc de Sully we read that Servin brought to the court his son, desiring for him a government appointment. The following are some of the young man's accomplishments as reported by Sully: —

“He was of so prodigious memory that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and mathematics; . . . he not only understood Greek and Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons or modern dialects; he had a genius for poetry and had written many verses; his body was perfectly well suited to his mind; he was light, nimble, dexterous, and fit for all exercises; there are no games of recreation that he did not know.” These were only a part of the young man's accomplishments.

If, therefore, mental and physical development qualify for citizenship and entitle to official position, why had not the son of Servin full right to recognition? In mental and physical development he stands a long way in advance of any of our public school graduates.

Sully, however, refused to give that brilliant young man a government office, because he found that only one side of his character had been correctly developed. We quote again from the memoirs: —

“But now for the reverse of the medal; here it appeared that this young man was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful, a liar, a cheat, drunkard, and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist; in a word, in him might be found all the vices that are contrary to nature, honor, religion, and society.”

Later, the memoirs, speaking of his death say: “He died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with a glass in his hand, cursing and denying God.” So much for an intellectual develop-

ment that has no religion in it. For what position, except a state prison cell, is such an educated and accomplished man entitled?

At this point, as you are aware, we are nearing disputed, and, in some respects, hotly contested territory. And if we linger here for a few moments, we hardly can be exposed to the criticism of making this part of the address disproportional to the other parts.

There are men of considerable distinction, men who claim for themselves a very high rank in literary circles, a claim supported by not a few of their admiring friends, who insist that everything religious should be banished from our public schools, and that whatever is politically needful in moral and religious culture must be received elsewhere. It is urged that the moral precepts of the Bible, to say nothing of the more profoundly reconstructive and reformatory measures and methods of evangelical Christianity, such as conversion, regeneration, and sanctification, should have no part or place in our educational training. The plea is that the function of the public school is merely to develop the intellectual faculties and allow the conscience to take care of itself. And it is this restricted development of the intellect, we are sorry to say, that is coming to be the great American fetich; those who adore it and who are ready to fight, if not to die for it, seem to be on the constant increase. That it should be thus is a surprise; for where is the man of intelligence who will not say that America needs conscience to-day as much as she needs intellect; and conscience, as was long since shown, is rarely healthful and binding, if indeed it can have an existence except in its connection with the religious sentiment. It is the recognition of a Supreme Being that gives to conscience its potency; this recognition is the foundation of religion. And it is the wholesome and restraining fear, inspired by thoughts of that Being which is the beginning of true wisdom.

The point we make is this: that without the development of the conscience and the religious sentiment on which it largely depends, the schoolboy with his trained intellect will be able, on account of his training, the more successfully to outwit the ignorant policeman and detective; he will be more subtle and

less brutal in what he does, but he may not be, on that account, one whit less perilous to the welfare of the American Republic than is the man who cannot read and write. The former opinion that crime is somehow connected with inability to read is no longer held. They are the educated inmates of jails and prisons that have shaken public confidence in the remedial agency of the alphabet.

These aphorisms, which resolutely antagonize the modern notion of education, are indisputable: "Culture, untouched by religion, has no redeeming power;" "Whenever culture of intellect outstrips the culture of conscience, disaster follows;" "Popular intelligence with popular unbelief ends in popular corruption."

"Mere intellectual training does not inspire patriotism or reduce crime." "The schoolroom may make a more crafty demagogue without making a safer citizen."

We have spoken of the non-religious type of education as a modern idea. In support of this statement you scarcely need be told that the day has been, and within the last half century, that instruction in the Bible and in the Assembly's Catechism was a part of the common school education in New England. Teachers were permitted and encouraged to promote in their schools religious revivals, and were sometimes selected and appointed because they had this evangelistic power and success. And it is in the face of this changed and supposed improved condition of school affairs in which religion is not recognized that we submit the statement that American citizens who in their youth were brought under that somewhat rigorous religious discipline have made the republican institutions of this country a possibility, while those men whose conscience has been left to itself, even when trained in the public school, are a menace to the political freedom that we have inherited. We repeat, it is not a cultivated intellect that our country is languishing for; it is a cultivated intellect *and* a cultivated conscience; one that can see things in the light of eternity and that recognizes the abiding presence of a just God, to whom every man is responsible.

Also we must challenge this modern idea of non-religious

education on the ground that it antagonizes the opinions of men in whose presence those who claim to be educational reformers appear to the poorest possible advantage.

Washington, in his farewell address, says: "Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

Daniel Webster, in his argument against the Girard will, expresses essentially the same opinion: "In what age, by what sect, where, when, by whom, has religious truth been excluded from the education of youth? Nowhere! — never! Everywhere and at all times it has been regarded as essential." Alas! were Mr. Webster among us to-day he would have to change his language, and be compelled to say, "Nowhere! — never!" excepting in some of the leading States of the American Republic.

Victor Cousin, the profoundest of French philosophers, in an address before the Chambers of Peers, declared that "any system of school-training which sharpens and strengthens the intellectual powers without supplying moral culture and religious principle is a curse rather than a blessing."

The distinguished statesman, De Tocqueville, after visiting America, wrote these instructive words: "The United States must be religious in order to be free. Society there must be destroyed unless the Christian moral tie be strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed; and what can be done with a people who are their own masters, if they be not submissive to Deity? . . . Despotism may govern without religious faith, but liberty cannot."

John Locke's view is essentially the same: "If virtue be not got and settled so as to keep out ill and vicious habits, languages and sciences and all the other accomplishments of education will be to no purpose but to make the worse or more dangerous man."

"The belief in the moralizing effects of intellectual culture is absurd," is Herbert Spencer's brief but decisive comment upon this subject.

Dr. Thomas Arnold, whose eminent scholarship and profound thinking entitle his words on this subject to the most respectful consideration, is explicit and emphatic in his condemnation of a system of education which ignores the religious faculties : —

Physical science alone, he says, can never make a man educated ; even the formal sciences, invaluable as they are with respect to the discipline of the reasoning powers, cannot instruct the judgment ; it is only moral and religious knowledge which can accomplish this ; and if, habitually removing such knowledge from the course of our studies, we exercise our thoughts and our understanding exclusively on lower matters, what will be the result, but that when we come to act upon these higher points, in our relations as citizens and men, we shall act merely upon ignorance, prejudice, and passion ? For notions of moral good and evil of some sort we must have ; but if we take no pains that these notions shall be true and good, what will our lives be but a heap of folly and of sin ? This should be borne in mind carefully ; and if these merely scientific or literary institutions appear to us to be sufficient for our instruction ; if, having learned all that they can teach us, the knowledge so gained shall hide from us our moral ignorance, and make us look upon ourselves as educated men, then they will be more than inefficient or incomplete — they will have been to us *positively mischievous*.

And Professor Huxley, so thoroughly a materialist and evolutionist that no one would think of charging him with anything like Biblical predilections, makes, nevertheless, the following confessions : —

I have always been strongly in favor of secular education, in the sense of education without theology ; but I must confess I have been no less seriously perplexed to know by what practical measures the religious feeling, which is the *essential* basis of conduct, was to be kept up in the present utterly chaotic state of opinions on these matters, without the use of the Bible. The pagan moralists lack life and color, and even the noble stoic, Marcus Antoninus, is too high and refined for an ordinary child. Take the Bible as a whole ; make the severest deductions which fair criticism can dictate, and there still remains in this old literature a vast residuum of moral beauty and grandeur. By the study of what other book could children be so much humanized ? If Bible-reading is not accompanied by constraint and solemnity, I do not believe there is anything in which children take more pleasure.

But, disregarding the theory that the character of the school-child should receive a well rounded development, and ignoring the opinions of these men who have carefully and wisely thought on these problems, we, though professing to be a religious people, have excluded the Bible from our schools; we have charged the teachers to be reticent on all religious subjects, and have hushed in the schoolroom the voice of prayer. Indeed, so far as the public school is concerned, on completing one's course of study one would not know, except from remote inference, that there is any God in the universe.

The Prussians have a maxim, that, "whatever you would have appear in a nation's life you must put into the public schools." But this modern American theory, which we deprecate more than we have time to tell, announces to the world, under an intelligent German interpretation of its meaning, that neither morality nor religion should appear in our nation's life. This anti-religious movement we can but regard as one of the supremest pieces of folly that has ever come near bewitching a whole generation of people.

If, therefore, Washington, Webster, Cousin, De Tocqueville, Locke, Spencer, Arnold, Huxley, and if nearly every nation of Europe, even those that borrowed from us the common-school system of education, are correct in their judgments and methods, we are wrong in ours, and our public school is a possible menace to the republic, instead of being, as we had supposed, a safeguard. On graduation day, as far as the school is concerned, we are in danger, as already suggested, of presenting to the country a villain, accomplished to be sure, but even more dangerous than the boy who, unschooled, has remained in the street. They were educated brains that instigated the late murder of Dr. Cronin; they are educated brains that are now shielding the murderers from the eye and hand of justice.

The Roman Catholic is unquestionably right when he says that the child should have suitable religious instruction. It is useless to combat that intrenchment of "the clerical party." It is indisputably true that unless the millions of this country, who are "clothed with the royal rights of suffrage, and who are holding in their hands the sovereign power of this nation," are suit-

ably educated for the trust committed to them, they cannot be regarded as fit for a republican form of government. But, on the other hand, we remark incidentally that the "clerical party" is manifestly wrong when it says that religious instruction must come exclusively from the Vatican. Against this arrogant claim the American protest must be emphatic as a peal of thunder.

The Roman Catholic has also ground for the charge that the public school is godless, in the sense that God is there ignored. But, on the other hand, we again remark incidentally that this charge comes with but poor grace from those who have done the most, or at least, their best, to make the public schools the godless places they are said to be.

Grouping at this point the various suggestions made, it will appear that the public school can be looked upon as a national safeguard only when instruction in Christian morals, with all that term implies, is made a part of the educational training of the school.

Hence we plead for a restoration to our schools of that which through a miserable spirit of timidity and sentimentality has been taken from them, namely, Christian morality as found in the Bible, and as interpreted by ordinary intelligence. This we plead for and even demand on the ground of public safety and loyalty to that which has made America the fittest of all countries in which to live.

Nothing should be done vengefully. Peoples of all nationalities, of all religious creeds, and of all political beliefs, who have made their homes among us, in their civil rights must be faithfully protected. And yet that protection is not to be carried to such extent as to imperil constitutional liberty. Nor are the American people in their political magnanimity called upon to disown the mother who gave birth to their civil institutions, which, be it remembered, sprang from the Christian religion and from that phase of it known as Protestantism. Our Declaration of Independence, our national and state constitutions, are imbued with Protestantism. They are a protest against all kinds of usurpations and intolerances. Indeed, the very genius of American Republicanism is Protestantism. These are not

matters of controversy, but are facts, and these facts we have a right to emphasize and shall emphasize whenever occasion demands.

Whatever, therefore, anchors our government to Protestant Christianity should be required to offer no form of apology and should hold up its head in any company. And since the debt that this nation owes to Protestantism can never be discharged, no other system or creed should be allowed to stand for a moment in antagonism with it. The Protestant who takes any other ground seemingly must be a coward or a political trickster who is seeking pelf or plunder instead of the country's welfare.

And now we repeat that notwithstanding the nation's obligations to Protestant Christianity, and notwithstanding the perils that arise from non-religious education, there are those, as we have seen, who insist that any modification in public education, except still further to divorce intellectual from moral and religious instruction, is, in our republic, forever out of the question. Opinions are so diverse and entangled and the knot formed is so knitted and tough, that, perhaps, most men despair and say that it is impossible to disentangle or untie it. They say that our public education in no measure can be made religious and that there can be provided no system of morals that will be satisfactory to all classes.

That knot cannot be untied, you say? If that is the case then it should be *cut*; cut without delay and after this manner: When the party-blinded politician says we must not imperil the party's prospects by meddling with these educational matters, if anybody is sensitive, and somebody is sure to be; when the infidel says that the child's mind must be left free from religious restraint and then tries to fetter the mind with unbeliefs; and when the so-called clerical party demands silence in the school on all religious matters, and afterwards condemns the school for being religiously silent, then the great mass of the American people, and before it is too late, should say to all these meddlesome folks, there is the public school, and the child who is to be a citizen in this country shall enter it, unless suitably educated elsewhere, and in that school Christian morality shall be taught. There should be on this subject no waver-

ing or hesitation. The broad axe should have a keen edge, of refined steel, and should be wielded as by the hand and arm of a giant, that when the blow is given every strand in that knot will fly apart with no evidence remaining that there had been any knot. This is the easiest if not the only way of settling this controversy.

But, gentlemen, we need not flatter ourselves that this troublesome and tough knot is thus to be cut. It will not be cut, at least there are at present no indications that it will be. There is not independent and heroic manhood enough left among the majority of our statesmen (indeed who are our statesmen?) to propose any vigorous reforms. The statesman who comes nearest to the heroic and progressive type now in Congress, is from your own Commonwealth, and he, perhaps, will not long be sustained by those who have been his constituents.

And this thought affords opportunity briefly to say that not one of the existing political parties has any conscience; neither party dares legislate upon the great questions of the hour that should be among the first to engage attention if by such legislation a vote is likely to be lost.

Not the question what can we do to benefit and save the republic, but how can we keep our party in power or how can our party get into power, are the absorbing questions in private conference, in the rooms of the caucus and in the halls of legislation.

Our discussion has led us, rather slowly, perhaps, up to a position from whose outlook both the defenses and the dangers of the United States clearly can be seen. Looking from the point now reached by us, the impression deepens that it is not the geography of our country, however extended, or its geology, however rich, or its wealth, however vast, or its mechanical industries, however productive, or its social life, however dazzling, or its system of public education, however — godless, or its existing political parties, whatever their professions or whoever the leaders, that can be regarded as reliable defenses for the American Republic. Had these been its only defenses

and safeguards, it would have been by this time well on in its decadence, if it had not reached extinction.

Your questions, then, are these: What in the past have been our safeguards, what are they to be in the future, and are they sufficient to protect against the perils that threaten our national existence?

The answer, by implication, already has been given. Our real protections, notwithstanding the occasional gloom that obscures the prospect, we believe to be for the immediate present ample and available. They have not, however, been duly appreciated. The politicians of the day apparently have made no discovery of them. Even the popular orator seldom announces what they are. They are like the poor wise man found in the beleaguered city, of whom Solomon tells us: "he by his wisdom delivered the city, yet no man remembered that same poor man."

The safeguards of the republic, if our facts and reasonings are correct, are those agencies which are sending constantly a stream of healthy and vitalizing blood, containing both learning and religion, intellect and conscience, into the nation's arteries. This stream comes in part from the Christian homes of the land, where the child is taught to read and then to love and fear God. It comes from Christian churches, whose creeds evoke thought, and, however conflicting in other respects, demand righteousness in those who enter them. It comes from the humblest Sunday-school in the republic, where the Christian teacher meets his class on the Lord's day, studies the grandest and most inspiring of books and implants in the minds of our boys religious obligation. This vitalizing blood comes, too, from such religious organizations as the Young Men's Christian Associations and the Young People's Christian Endeavor Societies, which are busily at work in every State of the Union; it comes likewise from such magnificent Christian educational movements as that of Chautauqua, now beneficently invading continents as well as States. The inspirations and renovations that are now coming from these sources, it must be acknowledged, are in a good measure the hope of the republic.

But it should be borne in mind that some of these agencies are recent in their origin. Earlier than these appeared the

Christian schools and colleges whose designs have been to develop the highest type of Christianized intelligence, and on graduation day to present to the country an educated intellect and an educated conscience. These schools and colleges remain, and never have they contributed more to the country's welfare than they are now doing. From these schools have gone forth, and are now going forth, the leaders and reformers of the people.

Our own college, of which no alumnus has ever felt ashamed, especially when reading the roll of its honored graduates, has been receiving for an hundred and twenty years young men into its halls. They have been impressed while here with the bearing of the men who have held the professorships and by the instruction given. No godless or unchristian professor would have been allowed for a day to hold unchallenged his professorship. Even the physical environments of this college are religious. The hills, rising on every hand, above the plains on which stand these halls, silently, but eloquently, point the soul upward; the atmosphere is pure, the skies are clear, the stars here are brilliant, and the whole outdoor temple superb. The young man has been ennobled for life, though called to the city's din and tumult, by having had wrapped about him for four years these physical garments of God. Indeed, it is no surprise that that in the hearts of many of the students while here has been implanted the highest type of Christian faith.

Young men, moulded by the instruction received in these halls and by the impressions coming from these surroundings, have gone into every State of the Union. They have not been able, even if so disposed, to shake off the religious outfit here received. Entering the stream of public life and contributing to its purity just in proportion as the conscience has been cultivated and quickened, they have been to the country of inestimable service. Except for what this college, and others like it, have done for the body politic in arresting its corruptions, and in neutralizing the impurities that foreign countries have been sending into its circulation, it might have festered long before this time and even have been a stench on the earth.

Hence we lay down as the inevitable conclusion of this reasoning, and of all these reflections on this subject, that among the safeguards of this republic that have contributed largely in

keeping it from the fatality of the great historic republics, have been its Christian schools and colleges.

The men who established, endowed, and patronized them, as it would seem, builded broader and grander than they knew. Loyalty to Christ and the church with many of the early founders and patrons of our educational institutions was the leading motive, but a grand national safeguard has been one of the fortunate results.

These Christian institutions, we repeat, remain, and, therefore, the future is not all dark. We have at least a half faith that in time to come, through religious and educational reforms, good blood in the body politic will make faster than poor blood. We would be sure of this if Christian agencies continue to multiply, if the public school is lifted from its non-moral and non-Christian basis to a higher and broader plane, and if schools of the academic and collegiate grade remain faithful to the traditions of the fathers.

But, should there be in these respects a failure, we can discover no guarantee for the perpetuity of republican institutions. Without the continuance and increase of healthy and vitalizing blood, O great and grand republic! the day will come when your people will be crowded; when the poor will be hungry, and when hungry lips, with no conscience back of them, will utter a curse, instead of a prayer, and then, to be ruled by a monarch may be better than to be ruled by a mob.

Let the conviction ever abide with all true patriots that it is the union in our citizenship of deep learning and genuine religion, a fitting motto of the American Christian college, which will render our country safe and prosperous. It is the union of these adornments of humanity which should never be separated that will quiet the conflict between capital and labor, making capital more benevolent, and labor more law-abiding and in hard times more patient. It is this union that will convert corrupt politicians into patriotic statesmen. It will render our country safe—safe against invasions, safe against insurrections, safe against usurpations, affording protections and inspirations such as will lift the nation to royal heights, so that the people far and near shall say, "Behold the kingdom of God is established on the earth."

SUNDAY SALOON LAWLESSNESS IN CINCINNATI.

It will be twenty years next November since the Cincinnati School Board, through a coalition of Roman Catholics, rationalists, and atheists, voted the use of the Bible out of the public schools of this city. Soon after, the liquor saloons began to open on Sunday, and for nearly nineteen years they have been practically unmolested. Over a year ago the legislature of the State passed a statute specifically closing them on that day. With a great show of virtue Mr. Amor Smith, then mayor, ordered all arrested who were found violating the law. The Saloon-Keepers' Association decreed that all should keep open, and that all expenses of prosecution should be paid out of their common treasury. In each case a jury was demanded. The Police Court Jury Law provides that each of the sixty councilmen shall select fifty names to be put into a wheel, and that from it the venire of jurors shall be drawn. Half a dozen of the cleanest men in council did not furnish their quotas of names, but every saloon-keeper and his helper has supplied his, consequently as high as forty-eight per cent. of the names on those lists have been found to be saloon-keepers or bar-room dependents! The remainder are generally those whom it is certain will not convict. Consequently it is next to impossible to secure a conviction. Once last year, when the evidence for the State was as clear as the noon, and the defense offered none, the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty" without leaving their seats! When the mayor had piled up nearly two thousand cases in the police court he announced that he would make no further attempt to enforce the law, as he was "satisfied the people do not want it enforced."

The city was under the heel of the saloon. The worst of all was that a veritable pusillanimousness had taken possession of that part of the people that really wanted the law enforced. They would assure you in a hopeless way that they fully agreed

the saloons should be closed up, "but you cannot do anything, and what is the use of trying? you will only either show your weakness or make the rumsellers mad. You had better let things alone." This was so nearly universal as to threaten paralysis of any effort to throw off the yoke.

Last October the Evangelical Ministers' Meeting took up this question under the form, "What is the most important line of work in which the churches of this city can engage at the present time?" They appointed a committee to bring in a plan of operations, and in a few weeks had succeeded in creating the organization technically known as the "Committee of Five Hundred." About twenty-five hundred persons signed their names to the agreement under which the association was organized, pledging themselves to labor for the nomination and election of men who were pledged to enforce the Sunday laws and of such men only. A resolution of the committee in its first mass-meeting especially emphasized the closing of the saloons. That was the platform. It did not purpose putting up a separate ticket, but to select from the nominations of the political parties those who would meet the requirements.

In the Republican convention a member in sympathy with the "Five Hundred" sprung a resolution pledging the party to enforce the law closing saloons on Sunday, and it almost precipitated a riot. It was ignominiously howled down, while the impertinent delegate was in imminent danger of violence. This resolution was only presented, according to arrangement, after the convention had nominated a bummers' ticket, and especially after they had agreed to the brewers' candidates for police judge and prosecutor. The purpose was to compel a record that could not be gainsaid. The plan succeeded. The record was made. The Democratic nomination for mayor was not much if any better than that of the Republicans. The "Five Hundred" were compelled to name a new man for mayor, and for the remainder of their ticket selected from the Democratic, Republican, and Prohibition nominations. Their nominee for mayor received seven thousand three hundred votes, notwithstanding a most unscrupulous opposition. The Republican nominee won by a small scratch, receiving fewer votes than any one

of the defeated candidates save his opponent. The only men elected that day, save the mayor, were those indorsed by the "Five Hundred." They made their real fight on the police judge and prosecutor, indorsing the Democratic nominations. They were triumphantly elected, and have honored their oath of office by a faithful performance of their duty up to the present.

The mayor has been true to his masters — the saloon-keepers and the brewers. At first he would not touch the law. Afterward the police might note violators and arrest on warrant on Monday. Then, as the tide of public sentiment rose, the police commissioners ordered the police officers to arrest on sight all violators. This was done, and the police court did its duty. A few weeks ago members of a society of saloon-keepers called on the mayor to enforce the Sunday "common labor" law, "in order to make these muckers take their own medicine." He promptly issued his proclamation ordering all confectioneries, cigar and tobacco stores, drug stores except for medicine, barber-shops, groceries, meat stores, etc., etc., closed. This fearful stroke of retaliation has proved to be in the main exceedingly popular. The barbers are delighted, the drug stores ditto, and nearly all the others well pleased. For two weeks the city had real Sabbaths, showing above everything else that what nearly all pronounced impossible, *can be done*, viz., the law *can be enforced*.

In the mean time the liquor fraternity is correspondingly stirred. The charm of their undisputed rule is broken. At first they indulged only in threats. Several anonymous threatening letters were received by persons prominent in promoting the reform. Among others receiving them were the well-known merchant who had been the candidate of the "Five Hundred" for mayor, the Secretary of the Law and Order League, the Presiding Elder of the Cincinnati District of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the editor of the "Times-Star" newspaper. Some of these had the usual Ku Klux embellishments of skull and crossbones, halter, whip, etc., and written in red ink "by order of the Bloody 9." Sunday, July 20, liquor dealers reached the period of bloodshed. A member of the Law and Order League was set upon and brutally beaten — rescued only

at the muzzle of a policeman's revolver, while that policeman himself was stunned with a blow from a loaded cane. At another time in the same beer hall a quiet citizen, because he called for lemonade, was seized and beaten on suspicion that he was a "Law and Order spy." He, too, was only rescued by an armed policeman. Later in the evening, in the same den, after its proprietor had been arrested and released on a \$10,000 bond, another policeman going to arrest a bar-tender was also brutally assaulted, while the most villainous outcries rent the air.

A meeting of saloon-keepers was held in Turner Hall, in this city, on Thursday afternoon, July 25, attended by five or six hundred, the object of which was to take the preliminary steps, and organize open resistance of the law closing saloons on Sunday. After organization, the following was adopted with great applause, viz. : —

Whereas, The well-known Owen Law, through which corruption and hypocrisy can sneak in everywhere, threatens to become established in Cincinnati; and,

Whereas, No concerted action has been taken to resent the said law, which is an insult to common sense; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the saloon-keepers here assembled, openly oppose this law, which is unpopular and damaging to our business; and, therefore, we have decided to keep our places of business quietly open on next Sunday, and on all succeeding Sundays, conducting our business as on any other day, and avoiding all disturbances.

Resolved, That we condemn the side and back-door business as corrupting in its tendency, and we will make it our special duty to oppose it by all legal means.

Resolved, That each saloon-keeper who signs the resolutions of this meeting shall have our solid protection in every case of prosecution, and the expenses thereof shall be defrayed by our own means.

After this action a paper was circulated for the signatures of those who were ready to make the open fight, which reads as follows : —

We, the undersigned saloon-keepers of the — Ward, pledge ourselves in our own handwriting, and by our word of honor, which is equivalent to an oath, to keep open our front doors on next Sunday, and on all following Sundays, and conduct our business in the same way as on week-days.

It is reported that three hundred saloon-keepers signed the above. After the appointment of ward committees, the following was adopted : —

Resolved, That all saloon-keepers arrested on next Sunday meet at Central Turner Hall on Monday, and march in procession to the police court.

It is claimed that the Saloon-Keepers' Association disapprove this movement, but the number — three hundred — who signed the compact on the spot is a sufficient answer to them.

This open defiance of law aroused so much indignation that the city government displayed unwonted courage.

No doubt that courage was greatly stimulated by the following letter from Governor Foraker, which, he says in a letter to the writer, under date of July 27, inclosing the copy herewith used, he wrote "Yesterday morning immediately after reading the account giving in the newspapers of the Turner Hall meeting." This copy was then furnished for private information, but has since been published by authority, and reads as follows : —

STATE OF OHIO.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
COLUMBUS, OHIO, *July 27, 1889.*

Hon. JOHN B. MOSBY, *Mayor, Cincinnati, Ohio.*

Dear Sir, — Do not tolerate any defiance of law. No man is worthy to enjoy the free institutions of America who rebels against a duly enacted statute, and defies the authorities charged with its enforcement. Smite every manifestation of such a spirit with a swift and heavy hand.

I do not make these suggestions from fear you need them, but only that you may have any assurance they may afford you in the discharge of the duty to which you are called by the action of the Turner Hall meeting of yesterday, the proceedings of which I have just read in the morning papers.

Very truly yours, etc.,

(Signed) J. B. FORAKER.

On Sunday, July 28, some 150 saloon-keepers are known to have defied the authorities, and 135 were arrested, some of them as often as five times. The names of the culprits were nearly all foreign.

The "Herald and Presbyter" of July 31, says:—

We are glad to report that Mayor Mosby took his stand for law and order, and Colonel Deitsch manifested his ability to handle the lawless element, and it is due to the police force of this city to say that they did their duty fearlessly and promptly, with one exception, who was suspended on the spot by Lieutenant Seahill. Several officers were injured in making arrests, but every man was landed in the station-houses, although many fights occurred and two incipient riots were quelled by the timely arrival of help. After one of these, an immense crowd, who did not appreciate the manner in which they had been handled by the police, assembled at the Bremen Station, the ring-leaders urging the crowd to assault the station-house. Suddenly the doors flew open and a large body of police, under Captain Hadley and Lieutenants Rakel and Langdon, filed out and quickly formed and drove the mob from the street. At the Oliver Street Station the officers found it necessary to play upon the crowd with the fire hose to clear the street.

An interesting incident occurred before the police commissioners on Saturday, indicating the attitude of that body toward the rebellious saloon-keepers. A saloon-keeper said to the board: "If you desire to avoid riot and bloodshed, make no arrests on Sunday; put it off until Monday." President Boyle replied: "If the saloon-keepers want to avoid arrest and prevent a riot, they can keep closed up. The thieves might as well say to the board, 'We are going to steal on Sunday, but if you want to prevent riot and bloodshed don't arrest us until Monday.'" The saloon-keeper said he had never seen the subject in that light before. The result of Sunday's work shows that neither President Boyle nor his board were in a frame of mind for a compromise with wrong-doers, but, on the contrary, intended to enforce the laws. And the law-abiding people may rest assured that the authorities are not only inclined, but able and determined, to check this phase of lawlessness.

The police board has stood nobly by the law. When on the late occasion of the Turnfest the chief of police issued, by command of the mayor, an order not to arrest violators of the law, the police commissioners, on complaint of a Law and Order man, tried the chief for malfeasance and misfeasance in office and found him guilty. Last week they revoked the appointment of the private policemen in the notorious beer garden

alluded to above, and ordered the most determined prosecution of the assailants of the officers. To-day the saloon-keepers, through their attorney, made an unconditional surrender in the police court, promising to faithfully obey the law! But ingrained lawbreakers will need watching. However, it is true that a significant battle has been fought and won. Others hasten apace. The fight is on. The spirit of the people is aroused. The infamous Police Court Jury Law for the manufacture of perjurers will be changed, and there will be no more cessation of the war on the Sunday saloon, no matter what the political result may be. It is again being burned into the convictions of the people that good laws stand but a poor show for execution at the hands of bad men.

JOHN PEARSON.

Cincinnati, Ohio, August 20, 1889.

THREE ESSENTIALS OF PURITANISM.

ADDRESS BY HON. GEORGE F. HOAR AT THE PLYMOUTH CELEBRATION,
AUGUST 1.

Two things make it hard to speak of the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Who speaks of them here is to speak to his auditors of men and events that are the most interesting and important in American history. And, in speaking of them, he is to come after men who, in the opinion of his auditors, have, of all Americans, reached the high-water mark of excellence in human speech. I do not know how it may seem to others, but to me, with a few brilliant exceptions, there is no more dreary reading, either in our own or other languages, than the speeches which have come down to us of men who were famous orators in their day. Pitt said he would rather recover a speech of Bolingbroke than a lost decade of Livy. But it may be doubtful whether the speeches of Bolingbroke have not perished of their own worthlessness. We might find in them purity of diction and the graces of style. We should search them in vain for motives to virtue, for stimulants to any lofty patriotism, or for lessons in any lofty philosophy. There are a few rare instances where the passion that burned in the breasts of a people on great occasions in their history has found adequate utterance from the lips of their orators. But, in general, if our youth would find in English or in classical literature the great examples of eloquence which mankind have preserved and kept fresh, they must seek them in poetry and not in oratory. They must seek them and they will find them in the great scenes of Shakespeare, in Milton's report of the debates in his dread and awful Senate, in the speeches of the Grecian chieftains in Homer, and where Priam turns aside Achilles's wrath, in Æschylus, where he sums up the contrast between Hellenic freedom and Asiatic barbarism, in

“ One trump's peal that set all Greeks aflame,”

above all, in Hebrew Scriptures.

Yet, so long as the race of the Pilgrims endures, it will delight to read that great and noble story as it has been told at Plymouth by two New England orators. From the genius of these consummate masters of human speech, Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, there has poured over the great scene that was enacted here, and over the actors, over bay and beach and rock, a light that never was on other sea or land. [Applause.] They have made it real and present as if it happened yesterday, and will make it real and present until time shall be no more.

It is seventy years, save one, since Daniel Webster delivered here the address which John Adams said left Burke no longer entitled to the praise,

the foremost orator of modern times. No man had ever more profoundly studied what it is that makes the greatness of nations. He pointed out the great principles on which the Pilgrim Fathers laid the deep foundations of American society and government, as the geologist distinguishes the strata which form the framework of the globe. One of his hearers said of him "that he seemed as if he were like the mount that might not be touched and that burned with fire."

It was but four years after that Edward Everett, then in the prime and splendor of his matchless youth, told the story anew. Under the spell of the great magician, his auditors again made the stormy passage of the Atlantic in the Mayflower, and again landed on the desolate beach. Unless the genius of Greece shall come back to earth, the voyage and landing of the Pilgrims will never be painted again as they were painted by him. Until another Burke shall unfold the philosophy of history, we shall accept the full lesson of the foundation of New England, and of the great ties that bind us to our ancestry and our posterity, as that lesson came to us from the lips of Webster.

In coming here to honor the Pilgrim Fathers, we do not come to honor men whose virtues perished with them. The generations of whom it can truly be said that their descendants are degenerate, are the failures of history. The glory of men who lay the foundation of states is that the states they build endure upon their foundations. The glory of the founder is the finished building. The glory of the patriot is the country he has saved. The glory of the ancestor is his posterity. Children's children are the crown of old men. The history of New England to this hour, so far as it has been directed by the descendants of the men who founded it, has been the result and outgrowth of Puritanism as applied to the changing circumstances which the centuries have brought with them.

Puritanism is something far more than a capacity to encounter and endure the sufferings and hardships of life. It is something far more than an austere and Spartan disdain of pleasure, or luxury, or mirth. That would be a most imperfect and one-sided character which should shine only in storm and persecution and adversity, and have no blossom of grace when God, in his kindness, leads it through green pastures and by still waters. The wisdom of Puritanism is a wisdom that can dwell alone in a forest. It is also a wisdom that can live with children round its knees, and

"Temper with the sternness of the brain
Thoughts motherly, and meek as womanhood."

Puritanism is not a particular form of religious faith. The five points of Calvinism are as consistent with a despotism as with a republic, if the despot happen to be a Calvinist himself. [Applause.] It must be admitted that they have a mighty tendency to work the overthrow of a despot who is not. [Applause.] We shall never understand the Puritanism of New England unless we find a definition which will include Mark Hopkins and Charles Sumner and John G. Whittier, as well as Jonathan Edwards and John Winthrop and Sam Adams.

The religious faiths of mankind, so far as they can be expressed by the formulæ of creeds, change as the flowers change with the seasons or the degrees of latitude. Yet there is that in all of them which is eternal as the heavens, and will endure when the heavens pass away as a scroll. But Puritanism, whatever else may belong to it, involves three essential things :

First. Obedience to the voice of conscience in the soul, as the voice of God.

Second. The demand that this obedience shall be the rule of conduct for states as well as individuals.

Third. Reverence for the individual soul of each individual man, as entitled to an equal share in the government of the state, and its right to commune with its Maker in its own way, without the interference of any other human authority whatever. [Applause.]

Faith, Law, Freedom. These three principles are the essence of New England Puritanism. From this root has grown what we call New England.

They have made this bleak and desolate wilderness to blossom as the rose. We do not often reflect how much of the glory and the beauty of the landscape is put into it from the soul of man. This is true of New England as of few other spots on earth. I do not now speak merely or chiefly of the charm which is spread over the face of the earth by the imagination of man. I do not speak of the glamour of historic or poetic association, the "*Vis admonitionis quæ inest in locis*," of which Dr. Johnson said : "That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona." No corner of the earth is richer in such associations than ours. But I speak of the physical change wrought in the face of Nature by the hand of man. I speak of the bay, desolate, or with only the canoe of the Indian skimming its shore, as contrasted with the bay dotted with sails and swarming with steamships. I speak of the contrast between the unbroken forest or the unbroken plain, and the same scene covered with fertile farms and happy homesteads. Think of Massachusetts as she was when the Pilgrim lauded, and as she is with her near thirty fair cities and her hundreds of populous towns, filled with the homes of her workmen, from among which rise to heaven the hum of the factory, the cheerful voices of gathering school children, the tones of the church bells heard beyond the stars. Think of the villas and gardens that surround the fair bay of Newport. Think of the sweet fields of Connecticut, once trodden by the footsteps of Uncas, afterwards by those of the men who gave us the most marvelous part of the mechanism of our National Constitution. Think of Vermont, that Arcadia on earth, her hills green and fertile to their summits, under the culture of her children who draw in the love of liberty with their mother's milk. Think of Maine, daughter of Massachusetts, in her brief summer, opening the blue eyes of her thousand lakes, beautiful in her far northern clime with a beauty beyond that which the genius of Virgil spread over his own Italy :—

“On many a hill the happy homesteads stand,
 The living lakes through many a vale expand :
 Cool glens are there and shadowy caves divine,
 Deep sleep, and far-off voices of the kine ;
 From moor to moor the exulting wild deer stray,
 The strenuous youth are strong and sound as they.
 One reverence still the untainted race inspires,
 Their country first, and after her their sires.” [Applause.]

It was my fortune, sir, a few weeks ago, for the first time in my life, to enjoy an opportunity to see that marvelous region, the territory west of the Mississippi and the Pacific Coast. I saw the grandeur and beauty of prairie and plain, of lake and ocean, of mountain and river. I saw the forests which, it is said, had gained their mighty growth when the cedars of Lebanon were in the seed. I saw Shasta and Hood and Tacoma lift their imperial foreheads to the sun, crowned with eternal snows. I saw the vast expanse of Puget Sound, and that Golden Gate from which, in the near future, commerce and empire are to go out to command the pathways of the Pacific and the vast spaces of the East. I saw the wonderful fields of Washington, where, as Sydney Smith said of Australia, “If you tickle the earth with a hoe, she laughs with a harvest,” and where, in a latitude north of our own, the cotton ripens and Southern fruits mature. I came home with a new pride that I am an American, and that these things are part of my country, are yours and mine. But my eyes have looked on no fairer vision than when, on a Sunday morning, I looked out of the car window on my way home on the fields north of Concord, New Hampshire [applause], and the valley of the Merrimack had put its June glory on, and wore those tints with which Nature in New England touches and colors grass, and leaf, and tree, and stream, and pool, with an exquisite beauty which she uses nowhere else on the face of the earth. [Applause.]

Ah, my friends, there is no loveliness like that of the blossom of the vine whose root is by the rock at Plymouth ! [Applause.]

Law, and Faith, and Freedom. What children have been born to them here in every generation for these two hundred and seventy years, that have been rocked in this New England cradle !

The men who subdued the forest, the men of the French and Indian wars, the men of Louisburg and Quebec, and Martinique and the Havana ; the statesmen and soldiers of the Revolution ; the sailors of the great sea fights from 1812 to 1815 ; the youth of 1861, our beautiful and brave, who gave their lives that their country might live ; Webster, who first taught America her own greatness, and whose great argument was behind every bayonet, and was carried home with every cannon shot in the war which saved the Union ; Adams, who, in the cause of liberty, breasted the stormy waves of the House of Representatives at eighty-three ; Channing, the apostle of the dignity of manhood ; Longfellow, who sits at every American fireside, a beloved and perpetual guest ; Emerson, helper of those who would live by the spirit, the grave, sweet accents of whose voice seem on

the morning wind still floating, and to the willing mind still whispering ; Sumner, of the white soul, whose blood shed in the senate chamber was the baptismal water of our newer liberty. As I name these names at Plymouth, I seem to hear a strain of lofty music from the northward. Is it the voice of New England, the voice of pilgrim, and saint, and martyr, and sage, and hero, of mountain, and forest, and lake, and stream ; of church, and school, and farm, and homestead — “of all her voices, one ? ” Or is it all the muses at once, singing in the aged ear of their beloved Whittier ? [Applause.]

In thirty years the people of Plymouth will be getting ready to celebrate their third centennial. My eyes, I suppose, will not see it. But the eyes of many who are here will see it. It will be no cycle of Cathay that they will celebrate. It will be no half a year of Europe. It will be no cycle of Europe. It will be three centuries of America. [Applause.] It will be three centuries which are still but the early childhood of the life of that nation born at Plymouth which shall abide so long as God shall give Faith, Law, and Freedom to endure among men. [Great applause.]

THE APPEAL AGAINST FEMALE SUFFRAGE: A REPLY.

BY MRS. MILLICENT GARRETT FAWCETT.

THE Protest in last month's number of this Review, signed by peeresses and other ladies, against women's suffrage, suggests an historical parallel. In the early part of the reign of George the Third it is well known that Nonconformists were subject to many humiliating disabilities. They were liable to be thrown into prison if they came within five miles of a corporate town; all offices of honor and emolument were closed to them; the mere holding of their religious services was a statutable offense. It is true that in 1772 the Five Mile Act and the Conventicle Act were more savage than the tenor of public opinion, and their cruel provisions were seldom acted upon; but while they remained upon the statute book every Nonconformist held his freedom upon sufferance; it was therefore determined to make an attempt to repeal these laws, and with this object the Nonconformist Relief Bill was brought forward in the House of Commons. Its supporters began to be confident of success; the Ministry of the day had shown themselves very favorably disposed to the Bill; it commanded a majority in the House of Commons, and was approved by public opinion outside the House. The opponents of the measure almost feared that further resistance would be fruitless, when their position was suddenly fortified by a petition from dissenting ministers praying Parliament to maintain all the disabilities to which they and their brethren were subjected. Burke held these petitioners up to the contempt they deserved in a great speech: "Two bodies of men," he said, "approach our House and prostrate themselves at our bar: 'We ask not honors,' say the one, 'we have no aspiring wishes, no views upon the purple; . . . we pray, for the sake of Him who is the Lord of conscience, that we may not be treated as vagrants for acting agreeably to the dictates of internal rectitude.' 'We, on the contrary,' say the Dissenters who petition against Dissenters, 'enjoy every species of indulgence we can wish for; and, as we are content, we pray that others, who are not content, may meet with no relief.' " ¹

The position of women who protest in favor of the electoral disabilities of women is here compressed into a sentence. "We enjoy every species of indulgence we can wish for; and, as we are content, we pray that others, who are not content, may meet with no relief." The Dissenters who

¹ *Early History of Charles James Fox.* By Sir G. O. Trevelyan, M. P., pp. 448, 449.

petitioned against Dissenters appear to have adopted a line of argument usual to persons in their position. They were not opposed to toleration or to religious liberty, but they feared that more would be lost than would be gained by advances in the direction of the Nonconformist Relief Bill. That which would be gained, they argued, in the direction of toleration and freedom of conscience by the passing of the bill would be more than outweighed by what would be lost through the encouragement that would be given to Socinianism and other heresies.

The ladies who sign the "Nineteenth Century" Protest against the enfranchisement of women adopt a very similar attitude. They do not wish it to be supposed that they are opposed to the recent improvements that have taken place in the education of women, or to their increased activity in various kinds of public work. "All these changes," they say, "together with the great improvements in women's education which have accompanied them, we cordially welcome. But we believe that the emancipating process has now reached the limits fixed by the physical constitution of women." In other passages they attribute the greatest value to the influence of women in politics, recognizing it as a moral force, which is likely to grow stronger as the results of the improved education of women make themselves felt. In the concluding paragraph they, with some want of humor, I think, asseverate that nothing is farther from their minds "than to seek to depreciate the position and importance of women." To acknowledge the importance of women conveys a height and depth and breadth of condescension which is difficult to measure. A lady last year at Lucerne, admiring the view of lake and mountains, said in a similar spirit, "It is lovely: my daughter says, if she had made it herself she could not have done better." And we may take it as a grain of comfort, that the writer of the Protest gives her sanction and approval to the scheme of creation. She "acknowledged the importance" of half the human family; if she had made it herself she could hardly, perhaps, have done better. Mr. Disraeli once said in the House of Commons, referring to a speech which had just been delivered by Mr. W. E. Forster: "The right honorable gentleman has acknowledged in the handsomest manner that the agricultural laborer is a human being." The hundred and four ladies have acknowledged in the handsomest way "the importance of women." Let us inquire a little in detail into the line of argument adopted in the Protest, and also analyze somewhat the list of names by which the arguments are supported.

The Protest speaks in congratulatory words of all recent changes which have given extended opportunities of usefulness to women. Special reference is made to improvements in education, and among other subjects mentioned are "the care of the sick and the insane, the treatment of the poor, the education of children: in all these matters, and in others besides, they [women] have made good their claim to larger and more extended powers. We rejoice in it." But, on reading the names appended to the Protest, the most striking fact about them is that hardly any out of the hundred and four ladies who now rejoice in these changes have helped them while their

issue was in any way doubtful. They hardly deserve even to be called the patrons of any effort to improve the social, legal, or educational position of women — unless, indeed, we adopt Dr. Johnson's famous definition of the word "patron:" "Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached the ground, encumbers him with help?" A good many of the hundred and four hardly preserved an attitude of neutrality whilst the changes they now rejoice in were "struggling for life in the water;" while success was still uncertain, many a backhander has been dealt at them by the same ladies who now announce themselves as rejoicing in their success. Very few are there, among the hundred and four, who moved purse, tongue, or pen in support of these changes before they became accomplished facts. This is the general character of the list of names. But let it be at once acknowledged that there are exceptions, chief of whom is the lady whose name heads the list — the Dowager Lady Stanley of Alderley. She has been a constant, a generous, and an outspoken friend of better education for women of all classes. There are other exceptions, but they are less striking, and I think they could easily be counted on the fingers of one hand. The women to whose initiative we owe the improvements which the hundred and four rejoice in are not to be found in the "Nineteenth Century" list. Work for others is one of the most educating influences either man or woman can have. Professor Marshall recently said in his presidential address at the Coöperative Congress: "He who lived and worked only for himself, or even only for himself and his family, led an incomplete life. To complete it he needed to work with others for some broad and high aim." The women who have worked with others for the object of lifting the lives of women to a higher level educationally, socially, and industrially are not in the "Nineteenth Century" list. The names of the women to whose unselfish and untiring labors we owe what has been done for women during the last twenty-five years in education, in social and philanthropic work, in proprietary rights, in some approach towards justice as regards the guardianship of children, in opening the means of medical education, are conspicuous by their absence, and for an excellent reason: they support the extension of the suffrage to duly qualified women. At the head of the educational movement for women are Miss Emily Davies, Miss Clough, Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, Miss Dorothea Beale of Cheltenham, Mrs. William Grey, Miss Shirreff, Miss Buss, and Miss Eleanor Smith of Oxford. They, and many others too numerous to mention, to whom the girls and women of England owe a revival of learning hardly less remarkable than that of the sixteenth century, are with us in the matter of the franchise; so are the Misses Davenport Hill, Miss Florence Nightingale, Miss Cons, Mrs. Josephine Butler, Mrs. Bright Lucas, Mrs. Barnett, and Miss Irby, as representing the best women's work in philanthropy of various kinds; so are Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M. D., Dr. Sophia Jex Blake, Miss Edith Pechey, M. D., and, I believe, all the women who have helped to open the medical profession to women.

A further consideration of the "Nineteenth Century" list of names shows that it contains a very large preponderance of ladies to whom the lines of life have fallen in pleasant places. There are very few among them of the women who have had to face the battle of life alone, — to earn their living by daily hard work. Women of this class generally feel the injustice of their want of representation. The weight of taxation falls upon them just as if they were men, and they do not see why representation should not go with taxation in their case, simply because their physical strength is less than that of men. No one proposes to relieve them of fiscal burdens because of "the limits fixed by the physical constitution of women." A lady of the class to which I refer has placed her case before me in a letter which she permits me to quote. She writes :—

I pay rent and taxes 130*l*. I have nothing but what I earn by painting, teaching, and writing, and naturally have to work exceedingly hard. My stepmother and I let our ground floor to reduce our rent. Now here is the absurdity. Our lodger, a young man doing absolutely nothing but amuse himself, has a vote. The owner of the house, working early and late (somewhat useful, I hope, in her generation, at all events not useless), because she is a woman is not allowed to vote. Again, I may vote for parish guardians, of whom I know nothing, but for an M. P., of whose opinions I can judge, I may not vote.

There is nothing in the "Nineteenth Century" Protest which touches the cogency of a plain, matter-of-fact statement like this. Equally unanswered by the Protest is the case for women's suffrage as presented by those women who are employers of labor, and through whose employment a number of men became qualified to vote. It cannot be seriously argued that the means of making an intelligent choice between voting for this candidate or that is not as much within the reach of women of education and property as within that of their footmen, plowmen, or other employes.

A large part of the Protest is directed against women taking an active part in the turmoil of political life. This has nothing to do with voting or not voting. For instance, women vote in school board elections ; but they can please themselves about taking part in the turmoil of a school board contest. Thousands of women vote who keep completely clear of meetings, canvassing, committees, and all the rest of the electioneering machinery. On the other hand, women do not vote in Parliamentary elections, but they are invited and pressed by all parties to take an active part in the turmoil of political life. Among other inconsistencies of the protesting ladies, it should not be forgotten that many of them, as presidents and vice-presidents of women's political associations, encourage the admission of women to the ordinary machinery of political life, although they say in this Protest that this admission would be dangerous to the best interests of society. If women are fit to advise, convince, and persuade voters how to vote, they are surely also fit to vote themselves. On the other hand, if it is true, as the "Nineteenth Century" ladies state, that women on the whole "are without the materials for forming a sound judgment" on matters of constitutional change, why are we invited by these same ladies to form our

unsound judgments, and do all in our power to induce others to share them? If we have no materials, or insufficient materials, for forming a sound judgment in politics, we should not be invited to enroll ourselves in Primrose Leagues, or in the Women's Liberal Federation, or in the Women's Liberal Unionist Association. To say simultaneously to women, "The materials for forming a sound judgment are not open to you," and "We beg you to influence electors to whom is intrusted the fate of the empire," is to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. One position or the other must be abandoned, unless these ladies have cultivated with unusual skill the art of believing two contradictory things at the same time.

The Protest against women's suffrage has no doubt been called forth by the rapid progress made by the women's suffrage movement to an important place as a practical question of politics. The hundred and four ladies attribute this almost entirely "to party considerations of a temporary character." To my mind, this view of the subject is far too narrow, and indicates that those who hold it, whether men or women, are wanting in the knowledge which gives the material for forming a sound judgment on the matter in hand. Far more influential than temporary party exigencies in changing the attitude of the public on the question of women's suffrage has been the extension of the suffrage in 1884. One who is not a Conservative, but a Liberal, has explained in the following letter how this extension of the suffrage acted on his judgment in the matter:—

While the number of voters was comparatively small, I consider that those voters were trustees for the general population. This was preëminently the case before the first Reform Bill, but it continued to be so after that bill had become law; there could be no justification of the principle of giving a vote to 10*l.* householders and not to poorer folks, except the assumption that a vote implied a trust to be exercised by the better educated and more substantial class for the good of all. While this was the principle of legislation, I consider that there was no wrong committed in not permitting women to vote; the question was simply one of the extent of a trust, and my own opinion used to be that, upon the whole, women were happier and the government of the country better carried on without the admission of women into the political arena. When, however, the arbitrary 10*l.* line was done away with, and the borough franchise made to extend to every man who had anything which could be fairly called a home, this view of trusteeship was immensely weakened, and, as soon as the vote is extended beyond boroughs, as undoubtedly it will be,¹ I consider that the notion of a man as a voter holding a trust for his neighbors will be well-nigh exploded altogether. I do not say that a vote will not be, in any case, a trust, and an important one, but this will not be its chief characteristic: it is inconceivable that it should be. Consequently, the question of female suffrage assumes, to my mind, an aspect which it never had before. If a woman be a householder, still more if she be an employer of labor and one through whose employment a number of men possess votes, what is there in the mere accident of sex to make it right to say she shall have no political influence? I do not in the least desire that married women should vote. This seems to me undesirable and impossible. The husband and

¹ Written in August, 1884.

wife must be one in this as in other things. But when the woman satisfies every condition but that of sex, then it seems to me impossible in reason, and I believe it will soon be impossible in fact, to deprive her of a vote. These, in brief, are the opinions which I hold on the subject of female suffrage.

What has acted on the mind and judgment of the writer of this letter has acted on the mind and judgment of a very considerable section of the public, independent of party. If the ladies who sign this Protest were rather more intimately acquainted with the history of the women's suffrage movement, they would know that it has lost as much as it has gained by mere party feeling. Over and over again it has been found that the one argument the friends of women's suffrage cannot answer has been : "I quite agree with you, theoretically : but I shall never support you, because, if women had votes, my party would be beaten at the election." It is a little premature to speculate on which side the preponderance of the female vote would be given, the faculty of being all of one opinion being denied to women ; but the fears of one party that the women will be against them are as great a hindrance to the success of women's suffrage as the hopes of the other that the women will support them are helpful to it.

We are told sometimes that we ought to look at what is taking place in the United States on this question. And it appears that there the party wire-pullers on both sides are the greatest hindrance to the progress of women's suffrage. I do not cite the opinion of our friends in this matter, but I quote from a statement recently forwarded to the "Times" by Mr. Goldwin Smith. He is not always accurate in what he writes on this subject ; but he appended to his letter an account of women's suffrage in America drawn up by what he believed to be a thoroughly trustworthy hand ; and there is no reason to think that his confidence was misplaced. This writer enumerated, among the things that have checked the progress of women's suffrage in America, the fact that the party wire-pullers were against it. He says :—

One circumstance to be noted is that legislation in this country is largely under the control of professional politicians, averse to new questions and new classes of voters, as tending to disarrange the political machinery and to bring new party leaders to the front.

The "party, nothing but party" politician in England, as well as in America, looks with distrust on women's suffrage. Women would be an unknown quantity, less amenable to party discipline, less expectant of party loaves and fishes, and consequently less obedient to the party whip than the present electorate. They might take the bit in their mouth and insist on voting in a way inconvenient to their party on temperance, and on matters of religion and morals. These fears tell against us very heavily, and we cannot allay them ; because the fear that women will be independent and will dare to vote for what they think is right, whether the professional politician likes it or not, is, in our minds, not a fear, but a hope, and a hope which is at the root of all we are working for. If women's suffrage should tend to strengthen the group, which exists in every constituency, of

the voters whose political views are not dictated to them from a central office in Parliament Street or Victoria Street, but are the result of independent thought, study of facts, and conscientious obedience to moral considerations, it is a matter of very small importance which party will gain or lose by the female vote ; all parties will be the better for it.

The statement implied, rather than definitely affirmed, by the hundred and four ladies, that women's suffrage owes its present position to the "passing needs of party organization," receives a curious commentary from a passage in another paper in the same number of this Review. Mr. E. Dicey, in his "Ethics of Political Lying," quotes four men whose standard of veracity was as high in public as in private life. After a line of argument which may be condensed into David's sweeping and admittedly hasty assertion that all men are liars, he adds : "Still it is not true to say all public men do this. There have been men, such as Mr. Forster, Mr. Bright, Mr. Fawcett, and Lord Iddesleigh, who would never for any party gain, or still less for any personal object, have consented to tell a falsehood. There are such men still in either party, and the respect and confidence they command show that in the judgment of the House the obligation to speak the truth is recognized as binding, even if it is not always obeyed."

Two out of the four men named as examples of political honesty and comparative independence of party thralldom, Mr. Fawcett and Lord Iddesleigh, were constant and courageous supporters of women's suffrage. It is through the personal influence of men like this that the subject has won its way to its present position, far more than through any party manœuvring. Up to the present "the party," whether Liberal, Conservative, or Radical, has given women's suffrage more kicks than halfpence ; but we have received invaluable help from the best and most independent men of all parties. In this connection it should not be forgotten that many of the men who have had the most formative influence on the current of thought, political and otherwise, in England during the last twenty-five years, have supported the political enfranchisement of women. A cause that has been supported by Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. Walter Bagehot, Sir Henry Maine, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, and Mr. Charles Darwin stands on something stronger than "the passing needs of party organization."

It was natural that the subscribers to the Protest should make the most of a subject on which the supporters of women's suffrage are not at one : namely, the admission or the exclusion of married women. The party in favor of an extension of the suffrage is seldom in absolute harmony upon the extent of the change which they demand. Some of the supporters of the Reform bills of 1832, 1867, and 1884 would have liked, far better than these gradual extensions, to have leaped at once to universal suffrage. But our national habit in these things is to go slowly, one step at a time, and be sure of a firm foothold in one place before we go on to another. Both the bills for women's suffrage that were introduced this session were drawn in this spirit : they would have enfranchised those women who have already received the municipal, county council, and school board suffrages ; *i. e.*,

single women and widows who are householders, property owners, and otherwise fulfill the conditions imposed by law on male electors.

The "Nineteenth Century" ladies think that these bills would "enfranchise large numbers of women leading immoral lives," and on the other hand, by excluding wives, would shut out those women "who, as a rule, have passed through more of the practical experiences of life than the unmarried." Both these statements invite comment. By the words "large numbers of women leading immoral lives," it may be presumed that the ladies refer to some women who might become qualified to vote under the lodger franchise. Among "the materials for forming a sound judgment" in this matter are the following facts, which are not beyond the grasp of the female intellect. Two consecutive years' residence in the same apartments, and also personal application to be placed upon the Parliamentary register, are required of any one claiming the lodger franchise. These conditions have, as regards the male sex, made this franchise almost a dead letter: for example, in the borough of Blackburn, with 13,000 electors, only fifteen men vote under the lodger franchise. In most constituencies the lodgers are an absolutely insignificant fraction of the whole body of electors. The conditions which prevent men lodgers from becoming electors would be even more effective in preventing women lodgers, of the unhappy class referred to, from getting upon the register. On the other hand, the large class of most respectable and worthy women who live in lodgings, such as teachers and others engaged in education, would have no difficulty in fulfilling the conditions demanded, and would form a valuable addition to the electorate.

Foreigners often talk of English hypocrisy; and this bugbear about women's suffrage rendering it possible for an immoral woman to vote for a member of Parliament, appears an excellent example of it. How long has a stainless moral character been one of the conditions for exercising the Parliamentary suffrage? When it is remembered that no moral iniquity disqualifies a man from voting, that men of known bad character not only vote but are voted for, it is hardly possible to accept as genuine the objection to women's suffrage based on the possibility of an immoral woman voting. In times gone by women of this character had more political power than any other women. The mistresses of kings and of their ministers have often been centres of political power. But the modern democratic movement of society has modified this state of things; there is a transfer of political power from the Perrerses and the Du Barrys to the humbler but more self-respecting women who worthily represent the true womanhood of the country. Who can say, if women's suffrage were carried, that the new electors would not be of a character calculated to raise, rather than depress, the moral level of the constituencies to which they belong?

The next objection of the hundred and four is that, if wives are excluded, those who would be shut out are women "who have, as a rule, passed through more of the practical experiences of life than the unmarried;" whilst if they are included, "changes of enormous importance, which have

never been adequately considered, would be introduced into home life." The editor echoes, and in echoing magnifies, the fear here implied, for he "submits" that ladies should "for once" come forward and signify publicly their "condemnation of the scheme now threatened," "in order to save the quiet of home life from total disappearance." He must be very unhappy if he feels that the quiet of home life depends for its existence on an act of Parliament.¹ The quiet of home life, for those who are blessed with what deserves to be called a home, is one of those things that "looks on tempests and is never shaken." Love is said to laugh at locksmiths. I think he will survive women's suffrage. The ladies, however, have stated their case with more moderation: they mention the undoubted fact that married women must either be included or excluded in any women's suffrage bill: if they are excluded, many of the best women will be shut out; if they are included, changes will be introduced into home life which have not been adequately considered. For my own part, it has always seemed for many reasons right to recognize this, and therefore to support the measures which would enfranchise single women and widows, and not wives during the lifetime of their husbands. The case for the enfranchisement of women who are standing alone and bearing the burden of citizenship as ratepayers and taxpayers seems unanswerable. If we have household suffrage, let the head of the house vote, whether that head be a man or a woman. The enfranchisement of wives is an altogether different question. The enfranchisement of single women and widows gives electoral power to a class who are in a position of social and financial independence. To give these women votes would be a change in their political condition, bringing it into harmony with their social, industrial, and pecuniary position. This would not be the case with wives. If they were enfranchised, the effect, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, would be to give two votes to the husband. Wives are bound by law to obey their husbands. No other class in the community is in this position, and it seems inexpedient to allow political independence (which would only be nominal) to precede actual independence. The legal position of a married woman has changed considerably in the direction of independence, but the change is, after all, only partial (it is not argued here whether or not it is desirable to make it complete); and, in my opinion, a change in political status should always be attendant on a corresponding and preceding change in the social and legal status. The limitation of female suffrage to those women not under coverture would no doubt exclude from representation many women of high character and capacity. A similar objection can be made to every limitation of the suffrage. It must also be remembered that if the bill lately

¹ He does *not* feel that the existing quiet of home life depends upon any act of Parliament; but he does feel that such an act as Mrs. Fawcett and her friends desire would fatally injure it. For it would give a colorable pretext to the wire-pullers and agitators of all political factions to intrude wherever there was a vote to be struggled and wrangled after, and into countless homes now happily free from them and their squabbles. — ED.

before Parliament were carried, no set of women would be definitely and permanently excluded, as at present all women are. Marriage is to nearly all women a state either of experience or of expectation. There would be a constant passing to and fro from the ranks of the represented and the unrepresented, and consequently the closest identity of interest would exist between them. In this way the direct representation of some women would become the indirect representation of all women. Many valued friends of the women's suffrage movement take a different view, and urge that we should seek to remove the disability of coverture simultaneously with the disability of sex ; and that to exclude married women is to place a slight upon marriage. Others, with whom I sympathize, believe this to be a mistaken view ; as regards the alleged slight on marriage, married women never discovered that they were insulted when their single or widowed sisters were intrusted with the school board, municipal, and county council suffrages. It is on the lines laid down by our previous experience of women's suffrage that it will probably be found best to proceed in the future.

In conclusion, the ladies of the "Nineteenth Century" Protest may be reminded that the friends of women's suffrage value the womanliness of women as much as themselves. True womanliness grows and thrives on whatever strengthens the spontaneity and independence of the character of women. Women, for instance, are more womanly in England, where Florence Nightingale and Mary Carpenter have taught them how women's work ought to be done, than they are in Spain, where they accept the masculine standard in matters of amusement and go in crowds to see a bullfight. The most unfeminine of English women are to be found in those classes which are either so high or so low in the social scale as to have been comparatively little influenced by the emancipating process of the last fifty years. They set their ideas of pleasure and amusement by the masculine, not by the feminine standard. At the top of the social scale, these women (who are bad imitations of men) go on the turf, practice various kinds of sport, or if they do not kill with their own hands, stand by and see others kill pheasants in a battue, or pigeons at Hurlingham. At the other end of the social scale there are women whose feminine instincts are so little developed that betting and drinking are their chief enjoyments. These are the really unfeminine women. We do not want women to be bad imitations of men ; we neither deny nor minimize the differences between men and women. The claim of women to representation depends to a large extent on those differences. Women bring something to the service of the state different from that which can be brought by men. Let this fact be frankly recognized and let due weight be given to it in the representative system of the country. — *The Nineteenth Century*, July.

BOSTON HYMN.

IGDRASIL.

TREE AND LEAF.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 209TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 18, 1889.

1: ONWARD storms my strong-limbed race,
Pause for me is nigh ;
Long on earth will men have place,
Not much longer I.

2. Thousand summers kiss the lea,
Only one the sheaf ;
Thousand springs may deck the tree,
Only one the leaf.

3. Gone already earlier leaves ;
Lonely on my bough
Cling I whom the wind bereaves,
Rustling russet now.

4. On Time's leafy carpet I
Fall in God's great lap ;
Once we live and when we die
Feed the Future's sap.

5. Seed whose sap God's light allures
Riseth from the sod ;
In a tropic heaven matures
Whoso loveth God.

6. Grow, great Igdrasil ! Thy roots
Drink God's glittering dew ;
In thy sunniest topmost shoots,
We our life renew.

JOSEPH COOK.

Igdrasil, [in the Norse mythology] the Ash-tree of Existence, has its roots deep down in the kingdoms of Hela or Death; its trunk reaches up heaven high, spreads its boughs over the whole universe: it is the Tree of Existence. At the foot of it in the Death Kingdom, sit three *Nornas*, Fates, — the Past, Present, Future, watering its roots from the Sacred Well. Its boughs, with their buddings and disleafings — events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes — stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography? Its boughs are Histories of Nations. The rustle of it is the noise of Human Existence onwards from of old. . . . The Tree Igdrasil buds and withers by its own laws, — too deep for our scanning. Curious, I say, and not sufficiently considered — how everything does coöperate with all; not a leaf rotting on the highway but is indissoluble portion of solar and stellar systems; no thought, word, or act of man but has sprung withal out of all men! It is all a Tree; circulation of sap and influences, mutual communication of every minutest leaf with the lowest talon of a root, with every other greatest and minutest portion of the whole. . . . Considering how human things circulate, each inextricably in communion with all — how the word I speak to you to-day is borrowed not from Ulfila the Mesogoth only, but from all men since the first man began to speak — I find no similitude so true as this of a Tree. Beautiful; altogether beautiful and great. The “*Machine of the Universe*,” — alas, do but think of that in contrast! — CARLYLE, *Lectures on Heroes*, pp. 24, 119.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE VII.

RUMSELLERS AS ROBBERS AND RULERS.

AN immense audience was present at the 209th Boston Monday lecture, March 18. People were standing at fourteen doors of the balconies. The Rev. Dr. Plumb of Boston presided ; and the Rev. Dr. Mears of Worcester offered prayer. The positions of the prelude on constitutional prohibition were emphatically indorsed by the audience. So were also the eloquent remarks of Hon. J. B. Grinnell, of Iowa, and of Senator Metcalf of Rhode Island, on the success of constitutional prohibition in those States. The Rev. Dr. Sheldon Jackson presented in a brief address the wants and prospects of Alaska.

CLASS LEGISLATION FOR LIQUOR DEALERS.

In a revolt against class legislation, Massachusetts once fired a shot heard around the world. She has now, in a similar revolt against strictly class legislation, opportunity to fire another such shot. The fateful issue of the hour is, "Shall we tolerate a class who are at once robbers and rulers?" This was once a question concerning red coats, and Massachusetts and the nation answered it; it was later on a question concerning rebels, and Massachusetts and the nation answered it; it is now a question concerning rumsellers, and Massachusetts and the nation will ultimately answer it in the name of the home, No; in the name of municipal order, No; in the name of purity of state and national politics, No; in the name of the great and hazardous future of our republic, No; and in the name of our fathers and in the name of God, No. (Applause.)

What are some of the chief reasons in favor of constitutional prohibition in the form in which it has been submitted by the General Court of Massachusetts to the suffrages of the people of this Commonwealth? I have a personal acquaintance with

very many temperance reformers in this country, and have had for many years, and although I have no authority to speak for anybody beside myself, I am convinced that the propositions I am now to put before you have the assent of a great body of respectable, progressive, and aggressive temperance people from sea to sea.

FAILURE OF HIGH LICENSE.

1. High license has failed. Fifty-five of the counties of Iowa under constitutional prohibition now have jails without a single inmate. (Applause.) In the last ten years the committals to the jails for drunkenness in Massachusetts under high license have increased 125 per cent. Restriction does not restrict. Any apparent success it has is due to its prohibitory features. To license the gilded saloon is practically to license the gambling den and the brothel. Even if high license had not failed and had not infamous allies, it cannot be thoroughly executed, for the people have lost confidence in it. Great religious bodies denounce it.

The Methodist denomination in this country affirms before God and man that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin. This wise utterance is likely to be a landmark in the history of reform. Philanthropic sentiment largely opposes high license; commercial sentiment is coming to oppose it. As a system high license simply robs Peter to pay Paul, and does not pay Paul. (Laughter.) It takes out of one hand to put into another. In the great majority of instances, the rumseller collects from his victims the funds which he pays to the State. All license fees must be paid by those who support the traffic, and it is by no means safe to say that those who drink take the consequences. Their families take the consequences; their wives, and their children. We ourselves take the consequences as taxpayers. High license calls on the widows and orphans, and you and me, to support the gilded saloon. More than the low dives, a thousand times more, the gilded high license saloon attracts respectable young men, and so undermines the upper portion of society. Thus it brings about a state of things in which it is very hard to awaken adequate intensity of temper-

ance sentiment even among the educated and those who pass for conscientious people. High license has done more to lower temperance sentiment in the upper ranges of the American population than any other one measure for the last generation. (Applause.) It is a golden bar to prohibition. It is an appeal to the cupidity of taxpayers. It befogs, befools, and fleeces, and so rules the people. It ought now to be regarded as a thing settled by many years of experience that the great deliverance of the Methodist body is right, when it declares that license, high or low, is ineffective as a remedy and vicious in fundamental principle. (Applause.)

When great bodies affirm in religious conventions that there is sin in legalizing the liquor traffic, it is time to call pause to the current superficial, light, almost flippant, defenses of license. It is not necessary to affirm that taking a single glass of intoxicating liquor is always a sin *per se*, but to legalize a traffic that notoriously manufactures taxes, criminals, paupers, madmen, widows, orphans, and lost souls is a sin. We must lay the weight of that fact on the conscience of the nation, on the pulpits of the nation, and on the parlors that support the pulpits, if we are ever to lift the nation at large to the level the Methodist body has already attained. The Presbyterian body has made a vigorous deliverance on this theme. It allows no rum-seller to become a church-member. Although the Presbyterian body has not taken precisely the ground the Methodist body now occupies, still that immense denomination, representing so much of the culture, and the wealth, and the religious zeal of the land, is rising toward that level, and I have very little doubt will lock hands ultimately with the Methodist body. Several minor bodies have reached the level of the Methodist. And it is high time that all church-members who have dawdled along in the temperance reform, believing in license because of the revenue that can be had from it, should open their eyes and no longer allow themselves to be deceived by appearances.

The reality is that license, high or low, does not much diminish sales. Multitudes of the retail shops under high license are owned by those who have paid a high price for their opportunity to open gilded saloons. The master liquor dealers carry the

minor liquor dealers in the palms of their greedy hands. It may be that the number of places where liquor is sold is diminished under high license, but the amount of liquor sold, and the drunkenness of the land, have never been shown to be diminished by license. In fact, pauperism, crime, committals to jail, are known to increase with the taxes in license States to such a degree that I for one would justify a law, covering the recent proposition of a distinguished social economist of this city, that all citizens who can show that they have nothing to do in supporting the liquor traffic shall be exempt from taxes to support in prison or in houses of philanthropy those whom the liquor traffic has made public burdens. Let the burdens be thrown on the traffic which produces them (applause), and we shall very soon find the liquor dealers themselves objecting to high license as altogether the most costly arrangement that can be made in connection with their interest in the field of public reform.

SUCCESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL PROHIBITION.

2. Constitutional prohibition has been a great success wherever it has had a fair trial.

In Iowa fifty-five county jails are empty. In Maine, as Neal Dow has affirmed, it has reduced the amount of liquor sold twenty times; that is, not a twentieth is now sold that was sold before prohibition became the policy of Maine. And as Neal Dow said to me at my table at Lake George not long ago, as he has said to the public repeatedly, a little change in the law increasing the power of search might make the Maine law effective. Maine is an old State with immense vested interests in it, and is surrounded by a somewhat cool climate in the temperance sky here in New England. I do not forget the recent result in New Hampshire. I do not forget how the law is trampled on in great cities in Maine; but there is no legalized dram shop in that whole commonwealth, and the fact that the traffic has been made an outlaw is an immense educational lesson for the young and for the old. (Applause.)

You say that in Texas a constitutional amendment failed. Yes, but what is Texas? A region larger than the German

empire ; the buzzard's wings weary in sailing over it. It is made up of a very heterogeneous population. Admirable elements are in that population, but they have not leavened the entire mass, and so it is by no means surprising that with the power of the whiskey syndicate of the whole land cast into that election in Texas, the result went the wrong way. For the same reason it was no great wonder that Tennessee did not carry her amendment, or that West Virginia did not, or that Oregon did not. The power of the liquor syndicate of the whole land was exerted in crushing out prohibitory sentiment in Tennessee, West Virginia, and Oregon. The master liquor dealers of this country are like a set of spiders in their webs, their legs locked all across the land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and their webs cast out to all points of the compass, spiders filled with the blood of drunkards, widows, and orphans. That syndicate is as sensitive to the efforts of temperance reformers as the telegraph lines are to the manipulation of operators. You cannot raise this question of constitutional prohibition in any commonwealth without the power of the whole syndicate being centred for a while on the election to follow. Many are convinced that Michigan really carried her amendment and lost it by fraud, but I will not say as much as that. The northern part of Michigan is in need of missionaries. (Laughter.) Michigan has several corrupt cities. Valorous work was done for the amendment there, and I believe that if votes had been weighed the amendment might have been carried. If there had been compulsory suffrage there, and absenteeism had not been so mischievous a factor, constitutional prohibition might have been carried in Michigan and in New Hampshire also.

3. Constitutional prohibition is superior to legislative prohibition because it is the act of the whole people and not of a single political party ; it is as difficult to repeal it as to pass it ; the success of it takes the temperance question out of politics ; it is a non-partisan measure, and enforces legislation.

A few surprising critics oppose constitutional prohibition on the ground that it might be burdensome, as, when once anchored in the fundamental law of the State, it could not be easily changed. That is one of the reasons for it. You have

to leap a high bar in order to carry constitutional prohibition, but an equally high bar you must leap in order to go backward. New Hampshire had to leap a two thirds vote, a very difficult thing to do. Massachusetts needs only a majority to carry it, but we leaped the two thirds bar in the lower house in the General Court. The taking of a certain number of issues in this country entirely out of politics is a scheme that commends itself more and more as the republic grows. Our navy and our army ought to be outside of politics. Our schools should be kept outside of politics, and our temperance legislation should be outside of politics as far as possible.

4. The legality of constitutional prohibition without compensation has been fully settled by the Supreme Court of the United States.

5. Supply of liquor creates demand for it as truly as demand creates supply. No demand for tobacco existed in all the ages of the world before the discovery of the filthy weed in America, but the supply has created the demand. (Applause.)

We are told that we must educate the people. We are doing it. We are told that in that admirable day when nobody wants to buy, nobody can sell liquor. These facts are remembered by temperance reformers, and remembered with such reverence that Mrs. Hunt has carried laws requiring compulsory temperance instruction through twenty-five States, a success that is an eighth wonder of the world. (Applause.) And yet when men, who know that a great campaign is an educational measure, and lifts the people to loftier ideals, have a chance to enter such a campaign, they turn back from it, hold their hands languidly at their sides, and say, "We must have educational measures before we can have political measures, or indeed any thorough execution of laws now on the statute book." When men who blame temperance reformers for not educating the people, themselves have a chance to educate the people, they withdraw from the task in the spirit of lukewarmness or cowardice.

6. Rumsellers are robbers. They involve the nation in a drink-bill of \$10,000,000 annually, and not only give nothing in return, but cause seven tenths of the crime and pauperism of the population, with corresponding increase of taxes. As has

been already shown, the fees collected from rumsellers for high license, the rumsellers collect from the victims of the traffic.

POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SALOON.

7. Rumsellers, who are actual robbers, are always would-be and often actual rulers of the body politic. They are the chief source of municipal misrule in great cities. They begin to dominate in state and even in national politics.

Less than a score of rumsellers now dominate the politics of Boston. There came together in Young's Hotel on a Sunday morning not long since, as the brave "Traveller" of this city asserts (applause), a syndicate of master liquor dealers, and with champagne flowing began the discussion of the methods of circumventing the people in the possible success of the current canvass for constitutional prohibition. New Hampshire, lately, by a similar syndicate of liquor dealers, as is supposed, was flooded with anonymous circulars, cowardly documents which no man dared sign, appealing to the voters in the Granite State to oppose the constitutional amendment because it did not prohibit cider. This anonymous circular, with its hand on its heart, professed that cider was a great mischief, that it was the curse of New Hampshire; that under the name of cider mischievous liquors would be sold, and as the present legislative prohibitory law in New Hampshire does prohibit cider, and the proposed constitutional amendment did not, the farmers and sensible citizens generally were appealed to in their temperance earnestness to resist the constitutional amendment as likely to leave the State in a worse condition than it now occupies under merely legislative prohibition. And that trick seems to have succeeded largely in New Hampshire.

What does this same syndicate now do? It floods Massachusetts with circulars of the anonymous kind teaching exactly the opposite, that cider is in danger. (Laughter.) Your constitutional prohibitory amendment will ruin your profit from your orchards, so this syndicate says to the farmers. Cider is an excellent thing here; it is a bad thing in New Hampshire. The farmer, under the amendment proposed in Massachusetts, can do anything with his apples, except make them into cider

and open a cider saloon. He may feed his apples to his cattle, and they are worth forty per cent. more for that purpose than when made into cider, so the books and practical farmers tell us. The liquor syndicate is now advocating in Massachusetts, in its cowardly, anonymous, stiletto fashion, exactly the opposite of what it advocated in New Hampshire. Cowardice of this sort is contemptible. The opponents of constitutional prohibition dare not hold public meetings. (Applause.) I challenge the liquor dealers of this land to bring forward their leaders and tell us on the public platform their reasons for opposing constitutional prohibition. (Loud applause.)

TOTAL ABSTINENCE A CLOSED ISSUE.

8. In the world of science, total abstinence is now a closed issue. Alcohol is defined in the authorized school-books of twenty-five States as a cerebral narcotic poison.

Twenty-five years ago this language could not have been used, but, as I have occasion to know as the result of a good deal of personal investigation and conversation with experts, you may assert now unqualifiedly that the voice of science pronounces alcohol a brain poison. And it is not only a poison with special local affinity for the brain, but it is a poison with a fish-hook barb — it can only go in, it cannot be pulled out without tearing the flesh. The more you take of it, the more appetite you have for it. What is the liquor traffic? It is a public nuisance, with a cerebral poison, with a fish-hook barb, for sale. It is a robber's counter with appetite on one side and greed on the other. You are asked to license that for the sake of a consideration. And you are asked also to prohibit that in the name of God and humanity. Which will you do?

Now that our children are being taught in twenty-five States that alcohol is a cerebral narcotic poison, why should people born fifty or sixty years ago be so laggard in their opposition to the liquor traffic? We have laws concerning the sale of other poisons, and nobody thinks them a invasion of personal rights. The Supreme Court has decided that to outlaw the liquor traffic is quite within the power of the State. It is not fanatical to demand constitutional prohibition of traffic in a

poison that all the centuries of its use have pronounced accursed.

9. In life assurance societies, also, total abstinence is a closed issue.

Many of the life assurance companies insure total abstainers in one class, and moderate drinkers in another, and they have found from experience covering nearly forty years, in London and New York and Hartford, as well as in Montreal and Toronto, and in Sydney and Melbourne in Australia, that the class containing only total abstainers must be paid a bonus of fifteen, seventeen, and sometimes twenty-three per cent. over that containing moderate drinkers, so much less is the mortality in the former class. Go to your enlightened life insurance companies and see whether you, as a moderate drinker, can get insured as cheaply as you can as a total abstainer. If you have any large experience in soliciting life insurance you will very soon find that science is followed in those cool, commercial organizations, however little it may be followed in our haphazard politics.

10. A majority of the future voters of the nation are now in schools which require compulsory scientific instruction in total abstinence from both alcoholics and narcotics, so that the temperance sentiment of the future is very sure to be a rising tide.

The spring is advancing. Prohibition will come to a prepared people. It will not do in our latitude to try to gather melons in March. But a summer is coming in which melons will prosper. The seed at fit season is to be planted in the rockiest soil. I know that a blizzard sometimes occurs to delay the planting time, but I feel as sure that the temperance reform is to rise in the sky like the vernal sun, as I do that April is on its way from the gulf. Although a storm may set upon New England from behind the White Hills, or yonder on the edge of the Sound, although chill, surly weather may last far into the vernal season, the spring is coming, and the summer is coming, with the new generation. (Applause.)

11. The church as well as the school is rising toward the level reached by the Presbyterian body, which allows no rum-seller to become a church-member; and also toward the level already attained by the great Methodist denomination, which

declares that the liquor traffic can never be legalized without sin.

PROHIBITION IN POLITICS.

12. Vast philanthropic organizations like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union declare for constitutional prohibition and against every political party that does not support it. (Applause.)

13. A high-principled and aggressive young political party has repeatedly entered presidential elections as the champion of prohibition (applause), has drawn to its support great numbers of preachers and men of enlightened temperance views, and is sure to increase in power if the older political parties remain subservient to the saloon. (Loud applause.)

The Republican party, when it has the power, must break up the saloons, or the people will ultimately break up the Republican party. (Prolonged applause.)

14. In this attitude of philanthropic and political organizations and of the church and the schools, it is both preposterous and cowardly to assert that in a commonwealth like Massachusetts the will of the people, if they enact constitutional prohibition, cannot be executed.

15. Massachusetts is highly criminal in relation to the rum-traffic in Africa, as she makes and exports ninety per cent. of all the rum sent from America to the Congo.

Your amendment does not touch the manufacture of that rum, I am sorry to say. But the very fact that your State is stained by that infamous rival of the slave-trade, which is doing more mischief now in Africa, I suppose, than the slave-trade has done there in recent years, is a reason why we should bestir ourselves to preserve the name of the Commonwealth from taint.

16. Cerebral poison makes hell on earth, and it is not too much if we are asked to believe that it also peoples hell beyond the earth. As thoroughly as that I exist I believe that no drunkard as such can inherit the kingdom of heaven. It would be true that the liquor traffic can never be licensed without sin if it produced only taxes, paupers, widows, orphans, criminals, and madmen. But it is doubly true that it can never be

licensed without sin when in addition to all these it produces lost souls.

And now, as we part from this theme, let us ask, What are the reasons of respectable people for opposing constitutional prohibition? And what are some of the peculiar considerations which influence the action of those who do not intend to oppose the amendment, and yet do not intend to favor it?

(1.) It cannot be executed.

The Law and Order Leagues, which, I suppose, will help execute the constitutional prohibition law, as they now help to execute what is on the statute books, might be the nether millstone, as the amendment would be the upper, to grind the liquor trade to powder ultimately. By the agency of the leagues and other good influences the traffic has been absolutely driven out of Somerville and Cambridge yonder under local option.

A moderately well executed prohibitory law would be better than high license, for high license does not diminish the amount of liquor sold, and it makes the traffic respectable. A moderate degree of success ought to be attained in Massachusetts, since a brilliant degree has been attained in Iowa. It is true that Massachusetts has concentrated populations in great cities. But Boston contains only a fifth of the population of this Commonwealth, and is the fifth to rule four fifths?

You say Rhode Island wishes to repeal her prohibitory amendment which she passed by a vote of more than three to two. Before we part to-day you will be addressed, as I hope, by Senator Metcalf of Rhode Island (applause), and he will tell you that not a single name of a Protestant minister is to be found among those who have petitioned for the resubmission of the amendment in that State. (Applause.) Rhode Island is all core and no apple (laughter); Iowa is all apple and no core. (Laughter.) In the centre of the core in Rhode Island is a gigantic black worm, voracious and reckless, — the liquor traffic. In the county in which the city of Providence is situated you find seventy-two per cent. of the wealth of the State. Then, again, the liquor syndicate there understands very well what the liquor syndicate of Boston wants. The Rhode Island liquor sellers are fighting against the possible

success of constitutional prohibition in a neighboring State. They are fortifying against your possible action in connection with the amendment. In Rhode Island there never has been a fair attempt to execute the law, or to carry out repeated Republican pledges that it should have a fair trial. It is not too much to affirm that the friends of temperance have been disappointed by the action of respectable Republicans in Rhode Island. The time will come when honest Republicans who are temperance men, honest Democrats, also, for that matter, will say the day is over for political swindling, and that we no longer will trust politicians since we have been deceived so often, and that we will reorganize politics in such a way as to bring them up to the prohibitory level, cost what it may. (Prolonged applause.) The mood of this audience is suggestive and dangerous. (Laughter.)

(2.) Six States within two years have voted against constitutional prohibitory amendments.

Four of these States, I hold, were by no means ripe for the reform, that is, Texas, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Oregon. Michigan, perhaps, was tricked out of it by fraud, and in New Hampshire there were only forty-six days allowed for the canvass. I know not how many votes were bought in New Hampshire, but I do know that a third of the ballots that should have been cast was not cast. Would to heaven we had the law of compulsory voting here, for I believe Massachusetts, with every voter brought to the polls, has far more than a fighting chance for a majority. (Applause.)

Edmund Burke used to say that a patriot is a man who feels a stain on his country like a wound on his own person. I was not born in Massachusetts, heaven forgive me (laughter), but my grandmother's family came from Cambridge (applause), and my grandfather from Connecticut, and his ancestors from old Plymouth. I am attached to New England; I am proud of the career of Massachusetts. And what is to be said if you fail?

When fools cast taunts at your gate,
Your scorn ye shall somewhat abate,
As ye look o'er the wall ;

For your conscience, tradition, and name,
Explode with a deadlier blame,
Than the worst of them all.
This is the curse. Write.

So Mrs. Browning spoke to America concerning the mischief of slavery, and so in a conflict with a greater evil than slavery was before the war, posterity will speak to you unless you fire again a shot that can be heard around the world. (Applause.)

Let us remember that the gains of the liquor traffic are largely collected from those who make children their victims, after having become victims themselves. Women, little girls, little boys, infants in the cradle, are the corner-stones, so to speak, on which this temple of Moloch is built. There are African tribes that cast into the trenches under every new building living forms, and then erect the structure upon them. So the liquor traffic builds. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union I reverence for its intelligence, its patriotism, and, you must allow me to say, for its political aggressiveness. That great organization will not forget the dishonor that Massachusetts will draw upon herself if she forgets the cause of children. As Mrs. Browning says —

From the summits of love a curse is driven
As lightning is from the tops of heaven.
A curse from the depths of womanhood
Is very bitter and salt and good.

Let us lift up our thoughts to our fathers. Let us remember that in the soil of this Commonwealth lie buried Wendell Phillips, John Gough, and God knows how many other noble defenders of unpopular reforms. Massachusetts still contains Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill, and here those sacred places will remain to witness your future. On soil thus sacred are you to go into bondage to the bar-rooms? Are you to make yourselves saloon-spaniels to crawl between the blood-soaked feet of the Moloch of the liquor traffic? When Iowa holds up her head and looks to heaven for a blessing, with no yoke of the liquor traffic upon her neck, are you to go with your neck calloused under the yoke of rumsellers, who are at once robbers and rulers? The children will curse you if you do, and their children's children.

They look up with their pale and sunken faces,
And their look is dread to see.
For they mind you of their angels in high places,
With eyes turned on Deity.
“How long,” they say, “how long, O cruel nation,
Will you stand to move the world on a child’s heart,
Stifle down with a mailed heel its palpitation,
And tread onward to your throne amid the mart.
Our blood splashes upward, O gold heaper,
And your purple shows your path ;
But the child’s sob in the silence curses deeper
Than the strong man in his wrath.”

MRS. BROWNING.

(Applause.)

LECTURE VII.

NEW CATHOLICISM IN SPANISH AMERICA.

AMERICAN LIBERTIES FOR AMERICAN CATHOLICS.

IT is to be hoped, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, that before the date of the fourth centennial of the discovery of America by Columbus arrives, our alert politicians and educators and ecclesiastics in North America will have discovered South America. Lord Bacon says, "Example is a globe of precepts." My contention is that what I venture to call new Catholicism in various Spanish American states in which Catholics have ceased to be Romanists is a far more hopeful movement than what Europe calls Old Catholicism or than Gallicanism ever was, and that it deserves much attention from all who fear the aggressions of ultramontaniam. You say that as Protestants you are prepared to go as far in opposition to Vaticanism and Papal interference with American affairs as the Catholics of Spanish America have done. Are you, indeed, ready to go as far as they?

Catholics in Mexico, Chili, and the Argentine Republic have abolished parochial schools. They forbid accumulations of property by ecclesiastical orders. In some cases they elect their own bishops. They exclude clerical influence from politics. If a papal nuncio, a bishop, or an archbishop interferes too boldly with education, he is sent home to Italy. Catholicism of the new species is a state religion, but all other faiths are tolerated. All this has been done in Spanish America in our time, but the eyes of Protestants in North America, as well as those of Romanists here, seem closed to this handwriting on the wall.

GALLICAN LIBERTIES OVERTHROWN IN 1870.

Bishop Coxe, in an eloquent address delivered at a recent national meeting of the American Evangelical Alliance, has most

pointedly asked American Catholics to assert for themselves the Gallican liberties. But Gallicanism was superseded by the decrees of the Vatican Council. So far as the Roman Catholic Church is concerned, Gallicanism is now a formal heresy. What was Gallicanism? Its essential principles were that the king of France was absolutely independent of the Pope in all temporal matters, and that Papal power was inferior to that of a general council. These contentions were supported on the basis of ancient canonical practice against what leading French Catholics regarded as Roman encroachments. In the sixteenth century, the courtly portion of the clergy in France delighted to speak of Gallican liberties. In March, 1682, in a celebrated assembly, at which Bossuet preached the opening sermon, there was passed a series of four Gallican articles, of which two were especially significant. The first affirmed that Peter and his successors had received no power from God extending to civil and temporal affairs; declared that kings were subject to no ecclesiastical power in temporals, and denied the deposing power of the church. The fourth says: "The Pope has the principal share in questions of faith; his decrees regard all the churches and each church in particular; nevertheless, his judgment is not irreformable unless the consent of the church be added." (Catholic Dictionary, by Addis and Arnold, p. 367.)

Bossuet himself signed these articles. They woke the zeal of great prelates in the age of Louis XIV. They leavened the teaching and practice of Catholic bishops almost everywhere north of the Alps. But the Romish hierarchy south of the Alps championed ultramontaniam generation after generation until in the Vatican Council of 1870 Gallicanism was trampled out completely. It is now a formal heresy in the church, so Addis and Arnold assure us, to assert that the Pope's judgment is not irreformable unless the consent of the church be added. A great hope of the liberal party in the Catholic Church was thus extinguished by the Vatican Council. It is impossible now for American, or any other Catholics, to appeal to the Gallican liberties against Romish and Papal aggression.

Instead of raising the cry, "Gallican liberties for American Catholics!" I prefer, therefore, to suggest the watchword,

“American liberties for American Catholics!” Let liberal Catholics study the recent example of Mexican and South American Catholics who have practically ceased to be Romanists. If it is impossible to assert Gallican, then assert Mexican and South American liberties. Do so in the name of their wide adoption and success among Catholics in the New World and in that of their political and religious necessity wherever Romish aggression prevails.

RECENT PROGRESS IN SOUTH AMERICA.

Let us notice first, what Romanism has done where it has had no rivals in Spanish America, and next how many Catholics there, who are Catholics but not Romanists, have resisted it in the progress of the political amelioration of that part of our continent, and have decisively expelled Jesuits from places of educational and political influence, and even thrown off the yoke of the temporal power of the Pope.

You are accustomed to treat South America far too lightly. You think Spaniards and half-breeds in the tropics cannot be expected to build permanent political institutions. But the spirit of American independence and progress broods over the chaos of South American politics and is reducing it to order. The population of the Argentine Republic and of Uruguay is increasing with a rapidity not excelled by the growth of any part of our own republic. Patagonia has been abolished from the map. Chili has extended her borders west of the Andes to Cape Horn, while the Argentine Republic has extended hers on the east of the Andes to the Straits of Magellan. The Patagonian territory is, for the most part, a fine grazing region. Buenos Ayres and Montevideo have an immense trade with Europe and hardly any with our ports. Uruguay, in proportion to population, is at the present time actually the best foreign customer of Great Britain. (Whitaker's Almanac, 1889, p. 524.)

The river Platte begins to rival the Missouri in the grain and cattle trade with the Old World, as the Amazon rivals the Mississippi and the Gulf in the cotton trade. Those countries of South America which are both Romish and Catholic remain

in a backward condition; but those which have thrown off priestly rule are advancing with astonishing speed.

Bolivar liberated five South American states — Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Peru — from the Spanish yoke. They formed the United States of Colombia, of which humanity once entertained high hopes. But Bolivar did not liberate his country from the yoke of Rome. The Colombian union fell into anarchy, not so much because the people were Spanish or half-breeds, as because they were under priestly control, and in bondage to secret and public Jesuit influence. The United States of America should not scorn to take a lesson from the experience of the United States of Colombia.

COMMISSIONER CURTIS ON SPANISH AMERICA.

In 1885 President Arthur appointed William Eleroy Curtis, of Washington, secretary of a commission from the United States to the governments of Central and South America. Mr. Curtis published in 1888, with a dedication to President Arthur, a highly valuable book of travels entitled "The Capitals of Spanish America." It is a well illustrated work of 700 pages, issued by Harper & Brothers. It contains a large amount of fresh information concerning South American affairs, and is eminently worthy of study for its references to Roman Catholicism. The facts I am about to state are summarized chiefly from Mr. Curtis's pages and those of consular reports, and can easily be verified and expanded by references to official documents such as any one may see cited in "The Statesman's Year Book" and similar publications.

ROMISH ECUADOR.

Ecuador lies under the equator, and throws up her Chimborazo and Cotopaxi into the central skies of the tropics. It is now the only state in America in which the Romish Church survives as the Spaniards left it. There is a Catholic church for every one hundred and fifty inhabitants. Ten per cent. of the population are priests, monks, or nuns. One fourth of all the property in Ecuador belongs to the bishop. Two hundred and seventy-two days of the year are feast or fast days. The

clerical party controls the government. The priests rule the country as absolutely as if the Pope were its king. Seventy-five per cent. of the children born are illegitimate. There is not a railroad nor a stage-coach in the entire country. The people know nothing but what the priests tell them. They have no amusements but cock-fights and bull-fights, no literature, no hope of political freedom under priestly leadership; no prospect of industrial advancement, although the territory in proportion to its area is naturally one of the richest on the globe. (Curtis, "Capitals of Spanish America," p. 306.)

CHILI AND THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

In refreshing contrast to Ecuador, the republic of Chili has placed the appointments of bishops in the hands of the President of the republic; taken the registers of births, marriages, and deaths from the church and given them to civil magistrates; declared civil to be the only legal marriage; established non-sectarian schools, and passed a compulsory education law. Citizens who send their children to the priests and nuns to be taught have to pay a tax to the state. (Applause.) The Jesuits have been expelled from Chili for engaging in a conspiracy against the government. A difference between the archbishop and President some years ago caused the former to retire from Chili. A nuncio sent over by the Pope criticised the government so severely from the pulpit that he was given a passport and an escort of military. There are now no relations whatever between the Pope and Chili, although the Catholic faith is still recognized as the established religion. (Pages 493, 494.)

The Argentine Confederation is the present leader of South American progress, political, industrial, and educational. This republic deserves to be called the United States of South America. The banks of Buenos Ayres occupy buildings finer than any banking houses in New York city. One of them does more business than any bank in our republic or in Germany, and is exceeded by but two banks in the world. In proportion to the population the number of telephone instruments is larger than in any other city. The educational system is the most

costly in the world, with the exception of Australia. The government expends for educational purposes \$10.20 per pupil annually, while in the United States it averages only \$8.70; in Germany, \$6; and in England, \$9.10. Although Catholicism is the state religion, the Jesuits are excluded from influence in education. The public-school system, under a compulsory education law, from kindergarten to normal school, is closely modeled on that of the State of Michigan. Ex-President Sarmiento, formerly minister to the United States, is a leading advocate for the higher education of women in South America. He was an intimate friend and regular correspondent of Mrs. Horace Mann, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other prominent women in the United States.

Through ex-President Sarmiento's instrumentality, some forty American girls, graduates of Vassar, Wellesley, Mount Holyoke, and Western institutions have been employed, under liberal contracts by the Argentine government, in the normal schools and female seminaries of the country, and their success has been phenomenal. These teachers receive salaries varying from one hundred to one hundred and sixty dollars per month, and are placed in positions, social as well as professional, which they could not hope to acquire at home. In every instance they have conducted themselves with the most commendable dignity, and although some of the economists in Congress and in the newspapers are grumbling over the large salaries they receive, they are treated with the greatest distinction and are entertained by the government in a manner that our own educational authorities might well imitate. One of them had a misunderstanding with the papal nuncio not long ago, which caused an immense amount of excitement. He attempted to interfere with the management of her school, on the ground that she was proselyting the children to Protestantism. She gave the envoy of his Holiness the Pope to understand that she was running that institution, and when he brought the case to the attention of the government she defended herself with such success that the President of the Argentine Republic sent him his passport, and advised him to take the next steamer for Rome. The archbishop interfered, and he was summarily banished also. (Curtis, "*Capitals of Spanish America*," pp. 557, 558.)

Can the United States, in their present somnolent mood in reference to Jesuit aggression, be supposed to be willing to go

as far as the Argentine Republic has gone in resisting it? All this happened in a state nominally Catholic. Parallel proceedings here would make an epoch in our history, and yet may some day become a political and educational necessity.

URUGUAY, VENEZUELA, AND BRAZIL.

In Uruguay parish schools have been closed, and monks and nuns expelled from the country. Free schools have been established under a compulsory education law. A civil marriage law has been passed similar to that of France. The registration of births and deaths has been placed in the hands of the civil officials. All houses of religious seclusion have been abolished, and all secret religious orders prohibited. (Pages 612, 613.)

Venezuela has made itself famous by a declaration of political independence of the Vatican. There was not a Protestant church in the whole country. President Guzman, although born and baptized a Catholic, suppressed all monasteries and nunneries, confiscated their property, and applied it to the purposes of useful education. In 1876 he sent to Congress the following remarkable message : —

I have taken upon myself the responsibility of declaring the church of Venezuela independent of the Roman episcopate, and ask that you further order that parish priests shall be elected by the people, the bishop by the rector of the parish, and the archbishop by Congress, returning to the uses of the primitive church founded by Jesus Christ and his apostles. Such a law will not only resolve the clerical question, but will be besides a grand example for the Christian church of republican America, hindered in her march towards liberty, order, and progress by the policy, always retrograde, of the Roman Church, and the civilized world will see in this act the most characteristic and palpable sign of advice in the regeneration of Venezuela.

GUZMAN BLANCO.

To this the Congress promptly replied : —

Faithful to our duties, faithful to our convictions, and faithful to the holy dogmas of the religion of Jesus Christ, of that great Being who conserved the world's freedom with his blood, we do not hesitate to emancipate the Church of Venezuela from that episcopacy which pretends, as an infallible and omnipotent power, to absorb from Rome

the vitality of a free people, the beliefs of our consciences, and the noble aspirations and destinies which pertain to us as component parts of the great human family. Congress offers to your excellency and will give you all the aid you seek to preserve the honor and the right of our nation and announces now with patriotic pleasure that it has already begun to elaborate the law which your Excellency asks it to frame.

These events naturally produced a deep impression in Catholic countries, both in America and Europe. Excommunication was threatened against all who should fail in their allegiance to the Vatican, but the people and government have remained unintimidated (pp. 290, 291). Their action deserves universal imitation throughout the Roman Catholic world. (Applause.)

In Brazil the liberal element has been making active war against the clerical party in the Catholic Church. Proceedings were instituted in 1870 to abolish all monastic institutions. Religious orders were given ten years in which to dispose of their property and close up their affairs. The orders have refused to recognize the right of the civil power to dispose of their property, but the constitutionality of the act of Congress relating to monastic institutions has been affirmed by the courts. A tax has been imposed upon all real estate owned by religious orders and proceedings begun to confiscate and sell their property for the non-payment of taxes. (Page 690.)

REVERSES OF ROMANISM IN MEXICO.

Mexico, as you know, has for four hundred years at least been the battle-ground between the clerical party and liberal Catholics. The clerical party brought over Maximilian, and endeavored to set him on a throne that, of course, would have subverted Mexican liberties. Maximilian did not seem inclined to grant all that the clerical party demanded of him. They abandoned him. The result was the total collapse of his enterprise. If the clerical party had succeeded, Mexico would to-day have been under a king, and the scheme of Louis Napoleon, as an ally of the Pope, to push the interests of the Latin race on this continent, and the interests of Catholicism in connection

with those of the Latin race, would have been in process of execution. I once heard General Grant say that if Maximilian had not withdrawn it would have been well to have employed our army, after the civil war, in effecting his removal. (Applause.) The result of the long conflict in Mexico is that no priest now can wear the cassock on the streets. Romish parochial schools have been abolished. The confessional is public. No priest and no bishop is allowed by law to hold real estate. Titles vested in religious orders are worthless. Free schools have been organized under a compulsory education law. In politics, the Roman Catholic clerical party is powerless. (Pages 3, 17).

LESSONS FOR NORTH AMERICA FROM SOUTH AMERICA.

Every city official on Manhattan Island, except the comptroller, as we are now informed, is a Roman Catholic. No perils arising in this country! Your Boston Committee of One Hundred sent two or three brave men to Washington lately. They have come back and reported that there does not go out of the capital of this nation any telegraph dispatch over the lines of the Associated Press, touching Roman Catholic interests, without first being submitted to the inspection of a Roman Catholic official. (Sensation.) You can hardly get into a newspaper in Washington any detailed effective report of a Protestant meeting. There goes into a great number of the newspapers absolutely nothing on Catholic interests that is not first supervised by a Catholic authority. No peril! Washington is the headquarters for Romanism in this country. Between the great college of the Jesuits in Washington and the archbishop's palace in Baltimore, the telephone and the telegraph keep up the liveliest communication. Now, when you find Jesuitism and ultramontaniam putting their fingers on the inmost pulse of public information at Washington, and when you know what their history has been throughout the world, and when you remember what the twenty-third and twenty-fourth sections of the Syllabus inculcate, sections to which the whole clerical party keys itself up as a unit, it is high time you should treat this topic with far more seriousness than you commonly expend

upon it. Seven hundred thousand children have already been drawn out of our public schools and placed in parochial schools. The clerical party demands a division of the school funds and the complete destruction of our free public-school system.

Let Quebec province cease to imitate Ecuador and take lessons from Chili, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic. Let Boston and New York, Baltimore and Washington, study the example of Mexico, Montevideo, and Buenos Ayres.

In these strategic instances of reform in Catholic countries, have Gallican liberties been reasserted? Not at all. American liberties have been asserted (applause) by Catholics themselves against the power of the Pope. The extraordinary success of this independent policy in South America ought to make it a political fashion for the whole Catholic world. Let Protestants of North America study their duties in the light of the action of Catholics of South America, who have abolished Romish parochial schools and expelled Jesuits from all places of political and educational influence. (Applause.)

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XVI.

AFTER the lapse of a few weeks, during which Mr. Bell and Curfew kept up their usual intercourse, Curfew had occasion to visit London, whither we follow him in order to make a record of one incident that specially concerns this narrative. Curfew's mental attitude at this point may be described as one of weariness in relation to all merely speculative and controversial inquiry, and a desire to know how any intellectual faith comes down into the life and stands the wear and tear of daily discipline and conflict. With many minds religion is first a superstition, then a mystery known only to experts, then a salvation dispensed by priestly hands at priestly prices, and then, unless there has been a reaction of unbelief, a solemn and practical inquiry inspired by personal conscience. Curfew had been led by Mr. Bell to see that nothing was easier than to ask questions and raise doubts and to escape discipline by casuistry. The one consideration which more than any other determined Curfew's larger sympathy with the Christian religion was this very matter of discipline, for he saw that Christianity was not a merely intellectual system, or a scheme of prizes based upon miracles now and menaces by and by, but a real power in the life, impatient with everything that did not tend to the purification and uplifting of conduct. Curfew judged Christianity by the quality of manhood which it produced. Nor was his judgment disturbed because of the exceptions which seemed to discredit his results; on the contrary they rather justified his election of so definite and practical a standard by paying to Christianity the tribute of imitation. "Where," said Curfew, "I cannot understand a man's theological reasoning I can understand his moral conduct, and where that is bad the other cannot be good in any sense that involves merit as the due of the reasoner." Reasoning may be a mere recitation, but conduct is an actual revelation of the man. It is important to notice this change in Curfew's mental attitude, first because it amounted to nothing less than a spiritual conversion brought about without any of the accessions supposed to accompany that process by the right of tradition and consistency, and second because it changed the whole tone of his communications upon religious subjects. When he was twitted with the objection that he had turned from theology to morality, he quietly intimated that in his judgment the two were one, — only the one, morality, was concrete and estimable, whilst the

other, theology, was abstract and boundless ; moreover, he denied that morality is a matter of attitude, calculation, or public attire ; he contended that it belonged to the heart, and that consequently where the heart was wrong the very morality was immoral. Under this mental change he made inquiries in London which showed that under all his early flippancy and abandon there was a really earnest disposition only awaiting the development of experience. He resolved not to go after the eccentric acquaintances, with one exception, who had formerly gratified his love of novelty, but to seek an early interview with the young woman who had thrown a spell upon the imagination of his most honored and helpful friend. Mr. Bell had, indeed, suggested the interview, and had given particulars and directions which made it easily possible, and had specially enjoined Curfew to report his impressions promptly on his return from London. The exception which Curfew had made in the matter of his eccentric acquaintances was, of course, dear old Mr. Upfield, always doubly dear to Curfew because his mother was interested in the pure-souled philosopher. Alas, it was too late, for he learned that his quaint but ever affectionate friend had died quite suddenly, amid the keenest expressions of sorrow on the part of many poor people who never pretended to understand his theories of the universe. They only remembered his goodness, and supposed his cleverness had something to do with it.

Curfew was not long in coming to the conclusion that Miss Fairfield, for by this name we must know the young lady, was of a quality with which her circumstances did not wholly correspond. The simplicity and directness of her speech at once indicated entire sincerity of purpose, and proved beyond doubt the very modesty with which at first they seemed to be somewhat at variance. As he looked at her, Curfew felt that he had never seen just such a face ; fair faces, regular features, expressive eyes, are familiar enough, but in this face there was a peace that seemed to have underneath it a solemn grief, a sort of calm settling upon a once stormy sky : grief and storm were still there, but they were mastered and sanctified. Was it pain that drew the line across the fair brow ? Was it a conquered agony that gave that tone of singular sweetness to the naturally frank and genial voice. Happily for Curfew, Miss Fairfield became immediately interested in himself and his business, and showed a clear recollection of the Rev. Boston Bell, so that no time was lost in experimental inquiry. Miss Fairfield proved herself to be one of those speakers who can dispense with apologies and easily carry a conversation from point to point without explaining the rapidity of her transitions.

"Now," said she, greatly to Curfew's amazement, "you may imagine that in carrying on my Rescue work, I see people from many parts of the country ; may I ask you about one who came from your locality ?"

"Certainly," said Curfew, "but I cannot imagine who it can be."

"I have only her own story to go by," Miss Fairfield continued, "but I have no reason to doubt its accuracy. Is there not a place a little way out of Overton, but still in the parish, called Dulsbury ?"

"Yes."

"Did a blind gentleman named Mr. Miller live there?"

"I have heard the name," said Curfew, "and some kind of story connected with it, but it all happened before my time. I was a long time out of Overton when I was at school, but I have a confused recollection of seeing Mr. Miller walking about Overton."

"Was he alone when you saw him?"

"I have an impression that there was a boy leading him."

"Do you know anything about that boy?"

"Absolutely nothing."

"Did you ever hear his name mentioned by any one?"

"Never."

"Do you know what family Mr. Miller had?"

"No. I have heard some gossip about a girl of his doing something wrong, a running away, but I really know nothing about it. Even if I had heard the particulars I should have paid no attention to them, partly because I was so young, and my mind was full of other things."

"Well, that is the person I want to talk about, and it would have assisted me very much if you could have given me some local information"—

"I can get it for you," Curfew interrupted.

"Her story is that Mr. Miller was blind, and that he kept a youth to read to him and go about with him, not a servant-man but a well-taught youth about her own age, quite intelligent and high-spirited, and of winning manners. She says that after a year or two the youth left Dulsbury and came to London, and that he often wrote to her, which he was quite entitled to do, because of his character and the terms they had long been living upon. She says that she had occasion to visit a relative in London, and that he called upon her, and that in course of time he exerted quite a fascinating influence upon her imagination, and in short that she seemed to have no power to resist his will, the upshot being that she did not return to Dulsbury."

"Went to the devil, I suppose," Curfew exclaimed with a touch of his early fire. Miss Fairfield had paused and given him the opportunity.

"No," said she, "that is not her account of the matter. She says she was fascinated—simply spellbound—and powerless, and that she waited here on and on for weeks until she felt she could not return to her father. She left the house of her relative and did not go home. By and by her money was exhausted and she had to find ways of living which were anything but agreeable."

"Then she went to the devil sure enough," Curfew exclaimed in another pause.

"Yes and no. She never lost her character, as that word is generally understood; she was a fool, a victim of a bewildered imagination, an ungrateful daughter, all that sort of thing,—all that she confesses and deplores, but beyond that she never went."

"Then why did she not go home?"

"Just so. That is the question I have often asked. But you will come to learn that human nature is full of mysteries. That would have been the simplest thing to do, and the thing that would have saved her, but she did not do it."

"Well," said Curfew, "did you tell Mr. Bell this?"

"No. I told him I could tell him something, but there was no time."

"He is the wisest man I ever knew," said Curfew. "What about Mr. Miller?" he continued, "where is he?"

"Dead."

"And did she never go home to see him?"

"No."

"Then hell is too good for her," said Curfew with glowing indignation.

"She would have said so herself at one time," continued Miss Fairfield, "but she claims to have seen her sin and repented and been forgiven."

"Never!" said Curfew.

"Oh don't say that," she exclaimed. "Would you care to see her?"

"Never!" Curfew simply replied.

"But is that Mr. Bell's doctrine? Is that Christ's doctrine?"

Miss Fairchild touched the right chord. Curfew remembered his own denunciations of pharisaism; and he remembered his mother, and he remembered Mr. Bell, — then his eyes moistened.

"She was once an old neighbor, you know. She has played the fool, she has been in the school of suffering, she knows what it is to be without food or warmth or home or friends; remember her mother was dead."

This cut Curfew to the quick, for he could imagine any one going wrong who had no mother to flee to in the time of temptation and sorrow; he remembered how he himself flung his arms around his mother and said: "Mother, pray with me as you did when I was a little child." He was quiet for a moment. "Poor soul," said he, "I feel kindlier to her. Why, Christ came to save just such" —

"And worse than she," Miss Fairfield interrupted.

"The very worst," said Curfew; "poor soul — poor Mr. Miller — I wish my mother was alive; she could do something for her."

"And when you see her," said Miss Fairfield, with sweet solemnity, "you will not treat her as an outcast; if you knew what she resisted you would honor her; she has cut herself to pieces with reproach on account of her wicked folly, yet she has an integrity which she prizes beyond all riches."

"She is awfully poor, no doubt," said Curfew.

"No, she is not," Miss Fairfield replied; "at the same time she is a good deal poorer than she might be. At any time she may claim her father's money, for he willed the whole of it to her, but she says she cannot touch a penny of it, for she feels as if she had murdered her father. She wants to give the whole of the money, and it comes to several thousands, to the blessed Rescue work to save girls who are as bad as she herself might have been but for the dear Saviour's love and power, and she wants to spend the whole of her life as an atonement for the past."

"Then," said Curfew, "I must see her. Did Mr. Bell see her? Did you tell him her story? It would have touched him to the quick: his heart is nothing but love."

"Mr. Bell saw her, but I did not tell him her story, for there was no time to go into the particulars of it. Mr. Bell seemed very much interested in our kind of Christian work."

"He was immensely interested in you," said Curfew, a remark of which Miss Fairfield took no notice, for she hastened to add that the work was the most truly blessed that the human heart could conceive, and that no luxury could be compared with it for satisfaction and enjoyment. "Our rooms," said she, "are open night and day, and no poor creature is ever turned away from our doors. You must understand, Mr. Jessell, that our work includes prevention as well as cure. Any poor soul may flee to us for refuge. Many have been saved from the extremity of sin, and Miss Miller is one of them."

"When can I see her," Curfew inquired.

"I must think about that. I understand that if you do see her you will not refer to the past, but will take her on my word as a young woman who has played the fool and suffered for it, but who never went into outer darkness."

"I will see her on your own terms, Miss Fairfield," Curfew replied in a low tone; "I am interested in her because she once belonged to my parish, and because she is now under your kind care. I think, too, Mr. Bell will be glad to hear about her."

"That is just one of my points," Miss Fairfield replied, "I do not want too many people to be interested in her. She is not a curiosity to be seen in a public show. I assure you, Mr. Jessell, Miss Miller has her feelings, and most sensitive they are, and we are bound to respect them. Now look at this as a dreadful possibility. You see the young woman; you tell Mr. Bell about her; both of you begin to refer to her present circumstances; by and by the entire parish will speak of nothing else; and out of all this gossip may come no little annoyance to a poor creature whose whole life is changed."

"I see all that," said Curfew, "so I put myself into your hands for guidance. I will keep within any limits you may prescribe."

"I do not doubt your word."

"My word will be kept," said Curfew, "for the subject is solemn. Even Mr. Bell shall hear nothing about it from me, and that is pledging my word as deeply as I can pledge it."

"Enough. You shall see her to-morrow at ten o'clock."

Curfew would have left with this assurance, but Miss Fairfield detained and surprised him. "It is a rule of mine, Mr. Jessell, never to lose an opportunity of bringing some poor soul to the blessed Saviour, and that rule I must keep in your case. We could not do this kind of work but for the feeling that the work is Christ's and that Christ is with us all the time we are doing it. You know that sweet word, 'the love of Christ constraineth us'; that is our motto; that is our meat and drink; we feed on

Christ, and so Christ's work becomes second nature to us. Mr. Jessell, do you heartily receive Christ as your Saviour?"

"Why do you ask me?" Curfew timidly inquired.

"Because there are so many people who know a great deal about the blessed Lord but do not tenderly and unchangeably love Him. They want to be too clever. They have turned my sweet Jesus into long, hard words which no one like me can make out. I do not believe that God saves the world by hard words. It would not be like Him. He works by love. He lays hold of the heart. He comes upon us quietly and unawares"—

"But he does not," said Curfew, "despise the intellect he created."

"No. But what you call intellect is given only here and there; perhaps only one man in a hundred has it; it is a great gift, no doubt, so it is sparingly bestowed; but every one can feel, every one has a heart; every one can hear God's whisper in the soul. I will only ask you, in all Christian love, whether you have given your heart to the blessed Saviour."

It was evident to Curfew that in a few moments more Miss Fairfield might have wrought herself into great excitement, and as he had received a promise that he should see Miss Miller in the morning he thought it prudent to withdraw lest her enthusiasm should become uncontrollable. Miss Fairfield had, however, started Curfew upon the right course of thinking. "Say what we will," he soliloquized, as he returned to his rooms, "people who believe what this young lady believes do more for the poor and the lost than is done by your profoundly clever men who talk learned jargon and pelt the world with polysyllables. What does all their vain talk come to? Do they ever forego a meal in order that some poor child may be fed? What have such men as Jenkins and Hawkins and whatever their names may be done in comparison with the work Miss Fairfield is doing? They discuss in darkness the metaphysical constitution of the Godhead, but this good soul seeks and saves the lost: they devote themselves to a little prig called Culture;—a painted puppet that is not worth worshiping;—but this woman keeps the house-door open night and day that wanderers may find shelter and rest; whilst they are talking, she is working; whilst they are luxuriating she is sacrificing herself for the good of others. What a fool I have been. I thought the universe was a puzzle to be worked out, but now I see that the only way to be really clever is to be really good, that duty is the best explanation of mystery, and that obedience is the basis and condition of true education. God help me! Even yet I may find liberty and rest."

BOOK NOTICES.

GLIMPSES OF FIFTY YEARS. The Autobiography of an American Woman. By FRANCES E. WILLARD. Written by order of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Introduction by HANNAH WHITALL SMITH. Chicago, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Oakland, Cal. : Woman's Temperance Publication Association. H. J. Smith & Co. 1889. 8vo, pp. 704.

The most original feature in the history of reform in our time is the enlargement of woman's sphere in literature, education, philanthropy, and politics. No better record of the causes and processes of this enlargement, so far as it has touched American life in recent years, has yet appeared than is to be found in Miss Willard's autobiography. At first thought the appearance of such a book might seem premature ; but its publication is justified by its purposes. Its great objects are philanthropic much more than personal. It is, indeed, a detailed and vivid picture of the crowded fifty years of its author's life, but it is predominantly a record and review of the great reforms of which the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is the champion. That organization, now embracing more than two hundred thousand members, with a publishing house of extraordinary activity and a journal of immense circulation, formally demanded, by resolutions passed in a national convention, that its president, Miss Willard, should write this book. A strong pressure was necessary to induce her to do so. Undoubtedly she might have refused compliance with the request of the union, and for a considerable time she did this. But the public at large, as well as her immediate constituency, has reason for gratitude that she yielded, and that the book is as candid, detailed, and copious as it is. The volume as a whole is not only a picture of the life of one of the most remarkable women of our time, but enshrines some, and indeed, we might say, most of the vital, organizing, redemptive, reformatory ideas of the century. Mrs. H. Whitall Smith, in her felicitous introduction of the volume, says that in her opinion Miss Willard has done more than any man or any other woman of the day to enlarge the sympathies, widen the outlook, and develop the gifts of American women. We believe this opinion to be a just one.

Miss Willard's ancestry on her father's side embraces a president of Harvard University and several eminent preachers, besides one of the founders of the town of Concord in Massachusetts, and runs back to the fiery men of Kent in England. The name is found in English records for eight hundred years. Miss Willard's mother deserves a biography by herself, but only her daughter could do justice to the topic. The parents studied at Oberlin in Mr. Finney's day. There is much reason to call Miss Willard

herself a spiritual granddaughter of this great evangelist. Whatever touches ancestry, however, except in its nearest portions, is relegated in this book to a comparatively obscure position in the Appendix, which, by the way, no reader should omit.

There is a searching glimpse given in the very first paragraph of this volume into the operation of the laws of heredity upon Miss Willard's life.

Mother was nearly thirty-five when I was born, the fourth of her five children, one of whom, the first, had passed away in infancy, and the third at the age of fourteen months. This little girl — Caroline Elizabeth — mother has always spoken of as the most promising child she ever bore, or, for that matter, ever saw. "She was a vision of delight," with deep blue eyes and dark brown hair; a disposition without flaw, her nerves being so well encased and her little spirit so perfectly equipoised that she would sit or lie in her cradle cooing to herself by the hour, and when she rode the beauty of the world outdoors seemed so well apprehended by this seraphic child that her little hands were constantly outstretched and her sweet eyes were full of light and comprehension, while her silvery voice took on such an ecstasy as was remarked by all who knew her. My little sister passed to heaven just as she began to speak the language of this world. My mother's first great grief then broke her heart, and as I came less than one year afterward, the deep questionings and quivering pathos of her spirit had their effect on mine. She lived much with her books, especially the Bible and the poets, in this chastened interval. Many a time has she said to me, "Frank, above all things else thank heaven you were a *welcome child*, for I had prayed so often that another little girl might come into our home for us to love." She says she hoped this also for my brother's sake, who was five years my senior and then her only child.

The key-note of strategic frankness which this opening paragraph strikes is maintained throughout the volume. Many subjects are touched upon that seem almost too sacred for public mention, — such, for example, as the reasons why Miss Willard was never married, — but the charm of the work to the hosts of Miss Willard's friends, for whom and not for hostile critics she everywhere seems to be writing, will be in its perfect candor. It abounds in marks of genius in expression and thought, and also in its luminous and piquant, but, on the whole, dignified unreserve. The careful reader of the whole record will feel that he has the materials before him for a safe judgment, and is not dealing with distortions and concealments.

This volume describes the author as a welcome child, a romping girl, a happy student, a roving teacher, a tireless traveler, a temperance advocate and organizer, a woman in politics. No one who keeps in view all the interests at stake in the various causes of philanthropy which Miss Willard endeavors to advance, will think that the last two of the foregoing heads are treated with too great detail. If the amount of space given to the earlier parts seems disproportionately large, it must be remembered that the book was cut down four hundred pages by the publishers. If personal details anywhere seem too abundant, the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes in the introduction to his "Hundred Days in Europe" may fairly be adopted by Miss Willard : —

I know there are readers enough who will be pleased to follow me in my brief excursion *because I am myself*, and will demand no better reason. If I choose to write for them I do no injury to those for whom my personality is an object of indifference. They will find on every shelf some publications which are not intended for them, and which they prefer to let alone. No person is expected to help himself to everything set before him at a public table.

Historical material of importance will be found in those passages of this book which give an interior view of woman's influence in helping to organize and carry on the Prohibition political party. The information on this subject is too extended for citation and too closely connected in its various parts to bear abridgment. Of the effect of her political position on her temperance work, Miss Willard says : —

So far as I know, my advocacy of the Prohibition party has not personally alienated a friend, though it has seriously interfered with what friends called a "rising popularity," and has grieved and wounded many who are dear to me and who as honestly believe that I am wrong in my working hypothesis of prohibition as I believe that they are wrong in theirs. How good people can be so deceived by high license as to see in it anything other than the Trojan horse smuggled into our temperance camp on false pretenses, I expect to discover on the day when I learn how you can elect prohibitionists to power by not voting for them. To me, high license is the devil's counterfeit for the pure gold of prohibition. And thus believing, I have, in every State and Territory of the republic, declared high license a high crime, and in the name of boyhood bewildered and manhood betrayed, in the name of woman broken-hearted and home broken down, I have solemnly pronounced upon it the anathema of the American home. This was not what one would have chosen to say who well knew that but for Christian people high license could never have been for a moment tolerated by the reputable class, who knew that Christian ministers all over the land were voting for it, and that some of them were discounting the speaker's wits even while she tried to talk ! (Page 453.)

No more compact and suggestive summary of the policy and methods of the W. C. T. U. has ever been given than in the following paragraphs of a speech of Miss Willard at Des Moines in 1885 : —

Humanly speaking, such success as we have attained has resulted from the following policy and methods : —

1. *The simplicity and unity of the organization.* The local union is a miniature of the national, having similar officary and plan of work. It is a military company carefully mustered, officered, and drilled. The county union is but an aggregation of the locals, and the district of the counties, while each state is a regiment, and the national itself is womanhood's "Grand Army of the Republic.

2. *Individual responsibility is everywhere urged.* "Committees" are obsolete with us, and each distinct line of work has one person, called a superintendent, who is responsible for its success in the local, and another in the State, and a third in the national union. She may secure such lieutenants as she likes, but the union looks to her for results and holds her accountable for failures.

3. *The quick and cordial recognition of talent* is another secret of W. C. T. U. success. Women, young or old, who can speak, write, conduct meetings, organize, keep accounts, interest children, talk with the drinking man, get up enter-

tainments, or carry flowers to the sick or imprisoned, are all pressed into the service.

There has been also in our work an immense amount of digging in the earth to find one's own buried talent, to rub off the rust and to put it out at interest. Perhaps that is, after all, its most significant feature, considered as a movement.

4. *Subordination of the financial phase* has helped, not hindered us. Lack of funds has not barred out even the poorest from our sisterhood. A penny per week is our basis of membership, of which a fraction goes to the State and ten cents to the National W. C. T. U.

Money has been, and I hope may be, a consideration altogether secondary. Of wealth we have had innumerable stores; indeed, I question if America has a richer corporation to-day than ours: wealth of faith, of enthusiasm, of experience, of brain, of speech, of common sense, — this is a capital stock that can never depreciate, needs no insurance, requires no combination lock or bonded custodian, and puts us under no temptation to tack our course or trim our sails.

5. Nothing has helped us more than the *entire freedom of our society from the influence or dictation of capitalists, politicians, or corporations of any sort whatever*. This cannot be too strongly emphasized as one of the best elements of power. Indeed, it may be truly said that this vast and systematic work has been in nowise guided, moulded, or controlled by men. It has not even occurred to them to offer advice until within a year! and to accept advice has never occurred to us, and I hope never will. While a great many noble men are "honorary members," and in one or two sporadic instances men have acted temporarily as presidents of local unions at the South, I am confident our grand constituency of temperance brothers rejoice almost as much as we do in the fact that we women have from the beginning gone our own gait and acted according to our own sweet will. They would bear witness, I am sure, to the fact that we have never done this flippantly or in a spirit of bravado, but with great seriousness, asking the help of God. I can say, personally, what I believe our leaders would also state as their experience, that so strongly do good men seem to be impressed that the call coming to Christian women in the Crusade was of God and not of man, that in the eleven years of my almost uninterrupted connection with the National W. C. T. U., I have hardly received a letter of advice or a verbal exhortation from minister or layman, and I would mildly but firmly say that I have not sought their counsel. The hierarchies of the land will be ransacked in vain for the letter-heads of the W. C. T. U. We have sought, it is true, the help of almost every influential society in the nation, both religious and secular; we have realized how greatly this help was needed by us, and grandly has it been accorded, but what we asked for was an indorsement of plans *already made and work already done*. Thus may we always be a society "of the women, by the women," but for humanity.

6. *The freedom from red tape and the keeping out of ruts* is another element of power. We practice a certain amount of parliamentary usage, and strongly urge the study of it as a part of the routine of local unions. We have good strong "constitutions," and by-laws to match; blanks for reports; rolls for membership; pledges in various styles of art; badges, ribbons, and banners, and handbooks of our work are all to be had at "national headquarters," but we will not come under a yoke of bondage to the paraphernalia of the movement. We are always moving on. "Time cannot dull nor custom stale our infinite variety." We are exceedingly apt to break out in a new phase. Here we lop off an old department and there we add two new ones. Our "new departures" are fre-

quent and oftentimes most unexpected. Indeed, we exhibit the characteristics of an army on the march rather than an army in camp or hospital.

The marked esprit de corps is to be included among the secrets of success. The W. C. T. U. has invented a phrase to express this, and it is "comradeship among women." So generous and so cherished has this comradeship become, that ours is often called a "mutual admiration society." We believe in each other, stand by each other, and have plenty of emulation without envy. Sometimes a State or an individual says to another, "The laurels of Miltiades will not suffer me to sleep," but there is no staying awake to belittle success; we do not detract from any worker's rightful meed of praise. So much for the "hidings of power" in the W. C. T. U.

There are two indirect results of this organized work among women, concerning which I wish to speak:—

First. It is a strong *nationalizing* influence. Its method and spirit differ very little, whether you study them on the border of Puget Sound or the Gulf of Mexico. In San Francisco and Baltimore white ribbon women speak the same vernacular; tell of their gospel meetings and petitions; discuss *The Union Signal* editorials, and wonder "what will be the action of our next national convention."

Almost all other groups of women workers who dot the continent are circumscribed by denominational lines, and act largely under the advice of ecclesiastical leaders. The W. C. T. U. feels no such limitation. North and South are strictly separate in the women's missionary work of the churches, but Mississippi and Maine, Texas and Oregon, Massachusetts and Georgia, sit side by side around the yearly camp-fires of the W. C. T. U. The Southern women have learned to love us of the North, and our hearts are true to them; while to us all who fight in peaceful ranks unbroken, "For God and home and native land," the Nation is a sacred name spelled with a capital N.

Second. Our W. C. T. U. is a *school*, not founded in that thought, or for that purpose, but sure to fit us for the sacred duties of patriots in the realm that lies just beyond the horizon of the coming century.

Here we try our wings that yonder our flight may be strong and steady. Here we prove our capacity for great deeds; there we shall perform them. Here we make our experience and pass our novitiate, that yonder we may calmly take our places and prove to the world that what it needed most was "two heads in counsel," as well as "two beside the hearth." When that day comes, the nation shall no longer miss as now the influence of half its wisdom, more than half its purity, and nearly all its gentleness, in courts of justice and halls of legislation. Then shall one code of morals — and that the highest — govern both men and women; then shall the Sabbath be respected, the rights of the poor be recognized, the liquor traffic banished, and the home protected from all its foes.

Born of such a visitation of God's Spirit as the world has not known since tongues of fire sat upon the wondering group at Pentecost, cradled in a faith high as the hope of a saint, and deep as the depths of a drunkard's despair, and baptized in the beauty of holiness, the Crusade determined the ultimate goal of its teachable child, the W. C. T. U., which has one steadfast aim, and that none other than the regnancy of Christ, not in form, but in fact; not in substance, but in essence; not ecclesiastically, but truly in the hearts of men. To this end its methods are varied, changing, manifold, but its unwavering faith these words express: "Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, said the Lord of Hosts." (Pages 475-478.)

Miss Willard's predominant motive in her work is palpably the love of usefulness, although she occasionally and most naïvely accuses herself of excessive love of praise. There is no display in this book of her desire to do good and regenerate humanity, but that this is her supreme passion appears unmistakably in the whole atmosphere of the volume, and in scores of undesigned revelations. Take, for example, this paragraph from her early notebooks of travel in Rome — a passage that would not have been unworthy of Mrs. Browning : —

Hollow-eyed beggars asking charity, at almost every step; troops of tonsured monks, barefooted and steaming in their moist, dirty, old garments; skinny hags, warming their knotted hands over the smouldering coals in their little scalding pots; dirty little children, whose tears make the only clean spots upon their pitiful faces, old before their time; soldiers standing as sentries in wind and rain, for no real purpose save to subserve the pride of Prince and Cardinal; horses, whose bones but just refrain from protruding through their rusty skins, driven rapidly over the sharp stones, and falling, only to struggle and throw out their wounded legs in the effort to rise and continue their journey under the pitiless lash. All these sights smote my eyes every time I walked the classic streets of Rome. Whoever can fail to feel the fires of a quenchless philanthropy kindling in his breast as he contemplates such scenes is either too frivolous for thought, or too hardened for emotion. For myself, whatever I did not learn there, Rome taught me an intense love and tender pity for my race. (Page 274.)

Miss Willard has spoken in every town of the United States of over ten thousand inhabitants. The physical toil and nervous endurance involved in this work will be understood by lecturers who travel almost constantly, and yet lecture nearly every night. A very pathetic passage of personal experience on such tours shows us this philanthropist's secret thoughts : —

I once heard the Jubilee Singers render an old plantation melody with this refrain : —

“May the Lord He will be glad of me,
May the Lord He will be glad of me,
May the Lord He will be glad of me,
In the heaven He 'll rejoice.”

The words and music touched a chord very far down in my heart and I have hummed the strange old snatch of pathos to myself times without number at twilight on the cars, after a hard day's work with book and pen. (Page 689.)

A friend, greatly revered, said to me in my youth : “Do things because they are in themselves pure, lovely, and harmonious, without regard to whether anybody knows that you do them or not.”

But every nature has its limitation, and mine was here precisely : I wanted some one else to know !

“How sweet, how passing sweet is solitude ;
Yet grant me still a friend in my retreat
Whom I may whisper, ‘Solitude is sweet !’ ”

Whether for weal or woe, I had to care about that other one, about his *knowing*, too, and take the consequences. That same friend said to me in my youth, “Be true to your ideals, hold fast to them, whate'er betide.” And so I have : but

to be widely known, widely helpful and beloved, *was* my ideal. That same friend said, "You are nothing if not frank," and used the words, I thought, reproachfully. But I was "Frank," how could I help it? and, having the faults of my qualities, have had to pay their penalty. (Page 691.)

In describing the events which led to her becoming a member of the church, she says :—

My chief besetments were, as I thought, a speculative mind, a hasty temper, a too ready tongue, and the purpose to be a celebrated person. But in that hour of sincere self-examination I felt humiliated to find that the simple bits of jewelry I wore, gold buttons, rings, and pin, all of them plain and quiet in their style, came up to me as the separating causes between my spirit and my Saviour. All this seemed so unworthy of that sacred hour that I thought at first it was a mere temptation. But the sense of it remained so strong that I unconditionally yielded my pretty little jewels, and great peace came to my soul. I cannot describe the deep welling up of joy that gradually possessed me. I was utterly free from care. I was blithe as a bird that is good for nothing except to sing. I did not ask myself, "Is this my duty?" but just intuitively *knew* what I was called upon to do. The conscious, emotional presence of Christ through the Holy Spirit held me. I ran about upon His errands "just for love." Life was a halcyon day. All my friends knew and noticed the change, and I would not like to write down the lovely things some of them said to me; but they did me no harm, for I was shut in with the Lord. (Page 628.)

After discriminating remarks on the perils of certain teachings concerning the higher Christian life, Miss Willard says :—

Since then I have sat at the feet of every teacher of holiness whom I could reach; have read their books and compared their views. I love and reverence and am greatly drawn toward all, and never feel out of harmony with their spirit. Wonderful uplifts come to me as I pass on, clearer views of the life of God in the soul of man. Indeed, it is the *only life*, and all my being sets towards it as the rivers toward the sea. Celestial things grow dearer to me; the love of God is steadfast in my soul; the habitudes of a disciple sit more easily upon me; tenderness toward humanity and the lower orders of being increases with the years. In the temperance, labor, and woman questions I see the stirring of Christ's heart; in the comradeship of Christian work my spirit takes delight, and prayer has become my atmosphere. But that sweet pervasiveness, that heaven in the soul, of which I came to know in Mrs. Palmer's meeting, I do not feel. I love too well the good words of the good concerning what I do; I have not the control of tongue and temper that I ought to have, I do not answer to a good conscience in the matter of taking sufficient physical exercise, and the sweet south wind of love has not yet thawed out the ice-cake of selfishness from my breast. But God knows that I constantly lift up my heart for conquest over all these evils, and my life is calm and peaceful. Just as frankly as I "think them over," have I here written down the outline phenomena of my spiritual life, hoping that it may do good and not evil to those who read. I am a strictly loyal and orthodox Methodist, but I find great good in all religions and in the writings of those lofty and beautiful moralists who are building better than they know, and all of whose precepts blossom from the rich soil of the New Testament. No word of faith in God or love toward man is alien to my sympathy. The classic ethics of Marcus Aurelius

are dear to me, and I have carried in my traveling outfit not only à Kempis and Havergal but Epictetus and Plato. The mysticism of Fénelon and Guyon, the sermons of Henry Drummond and Beecher, the lofty precepts of Ralph Waldo Emerson, all help me up and onward. I am an eclectic in religious reading, friendship, and inspiration. My wide relationships and constant journeyings would have made me so had I not had the natural hospitality of mind that leads to this estate. But, like the bee that gathers from many fragrant gardens, but flies home with his varied gains to the same friendly and familiar hive, so I fly home to the sweetness and sanctity of the old faith that has been my shelter and solace so long.

"Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," is the deepest voice out of my soul. Receive it every instant, voluntarily given back to Thyself, and receive it in the hour when I drop this earthly mantle that I wear to-day, and pass onward to the world invisible, but doubtless not far off. (Page 628.)

One of Miss Willard's friends sends to us the following graceful sonnet, first published in the *Woman's Journal* of Boston : —

TO FRANCES E. WILLARD.

"The best-known and best-beloved woman in America." — JOSEPH COOK.

BY ELLA G. IVES.

A man's large utterance : but the nation's heart
Responsive thrills : as through the forest trees
That spirit of the wind, the western breeze,
With soft, magnetic touch, to music starts
The singing leaves ; and with unconscious art
They blend in nature's mighty symphonies,
Up-swell the solemn chorus of the seas,
And are of all pure melodies a part.
The harps of heaven yield no sweeter tone
Than human hearts, reëchoing generous praise
Of one who, treading high and lonely ways
With brambles thick beset, finds duty's thorn
On guard beside the roses, Love and Fame, —
Those sweet twin flowers that wreath an honored name.

VITAL QUESTIONS. The Discussions of the General Christian Conference held in Montreal, Canada, October 22d to 25th, 1888, under the auspices and direction of the Montreal Branch of the Evangelical Alliance. Montreal : William Drysdale & Co., Publishers. 1889. 8vo. Pp. 293.

This is a wise and timely volume. It is crowded with the sound opinions of experts on some of the most vital questions of the times. We have been particularly struck by the value of its essays and discussions on current unbelief, capital and labor, national perils, and Roman Catholicism. Principal McVicar's paper on the position and attitude of Romanism in Canada contains a section which should be of great interest to any who wish to know what Rome does in regard to education wherever she has the power : —

The Romish Church is opposed to a national system of education, and consequently has separate schools where she is in the minority, as in Ontario and other

provinces. In Quebec, where she is dominant, there are schools managed by commissioners, some of them laymen, but these are not regarded with favor. Complete ecclesiastical control alone gives full satisfaction, and hence the Council of Education is composed of a decided majority of bishops, and each bishop is virtually superintendent in his own diocese, so that the education of the bulk of the French people is wholly in the hands of the church.

Protestants in the Province of Quebec are made to suffer wrong in the matter of education in several respects : —

First, they are subject to the dictation of the majority as to the amount of taxes to be levied for school purposes. The result is that the income supplied is quite inadequate. This is the case to-day in Montreal and elsewhere. While our schools are excellent as far as they go, they are insufficient for the wants of our Protestant population, and we are held back by the educational views of those who dictate what we should do.

Second, the school taxes of joint-stock companies, such as banks, railways, etc., are divided according to population, and thus Protestants in many districts lose large amounts of their own assessments. In the city of Montreal, for example, Roman Catholics are four times as numerous as Protestants, and hence for every dollar Protestants get from this source Roman Catholics receive four, while it is well known that probably more than three fourths of the stocks of the greater number of such institutions are owned by Protestants. It is estimated that between ten and twelve thousand dollars of the taxes of Protestants are thus annually handed over to Roman Catholics in the city of Montreal alone. There is no insuperable obstacle in the way of putting this matter right except the power of the Romish Church and the supineness of Protestants, who should press it upon the attention of the local government, and, failing justice being done, exercise their right, under the British North America act, to appeal to Ottawa. The School Law of Ontario makes provision for the taxes of joint-stock companies being equitably applied according to the religious faith of the owners, and why should we not have a similar law in this Province.

Third, the government of Quebec has invested the Council of the Bar and the Medical Council of this Province with powers to enact by-laws which prove injurious to the interests of higher education as conducted by Protestants, and which have practically the effect of compelling, especially students in law, and to some extent students in medicine, to adopt in part the course of study prescribed by the church. A decided majority of these councils are French and Roman Catholic, and they may be wholly such. The Council of the Bar dictates to the universities the *curriculum* in that profession, the number of lectures to be delivered to students, and the relative value to be attached to their answers in different subjects. Hence a man having taken the degree of B. A. in any of our universities is not thereby qualified to begin professional studies in law or medicine. He must, in addition, pass an entrance examination, including branches to which special importance is attached in Romish institutions.

Fourth, the recent action of the Provincial Government in relation to the Jesuits gives cause for grave alarm. . . .

Finally, if asked what we are to expect in future from the present attitude and position of Romanism in this country, I cannot better express my view than in the words of my last Report to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, which report was cordially adopted by the assembly. I said: "It is believed that there are at present two hundred Jesuits in this Province, and that

they are likely to be joined by a large number of the order from all parts of the world. It is ascertained from undoubted sources of information that their general policy is to be more aggressive than heretofore." — This has since become a matter of history. — "The ultramontane spirit is to be thoroughly infused into every channel of ecclesiastical and political activity. Educational and religious appliances of all sorts are to be diligently employed to increase the influence of the Virgin Mary and of the Society of Jesus. Wealthy easy-going Protestants, engaged in commercial pursuits and involved in political movements, are to be conciliated and flattered. They are to be persuaded — which is often an easy task — that the nursing services, educational skill, and public charities of nuns, friars, and Jesuits far surpass anything they possess within the pale of their own denominations, and, therefore, deserve generous support at their hands. They are to be induced to have influential and astute Roman Catholic laymen and ecclesiastics take part in the management of institutions founded and supported by Protestant money. Their daughters are to be persuaded to avail themselves of the facilities for superior culture in music, painting, and modern languages offered in spacious and attractive convents. They are to be assured that their religion will not be interfered with, while, of course, they are required to conform to the rules of these institutions and thus learn to admire the devotion and zeal with which they are conducted.

"Poor and refractory Protestants, who are in the habit of speaking about the Bible and disseminating it, especially in country districts, are to be quietly driven out. They are to be proscribed in every convenient way. They are to receive no appointments to municipal and other offices, their educational and social privileges are to be limited as far as possible, and their farms, when offered for sale, are to be purchased by church funds, and taken possession of by the faithful. The race feeling — so easily excited — is to be carefully cultivated so as to stimulate activity in all these directions; and the movement is to be pushed, especially in eastern and northern Ontario. Already some two or three French members sit in the parliament of that province, and the expectation is that, at next election, four more may be added, and then they may so manage the balance of power as to demand the use of their language on the floor of the House in Toronto, and the printing of papers in French and English. If this is not gained in the near future it is at least never to be lost sight of. The ignorance of Protestants as to the true nature of Jesuitism, their readiness to call for the fullest measure of toleration, the laxness with which many of them adhere to the principles of their own historic past, the ease with which they divide into contending factions, the potent aid usually rendered to the cause of Romanism by certain sections of the Protestant press, and especially the eagerness with which political leaders seek to secure the Popish vote — all these are counted on as important factors in carrying out this programme."

Highly valuable and interesting contributions to the discussions recorded in this volume are made by Sir William Dawson, W. E. Dodge, Esq., Rev. Dr. H. J. Van Dyke, Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden, Rev. Dr. P. S. Moxom, and Rev. Dr. John Hall. The following is the conclusion of a powerful paper on Romanism and Education, from Rev. Dr. James M. King of New York : —

James Parton estimates that in 1900 one third of the entire population of the United States will be Roman Catholic.

With persistent and peculiar skill the Jesuits attempt to enlist American assistance in undermining the common school system, as the most powerful bulwark of American institutions. And this fact ought to command the gravest attention of our thoughtful citizens, and mark it as a national question of vital importance, that can no longer be ignored nor trifled with in our state or national elections. Bills are repeatedly presented in our state legislatures to assist in subjecting children to Jesuit guardianship, and for appropriations to Jesuit protectors, where they are trained, not as American citizens, but as subjects of a foreign potentate. Their last nefarious scheme is to smother the Blair Educational Bill in the national House of Representatives, by securing a dominating force of Romanists on the committee to which it is referred.

No danger to multitudes of American youth! when these changeless Jesuits control the Pope, and teach that he is infallible, and that he has the absolute right to demand the obedience of all citizens and civil powers?

No danger! when the archbishop of Toronto notifies Lord Randolph Churchill that he and his brethren hold the *balance of power* in Canada, and through it have controlled the elections there, and asserts that by a similar use of the *balance of power* presidential elections will be decided in this republic?

No danger! when in national elections the States are so evenly balanced that a command from the Roman Pope, or Roman American cardinal prince, can order Roman legions, the subjects of a foreign ruler, in sufficient numbers to march to the polls and determine one way or the other the most momentous issue?

No danger! when in many of the States and municipalities this foreign political power has such domination, that for the support of its schools and other institutions where youth are trained, its sleepless and greedy managers thrust their arms elbow deep into the public treasuries?

No danger! when the secular press seems to be largely under Jesuitical censorship, and is, because of political considerations, afraid to warn the people of perils from a power that has enslaved the intellect and conscience of man in every land?

No danger! when American citizens are summoned to Rome to answer for the crime of loyalty to American institutions?

No danger! when far-reaching plans are being devised, and large amounts of money raised, to people the Southern States by importing ignorant and superstitious subjects of Rome and placing them under disloyal Jesuit instruction; thus adding difficulties to the solution of the problem as to how a liberated, and yet only nominally enfranchised race can be made intelligent factors in a republican form of government, and as to how a multitude of white people, debauched by contact with human slavery, can be converted into loyal and self-respecting citizens?

No danger! when the Papal dictator of over 7,000,000 of our population declares that "all Catholic teachers should do all in their power to cause the constitutions of States and legislation to be modeled on the principles of Romanism, and that Catholic writers and journalists should never for an instant lose sight of this prescription"?

No danger! when Salisbury helplessly makes overtures to Leo XIII. for assistance to rule Ireland by foreign Roman dictation?

No danger! when the mighty Bismarck at one time banishes the Jesuits from the territory and from the seats of learning of the German Empire, and at another time humbly and penitently goes to Canossa for help?

No danger! when petty Bismarcks by the thousand in this republic are ready to barter away the fundamental principles of republican liberties for any office from alderman to president?

No danger! when already throughout the land millions of dollars are annually paid from public funds for sectarian purposes and sectarian teaching, furnishing the beginnings of a courtship designed to end in the marriage of the church and state, and the church in question teaching disloyalty to the state it would wed?

Christian morality in the instruction of the youth, as a preparation for responsible and loyal citizenship, and as the historic and actual basis of our national institutions: no sectarian perversion of the fund designed for the common education of our citizenship; no foreign dictation to the voters of the nations; no church and state in our legislation: but unsectarian schools for the future citizens, and an inquiry into the sort of education given in all institutions having legal sanction or receiving public money, and the outlawing of all nurseries of intolerance and disloyalty as measures of self-preservation of national life.

THE CAPITALS OF SPANISH AMERICA. By William Eleroy Curtis, late Commissioner from the United States to the Governments of Central and South America. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1888. 8vo. Pp. 715.

This volume is of high political and commercial interest, in view of the increasing commerce of the world with South America. But it is also of high educational and religious interest in view of its fresh and trustworthy information as to the revolt of several of the most thriving South American States against Ultramontaniam. There has been great lack of attention to this topic on the part of leaders of discussion concerning recent Jesuit oppression in North America. A book like this concerning South America has long been needed. The author, of course, does not write as a theological partisan. This is one of the charms of his volume. He is a publicist of excellent qualifications as observer and author, and was sent by President Arthur to South America as secretary of a commission intended to promote commercial intercourse with that portion of our continent. The book is dedicated by permission to President Arthur. It is admirably illustrated by the Harpers, and will be read with keen interest by any man of business with wide outlooks, or of politics with international horizons. But the student of the relations of Romanism to politics and education will find the volume fascinating. Extracts from this book will be found in the present number of *OUR DAY* in a lecture on "New Catholicism in Spanish America." The Argentine Republic, Chili, and Uruguay have made, of late, astonishing progress in population and wealth, and also in throwing off the yoke of Vaticanism. The educated population in these countries may be said to remain Catholic, but to have ceased to be Romanists. The governments remain Catholic, but have driven Jesuits from all places of political and educational influence for causes and by methods which deserve careful attention from all Americans.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY THE REV. DR. SHELDON JACKSON, OF ALASKA, AT TREMONT
TEMPLE, MARCH 18.

68. *What is the outlook for temperance and education in Alaska?*

My village in Alaska is a kind of suburb of Boston, and so I am a resident of Boston four thousand miles away. You go to that distant outpost of your city and ask any of the native population to what country they belong, and without a single exception they will tell you, Boston. You point to the stars and stripes floating upon some flagstaff, and ask them what flag that is, and they will answer, Boston's. The native population of Alaska have not learned yet that their country is not a suburb of Boston, and that they are not under your flag. The first ship that ever arrived in that country from the United States came from Boston, and the natives have always used Boston as a name for the entire United States.

We have a large suburb of Boston there, one fifth of the United States, and it is full of rich resources. It can sustain a large, wealthy, and populous community. The mild belt of the Southern coast of Alaska has abundant supplies of lumber, fish, coal, iron, copper, and gold. The most profitable gold mine known in the world to-day is in Alaska, turning out its \$150,000 a month in gold bullion. In that great country, with great possibilities for the future, we are laying foundations, and we want the help of the public men of Boston and of New England.

The last public official letter that Wendell Phillips probably ever wrote for the press was written in behalf of suffering Alaska, to a meeting held in Park Street Church, in your city. In the organic act passed by Congress in 1884, creating a government for Alaska, which the Bostonians helped us to get through, Congress prohibited the sale, manufacture, and importation of intoxicating liquors. [Applause.] For the first time in the history of Congress they gave prohibitory legislation to a Territory. But what did they do then? They sent us a governor that drank, they sent us a judge of the United States District Court that drank, they sent us a United States marshal that drank, they sent us a United States district attorney that drank; and you can see readily that whiskey was as free as water in that land, notwithstanding the prohibitory enactment of Congress. And then there was a change in the administration, and the incoming administration turned out the old officials because they were rascals, and one of them, on his way home, was so drunk that he fell from the cars and never saw his family. This change gave us another governor that drinks; and the United States judge of the District Court, the first one appointed

by Mr. Cleveland, fled the country as a forger, and the second one was removed for drunkenness, and the third one has not been there long enough for us to know what he is. [Laughter.] We have a United States marshal that drinks, and boasts of his infidelity and blasphemy, and in a country where we have a prohibitory law, in the leading mining settlement, are twenty-seven saloons licensed by the United States governor. Rumsellers say : " Of course he has no official right, no legal right, to license us, but if we pay the license money he will not push us through the courts."

Now, we want your public sentiment brought to bear upon the incoming administration, upon President Harrison, to give us men who will stand up for the rights of humanity. [Applause.] Give us men who will be honest. We want you to write to your Congressmen, to publish the facts of our case in your papers, and to give us all the influence of the better class of the New England population in behalf of the enforcement of law in Alaska.

A second point is, that Congress declared that the Secretary of the Interior should make adequate provision for the education of all children in Alaska without distinction of race ; and then, to enable him to make adequate provision, voted simply \$25,000 for the education of twelve thousand children over an area equal to all the United States nearly, east of the Mississippi River. Let it be supposed that you have only a school in Boston, a school in New York, a school in Savannah, a school in New Orleans, one at Cincinnati, another at Louisville, and perhaps another at St. Louis, and then say that adequate provision has been made for the education of all the children ! We ask you to bring a pressure to bear upon your Congressmen under the incoming administration, to give us liberal appropriations for common schools, that we may educate the native population and make them fit for citizenship.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

FREEDOM, Education, Morality, Law, are the names of the four figures at the base of the monument at Plymouth, but above them all stands the colossal figure of Faith. The open Bible is carried in her arm; her uplifted finger points to the skies. These symbolismes of the monument are profoundly just, whether contemplated from the point of view of history, or from that of philosophy and political economy. The Pilgrim Fathers founded a theocracy and made it the basis of a democracy. Their opinion was that a democracy is safe only when it is virtually a theocracy. As Alexis de Tocqueville said, "A nation never so much needs to be theocratic as when it is the most democratic." The religious principles of the Pilgrim Fathers were the source of their political wisdom. A strenuous belief in the Government of God was the source of their conviction that individual souls had rights that no human government could legitimately invade. The fathers became democrats because they were first theocrats. They were safe in their democracy only because they were firm in their theocracy. Their theories of the state derived all its power from on high. An improved version of the Declaration of Independence would hold this truth to be self-evident, that states derive their just power only from the consent of those who are governed by the self-evident. But this was virtually the theory of the Pilgrims from the outset. They did not believe in simply the rule of the unsifted majority. They confined voting to the membership of the church, that is, to those who were presumably loyal to the Divine kingdom. We have changed the relations established between church and state by the fathers; but their principle yet remains in force among us, for we assert as they did, that obedience to conscience shall be the rule for states as well as individuals. A safe democracy must be based on a theocracy. Governments derive just power only from the consent of those

who are governed from on high, that is, only from God. "In the name of God, Amen" was the first sentence of the Compact in the Mayflower. Daniel Webster said that this is virtually the initial clause of the Constitution of the United States. This was said also at the recent celebration at Plymouth, but it was intimated that the Pilgrims have been more successful in propagating their political than their religious principles. This we doubt. Their political principles were derived from their religious principles. Not only did the former owe their origin to the latter; they owe also to the same source their diffusion, predominant influence, and preservation. A sound theistic faith preserves a safe democracy in America, and to the Pilgrims, under God, the nation is chiefly indebted for both.

HENRY CABOT LODGE, at the Plymouth celebration, spoke as follows of reforms now needed in the National House of Representatives:—

To subjugation and incorporation, representation in government was added by that great conquering race which has built up commonwealths all over the globe—the English-speaking people. This principle which they brought with them to this continent was planted here by the Pilgrim Fathers, as it was planted in Virginia by the London adventurers, and spreading from those points it has reached a wider extension and a greater influence in the United States than in any other country in the world. In town and county, in state and nation, we find the great principle of government by representation in full operation. How well it has worked is demonstrated by a century of marvelous success under the Constitution of the United States and by the forty-two stars in the flag that floats above us.

We ought, however, to find the fundamental principle of representation exemplified in its highest and most perfect form in the great national council, for there, in the lower house, richly endowed by the Constitution, are directly represented the will and sovereignty of the sixty or seventy million people of the United States. By the Constitution the representatives of the people were to have the sole right of originating bills to raise revenue, and it was in behalf of the House of Representatives that Washington uttered the only words spoken by him from the floor during the sitting of the convention of 1787. The House of Representatives was intended by the framers of the Constitution to be the body which should initiate great policies and exercise the greatest influence in legislation, for its functions were purely legislative and the public purse was confided to its keeping. Yet the great assembly thus gifted by the Constitution, strong by its nature, and

as the direct embodiment of the representative principle, has declined instead of rising in influence and force. By its own mistakes it has allowed its great powers to slip through its fingers and to pass into the keeping of the Senate, endowed already with the peculiar executive powers conferred upon it by the Constitution. The House of Representatives, from one cause and another, certainly from entirely false theories of government, has tied itself up by a network of rules of its own making until it is reduced to simple inaction. [Applause.] The majority has ceased to rule and the minority is unable to govern. [Applause.] Great measures demanded by three quarters of the people without regard to party and favored by three quarters of the House come up only to be strangled, and the acme of absurdity is reached when a great representative and legislative body lives under a rule which forbids it to add to an appropriation, but only allows it to decrease one. There never was a greater travesty of representative government, of popular government, and of government by the majority, than is presented by the American House of Representatives under its own rules and customs as they exist to-day. At the same time the powers which they have taken from themselves under some idea that they cannot be safely trusted with them have been assumed by others. What the House has laid down the Senate has taken up, and it is to the Senate, intended originally from a legislative point of view to serve as a check and a balance on the House, that the people now look for any real legislative action while the House serves for little more than to keep the Senate from doing what the House ought to do itself and what the nation demands. [Applause.]

In addition to this the House has been crippled by the mass of things thrown upon it with which it should not be called upon to deal. It should not be made a court of claims or a pension office. Least of all should it be made a machine for the distribution of offices [applause], for of all the evils which beset public life and which destroy the usefulness of parties and of public men, the greatest beyond all doubt is the evil of patronage. [Applause.] It is utterly un-American ; it is wrong in theory ; it is vicious in practice, and it should be done away with entirely as unworthy of American intelligence and fit only for the monarchies from which it is inherited. [Applause.]

The body which ought to represent to-day in its finest flower the great principle of representation does not hold the position nor have the opportunities which belong to it. The National House of Representatives of the United States does not embody properly the great principle of representation planted on these shores more than 250 years ago by the men who landed on yonder rock. I say to you, and I wish that my voice could reach every thoughtful American in the land : Restore your House of Representatives to the position which it ought to occupy. I know that the evil and the power of cure are in the keeping of the House itself, but without the mighty force of public opinion all effort in this direction is powerless. There is, however, one voice which never threatens in vain, and which no Congress will disobey. Let the voice of the people command that the House fulfill the

purposes for which it exists, and that command will be executed. Let us, then, tear off the swaddling bands which are paralyzing the Congress of the United States. Let us throw off the burdens which should never have been placed upon it. Let us root out the evils of patronage which infest the public life of the United States. Let us do these things so that the House of Representatives may become again the representative of the people, able to do the people's work, able to deal with the questions which affect the people, and able to carry out the will of the majority of the people, whatever that will may be. [Applause.] Restore it again to the position that should be occupied by a great representative body which on this continent traces its high descent from Jamestown and from Plymouth Rock. [Great applause.]

EDWIN D. MEAD read an admirable paper at the recent meeting of the National Education Association at Nashville, Tennessee. He refutes as follows Cardinal Manning's plea that the American public-school system is an interference with personal liberty and the rights of parents in directing the education of their own children : —

If the city voted that no citizen should take books from any library but the public library, that would be coercion, that would be interference with the inalienable rights of the citizen. And if the Christian Association or the Masonic lodge around the corner, pronouncing the public library an illegitimate and demoralizing institution, dangerous to Masonry or to young Christians, voted that no member should take books from any library but that provided by itself — none, under pain of expulsion, from the public library, — that would be interference with the inalienable rights of the individual ; that also would be coercion, and sooner or later, if serious collision arose, the state — which, because it is the whole people, while the lodge, the association, the church, is but a part of the same, is and must be the final efficient appeal — sooner or later the state would surely stop it. It would be likely to stop it the sooner if these same Masons, for instance, demanded that the cost of their separate and anti-social institution should be remitted from their taxes, weakening the public institution to that extent, and if this offensive general policy of the lodge was a policy unpopular even with the mass of its own members, forced upon them by their superiors — I say it would stop it the sooner under these circumstances ; for these circumstances consolidate that public opinion which is the strong sanction of law. The state would not stop the Mason from reading at his lodge ; it would not lock up the lodge's library, although it surely would do that, sooner or later, if that alone would stop the lodge's contumely. The lodge might resist ; the Master might remind the mayor, the Grand Master might remind the governor, the Great Grand Master might remind the President, that Masonry was an international affair ; but that threat would have no

potency until backed up by a contingent of Hessians. Should the Hessian Masons come in sufficient force, with Russians enough, and with enough Frenchmen, Turks, and Prussians, then the lodge's library would undoubtedly be opened. But when that happened, something else would happen. There would then be no state at all, and, with no state, no order at all.

This Roman Catholic talk about parental authority and family freedom in the choice of schools is all pure fiction. If strict definition is what we are concerned with, and that I take it is what we want here, the sole "liberty" which the Roman Catholic parent has, when the command of the church comes to him to send his children to the parochial school—and the command is issued that every parish shall have its school, and that every child of Catholic parents shall leave the public school for it as soon as it is efficiently organized—is the liberty to "get out," if he chooses to disobey the command. I use the phrase of one of the more jaunty Catholic witnesses at the recent Boston hearing. "If a man joins the Catholic Church," he said, "he is bound by the rules, but is not obliged to remain in the church any longer than he chooses." "Do you believe the parent should exercise his conscience apart from the priest?" was asked him. "Yes, sir." "Whether or not the conscience of the parent interferes with that of the priest?" "It cannot interfere with that of the priest, for parents will not remain in the church if they do not follow the guidance of the priest. . . . The Catholic Church doctrine," he continued, "is a doctrine of authority. If the church makes a rule to refuse the sacraments to a parent who will not withdraw his children from the public school, the law could be enforced. . . . The law of the church is to obey or get out." . . .

What kind of "liberty," I ask, has such a man, to whom the mandate of the church is brought that he shall withdraw his children from the public school, and send them to the parochial school, on pain of having the sacrament and absolution denied him? What does all this fine talk about parental authority and family freedom in education amount to under such a condition as this? And precisely this is the condition of the American Catholic world to-day. If the condition does not exist here or there *de facto*, it is simply because the church, for purely prudential reasons, does not deem it wise, here or there, at this moment, to assume an attitude towards the family which it claims as its right everywhere and always, and which it may assume at any moment anywhere. To the well-instructed Catholic it is not necessary to support this statement by proof.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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PROSPECTS OF UNITARIANISM IN JAPAN.

SOME five years ago, Mr. Fukusawa, one of the foremost men of Japan as author, educator, and editor, published a remarkable series of articles in the editorial columns of "Zizi-simpo," a daily newspaper in Tokyo. The gist of the whole series of discussions was that the supreme interest of Japan consisted not in identifying herself with the Asiatic nations, but with the Christian nations of the West; that the country should be Europeanized, instead of retaining the Asiatic spirit and manners; and that the chief among all the reforms which Japan should at once undertake was the change of religion. He advocated the introduction of Christianity, not because Christianity was absolutely necessary, but because, in order to enter the society of the Christian nations, it was necessary that Japan herself should be a Christian nation. If you were to go into the society of your friends, you would naturally dress yourself according to the fashion of the day. Just so, he said, the Japanese people should accommodate themselves to the religious fashions of Europe and America. He, moreover, explicitly stated that he did not think it necessary that the people should individually change their thought and lives, but if they collectively and nominally became Christian, that would be enough.

This series of articles created no little surprise among many of the thoughtful men of the country, because it was but two or

three years before that the same Mr. Fukusawa was a strenuous advocate of Buddhism. He said then that perhaps, intrinsically considered, Christianity was better than Buddhism, but that Buddhism had been identified for so long with the thought and lives of the people that to exchange it for Christianity would be a radical revolution and would probably result in the extinction of the national and patriotic spirit among the people. He gave as an illustration the case of a famous, classical, Chinese scholar, who one day asked his class what position they would take if Confucius and Mencius were to come at the head of a Chinese army and invade Japan. When for a long time the class were silent, not knowing what to answer, for in their minds the love of their country and their gratitude for these sages were struggling for supremacy, he in the most decided manner told them that in his own case he would put on his best armor and unsheathe his yamato-blade and fight against Confucius and Mencius. Mr. Fukusawa said that as the number of Christians increased in Japan their gratitude to their foreign friends would become so strong that in case of any international difficulty they would probably take sides with the foreign powers and forget their duty to their own country.

About two years after the publication of these articles by Mr. Fukusawa, Mr. Yano Fumio, editor of "*Hochi-simbun*," another daily newspaper in Tokyo, formerly a pupil of Mr. Fukusawa, and a rising statesman of the day, returned from his visit to England. He, too, surprised his countrymen by strongly advocating the introduction of Christianity. He said that if Japan were to have in future upright and noble-minded politicians, and uncorrupted political parties, she must at once introduce the Christian morality; and argued in the strongest language that the moral corruption of a people was the cause of their national decline. He went on to say that there was, however, a very grave difficulty in the introduction of Christianity, for in the ordinary conception of it there was so much of the miraculous element as to make it almost impossible for educated men to believe in it conscientiously. But happily this could be obviated, he said, by introducing Unitarianism, which retained all the essential elements of Christianity while it dis-

carded the miraculous. Then Professor Toyama, who ten years before did more than any one else to introduce infidel views and agnostic philosophy into the Government University, came forward proclaiming that in his view Christianity was indispensable to the elevation of the mental and moral condition of Japanese womanhood, and strongly upheld the work of the missionary ladies in their schools. Then again the senator Kato, ex-principal of the University, earnestly advocated the introduction of religious education into the common schools, and maintained that it was necessary for a firm basis of the moral discipline of the young. The combined influence of all these leaders, who were well-known to be non-religious men, or certainly not prejudiced in favor of Christianity, did a great deal to bring the question of religion and ethical culture before the minds of the people. It was owing to these and other influences that the attitude of the young men in the colleges and the University in Tokyo has recently been changed completely, from one of scoffing contempt to that of respect and in many cases of an earnest seeking after the truth of Christianity.

It was in the midst of this state of things, when the educated men of the country were just awaking from their dream that the moral education of the people would take care of itself, and in many cases that the abandonment of all moral restraints was the sign of supreme enlightenment, and when the Christian meetings were everywhere being crowded with enthusiastic and earnest hearers, and the churches were making an unparalleled progress, and Mr. Yano was pleading for the introduction of Unitarianism, that Rev. Arthur May Knapp made his appearance in Tokyo. He was, as may be supposed, well received by Mr. Yano and his friends, and was introduced into some of the clubs, where Mr. Yano had an influence. Mr. Fukusawa was soon understood to be interested in him. Marquis Tokugawa also came back from England a Unitarian and began to exert himself in behalf of his mission. Mr. Knapp's articles explaining Unitarianism appeared in Mr. Fukusawa's paper. Translations of Unitarian tracts were also issued. Mr. Knapp declared he was not a missionary in the ordinary sense of the term, but an Unitarian ambassador, representing the large and

flourishing denomination in America. He intimated that he came not so much to teach as to learn ; that there might not be any need for Japan to make a radical change of religion ; that the Japanese should take extreme pains to conserve what was good in the old, and not rush on to adopt everything new. In fine, he made himself in every way agreeable to the Japanese whenever he met them.

No doubt Mr. Knapp received many communications from people in the distant parts of Japan inquiring about Unitarian tenets and in some cases requesting him to send them preachers, or telling him that a few people were ready to organize themselves into a Unitarian society. Coming in such an auspicious time and receiving so warm a welcome from men like Messrs. Fukusawa and Yano, and Marquis Tokugawa, and meeting polite and cordial people everywhere and kind responses from several quarters, I do not wonder that Mr. Knapp became so enthusiastic and hopeful about the Unitarian movement in Japan that he felt, after one year's easy work, that he had already almost won the empire, and that the result of his effort counted more than the entire net result of the whole evangelical effort in the past thirty years.

But I am not without grave misgivings in regard to the bright future Mr. Knapp seems to promise his denomination, as standing before it in Japan. I cannot but think that he is greatly mistaken in many of the ideas he has lately been expressing so confidently as to his own success.

It is unquestionably true that the success of any movement cannot be measured by the numbers of its adherents, and especially is this true in religious movements. If numbers are to be the final criterion of strength and success, then Buddhism is stronger than Christianity and Catholicism than Protestantism. The fact that Mr. Knapp can give as yet no report of the number of people he has baptized and the churches he has founded should not be brought against him. But the question I wish to emphasize is whether, in meeting with the Japanese people, he has not confounded politeness with sympathy and sympathy with adherence. It is universally known that the Japanese are an exceedingly polite people. Especially are they so to foreign

visitors. You meet them face to face and they never will be impolite, even should you propound opinions totally opposed to theirs. In the case of foreign people, when they meet the Japanese, they are very apt at first to take simple cordiality for sympathy and adherence to their views. Besides, some people might really sympathize, but would never think of adhering. Mr. Knapp will be the last man to say that what Japan wants is the name and not the reality of Christianity. When he speaks of the Japanese being born Unitarians, he no doubt simply means that they are intellectually very near to the Unitarian form of Christianity. But morally he would not mean that they are almost Unitarians. For he is no doubt aware that the virtue of chastity, for instance, is very little known among the Japanese, excepting women of certain classes of society; that there is one divorce in every three marriages; and that social vice in all its forms reigns unrestrained. No doubt Mr. Knapp would not regard anything success unless his Japanese friends are thoroughly changed morally, in their conjugal, social, and business relations. But it is no easy matter for any one to effect thoroughly this moral reformation. Very often many people, when they find out fully what it costs them to become real disciples of Jesus, "go away exceedingly sorrowful." I, therefore, question Mr. Knapp's right to speak so confidently of the sure foundations he thinks he has laid for his future work in Japan, and I venture to caution him and his friends not to entertain over-sanguine expectations of taking the empire with but a handful of men and within a few years. For they may very soon find out that they have been building their castle on the sand.

As to Mr. Knapp's estimate of the result of evangelical efforts in Japan, I contend that this ambassador is almost wholly wrong. I believe that he never was inside of any flourishing native church, nor ever met and fully conversed on the subject with a native pastor or a competent foreigner. Otherwise he would not have spoken as he did. In one of his articles, I see that he misquote statistics, which shows that he has not studied even statistics carefully. The explanation of the whole matter lies in my mind in the probability that he obtained his

information on the subject largely from Mr. Fukusawa and his friends, who have always been in the habit of looking with disparagement upon Christian workers and of depreciating their labors. This was not with any wrong intentions, I am quite sure, but such was their attitude. Speaking from their own standpoint and according to their somewhat prejudiced knowledge, they would give Mr. Knapp just that kind of information and impression on the subject which he seems to possess, but it is simply *their* view. The truth of the whole matter is that Mr. Fukusawa has a large following, but is not all-powerful. He is a foremost man, but not the foremost man. If there is any need of giving names to show that we also have friends among the higher circles, I could give the names of scores of persons, who are politically, socially, and intellectually of the highest standing, and who not only have shown their sympathy in words but in acts by their generous donations. It is not true that we have no friends among the higher circles, and that our work is confined solely to the lower and uneducated classes. I can do no better, however, than quote in this connection the testimony of a German missionary, Mr. Wilfried Spinner, whom Mr. Knapp counts among his sympathizers and who probably entertains some rationalistic views which would not be indorsed by most of the evangelical people in Japan, but whose scholarship, eloquence, and piety are highly respected by his many friends among the evangelical churches. He, therefore, is not a prejudiced nor a hasty observer. Speaking of the Doshisha, he says (I am indebted for these quotations to Rev. E. A. Lawrence's article in "The Independent" of April 4, 1889): "Enormous are the contributions which the Congregationalists of America, and now, too, the Congregational churches of Japan and their friends, are making for the Doshisha. If the prospects of the speedy victory of Christianity in Japan were more favorable than they really seem when one considers the great power of Buddhism among the lower classes, and the modern Confucian and often patriotically clad self-sufficiency of the upper classes, it would be allowable to suppose that the government sees in the Doshisha the future Christian national college. For several weeks I have had op-

portunity to study the school close at hand. The Americans speak with right of 'our school, the Doshisha.' But I have already heard from the mouth of the Japanese, 'It is our school.' Well, both assertions are correct, and perhaps the time is not far off when the great work can be entirely handed over without fear or jealousy to the people for whose good it was founded." Speaking of the Protestant work in general, Mr. Spinner says: "This has every reason for great hopes of its future in Japan. It leaves to the Japanese the independence on which they insist. It is precisely those denominations which favor free development and have begun their work in sufficient strength, such as the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians, which have had the greatest success. . . . Apart from the strong Methodistical traits which are gradually covering American Protestantism, I do not see what criticism in particular we Germans would be able to make on this Protestantism. Their organization is admirable, and in the Japanese the Americans have found pupils gifted by nature with talent for organization. Their zeal for faith is great, their action is wise, a proof of the mission experience of the boards at home and of their agents on the field." Once more let me quote, and from another equally unbiased judge on the subject. Captain Brinkley, editor of the "Japan Mail," a leading political, social, and economical journal, whose religious standpoint is known to be akin to that of Mr. Knapp's, says in one of the recent issues of that journal: "That in recent years a wonderful change has taken place in our attitude toward Christianity is now a well-known fact, and need not be dwelt upon here. Only, however, within the last two or three years, or, in other words, since the awakening of the rising generation, has the new creed become a vital element of the nation's civilized life. Its influence is now felt through the rising generation, not only by the fast increasing number of young converts, but also, and perhaps to a greater extent, by means of the creation of a powerful literature, thoroughly imbued with Christian spirit."

To speak with more detail of the work, particularly in Tokyo: there is just now being started a strong aggressive work among the students of the Imperial University and other col-

leges ; the Young Men's Christian Association movement is being pushed with great energy ; and the officials, statesmen, and business men are being reached by different churches. I am sorry therefore that Mr. Knapp has been so fatally misinformed on this topic.

Mr. Knapp has sanguine expectations. I agree with him that the educated minds of Japan are rationalistic in temper. Even under the old régime they never were given to any superstition. Under the training of Confucianism they were cured of all morbid craving after mysteries and supernatural powers. To be sure, they believed in a kind of Providence ; but it was so vague and ambiguous, that when you came to analyze it closely it amounted to nothing. On the other hand, they looked with supreme contempt, mingled with pity, upon the ignorant people who gave themselves up to the superstitious worship of the eight million gods, and the Buddha, and all the secondary deities, and who daily prayed, believed in and kept charms, and expected to enter the Paradise of the next world. They were practically atheists and positivists. When, therefore, they were brought into contact with Western life and ideas they naturally looked with great contempt on everything that related to religion and worship, and with great partiality on every system of thought that seemed to stand opposed to Christianity. In this way they became doubly confirmed in their rationalistic and skeptical positions. Certainly these men are nearer to Unitarianism than to Evangelical Christianity, but nearer still to Atheism than to Unitarianism.

But there is another side to the characteristics of these Japanese minds, which strongly represents their deep religious nature. I said the educated Japanese were positivists. They did not indeed worship superhuman beings, but they worshiped living men ; and they did this in the persons of their sovereign and parents. Look back to the utmost limit of Japanese history, you will still find the same line of the Mikados reigning in proud supremacy. After the introduction of Confucianism, the dual duties of loyal and filial obedience had been so strongly insisted on, that the earnest spirits among the people, in their

devotion, outstripped the requirements of natural relationship and practically worshiped their sovereign and parents. In this service they gave up their conscience, will, and life. The eight million deities of the land were powerless, should their wishes ever conflict with those of the living ones. The deities of the wind and the sea had to obey when a loyal subject was in the service of the Mikado. Even the conjugal bond was not strong enough to keep the two hearts together when parental hands came in to separate them. Many a tender maiden devoted her precious life to obscurity and poverty in order to gratify the whims of her aged parents. Many a noble-hearted youth sacrificed himself to the service of his king. All this shows that the Japanese have naturally a very religious nature.

With the sweeping away of the old régime and of the reign of Confucianism, the intelligent Japanese lost their fond objects of worship. For though they are now as loyal and filial as ever, yet they no longer worship their parents and sovereign. They feel, therefore, a great gap in their hearts, which nothing has been able to fill. May not this object of spiritual devotion be found in Christianity? is the question which many of them are earnestly asking to-day, and their number is daily increasing. Their attitude is at once serious, honest, and expectant. They want religion in order to satisfy their deepest devotional nature and highest spiritual aspirations. Besides, in the experience of the past twenty years, since Confucianism has lost its power as a great source of ethical culture, a decline of healthy public spirit and public and private morals among the rising generation has been widely and painfully apparent. The foremost educators of the country, both in governmental and private positions, realize that they have no lever to work by, in the matter of ethical culture. Where is the basis of ethics? is the anxious cry of the thoughtful men of Japan to-day. They want some broad and sure basis on which to build the temple of righteousness for the rising generation of the nation.

Whether the Unitarianism of the type represented by Mr. Knapp is best suited to meet this demand, or whether we must base the religious and ethical life of the Japanese people on the supernatural Person of the historical Redeemer of men, is a

question which can be decided to the satisfaction of both sides only by results. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

In the meantime, however, there are two or three things we may well remember and ponder upon. 1. Not by negations, but by positive convictions, can we win the hearts of the thoughtful people among the Japanese. They have become tired of Spencerian agnosticism, of which they once thought a great deal, because it is nothing but a pile of negations, and after all there is in it no resting-place for the heart and the intellect and no basis for righteous character. If that which you bring to Japan is no better than old Confucianism, somewhat refined and enlightened, would be, what is the use of coming to Japan to teach it? Everything in Japan is in a constructive stage. Bring something sure, certain, and positive, then only will the people rally around you. 2. The supreme religious question in Japan is and will be, not whether miracles are probable or not; nor even whether God exists or not; nor even what the Bible is; but, what think ye of Christ? On this the entire series of questions hangs together. Mr. Knapp himself says that Prof. Toyama advised him to give a course of lectures on the rise of Christianity. He would certainly grant that we must be able to explain satisfactorily the Person of Jesus and the rise of Christianity in order to win the conviction of the educated Japanese. They indeed would care little for all the fruitless theological discussions on certain side-issues, such as predestination and free will, and various theories of the Bible, but they do care for the central and vital question of questions, namely, the Person of Jesus. In this sense they are eminently reasonable and full of common sense. Can Mr. Knapp solve this great problem without granting the supernatural elements in Christianity? 3. What the Japanese want is not fine ideas and a convenient system that can be easily believed in, but power, — the power to make men good and give them peace. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." Only as far as Mr. Knapp shows himself and his Japanese friends to be in possession of this divine power, by the exhibition of its practical fruits, will the confidence of the people be placed in him and his conception of Christianity.

Will Mr. Knapp, in whose conceptions of Christianity Christ comes in simply as an example and a teacher, the best, surely, but only one among the many imperfect great ones of the earth, be able to satisfy this earnest demand?

Thus I believe the great end of our preaching to the educated Japanese ought to be to arouse and satisfy their spiritual and ethical nature; because that is the only door of entrance to their hearts and minds. Nothing could be, it seems to me, more likely to end in disappointment than to depend upon the rationalistic temper of educated people in Japan, for though there may be in such circles at first an apparent intellectual sympathy, yet there will never be any spiritual and ethical appropriation of the vital truths presented to them. It is as dangerous to try to take advantage of the rationalism of educated Japanese minds, and teach a devitalized Christianity, as to take advantage of the superstitions of the uneducated masses and try to teach Romanism. Probably neither effort will lead to any noble and beneficial results. It remains to be seen how far Mr. Knapp understands the situation; and, if he does so fully, how far he will be able to satisfy the demand of the hour. One thing is certain, Mr. Knapp will not fail to receive that kind of inspiration which comes from the presence of a crowd of interested spectators.

J. T. Isé.

Tokyo, Japan.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AGAINST ULTRAMONTANISM.

A PAPER BY BISHOP A. CLEVELAND COXE, READ AT THE RECENT SARATOGA CONFERENCE OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE DEFENSE OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

LITTLE difference of opinion can exist among us as to the necessity of taking steps to nationalize defenses against plausible encroachments upon our religious liberties. As to details and measures, I rely on the experience of others and have nothing to offer myself. But the perils that now threaten us must be looked at not merely comprehensively, but with particular attention to the historic facts which prove that a few general principles of legislation may be clearly stated, with little effect, unless specific forms for the *indirect* endowment of religious societies are kept in view and made impossible under legal sanctions.

It is a fact so astounding that a few years ago its possibility would have been unimaginable, that in the adjacent Dominion of Canada the rights of British subjects are forfeited under color of law; the mighty empire to which they belong is powerless, or else too indifferent, to protect them from a sort of outlawry;¹ while the court of Rome is invoked by local legislation to become the arbiter in questions affecting the property and taxation of the people. All this has been brought about by the incorporation of a society, in 1887, which immediately afterwards, with the connivance of politicians, laid claim to a property long since vested in the crown, and appropriated by law to public education. In 1888 a servile legislature appropriated \$400,000 out of the public funds of the Province of Quebec, rendering the act yet more degrading and offensive by leaving ultimate measures as to the distribution of the money to the arbitration of the Pope. Under "the balance of power,"

¹ The English in Quebec are liable to arrest, trial, and penalty in courts which transact all business in the French language.

placed in the hands of the society aforesaid by the conflicting interests of political parties, the loyal population of the entire Dominion is left without redress, and the flag which Wolfe planted on the heights of Abraham is virtually overtopped by that of the pontifical arms. In a word, France has indirectly recaptured Quebec ; not modern France and its republic, but France of the old *régime* ; the France of Pompadours and Du Barrys, and of the Jesuit ascendancy.

The same society not only exists in our country, but it is virtually the master of "the balance of power" and controls millions of votes. It gives its "word of order" to the Roman bishops, who dare not resist its *supremacy*, which is, in fact, the "infallibility" of the Pontiff himself, given to this society in commission ; these bishops, in turn, pass the order to the priests, and these, in the confessional, do the bidding of their masters and make their superstitious and ignorant subjects register the same at the polls.

Under the potency of this machinery, the cowardly politicians at Washington are already enslaved to the court of Rome and do its bidding. An agent of this court, appointed by Romish bishops, resides at Washington and practices upon the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as upon the government itself. We are astonished at the gift of \$400,000 by the Canadian government to the society of Jesuits ; but, it is probable that not less than \$1,000,000 have been paid out of the public funds for the support ostensibly of Romish missions among the Indians. It is affirmed that nearly \$100 per head is thus paid, annually, for every Indian *child* who is reported as receiving education in these missions.

At the same time, a Jesuit university is set up at Washington, to be henceforth the focus of machinations of the same sort, on a larger scale. Foreign professors have been imported to fill the chairs and to give an alien education to the youth who will be sent to its halls. Here the *secreta monita* of the society will be rigidly enforced. Rich widows and young heiresses will be threatened and worried and flattered into the gift or entail of their estates into the dead-hand of a corporation which will soon be created, with no restrictions of mortmain ;

and any vote demanded of Congress or any concession exacted from the government will be yielded without scruple, under terrorism of the balance of power.

In Venice, in Vienna, in Rome itself, one sees the great fortresses from which the Jesuits have been ejected, by the indignation of Romanists themselves and by Romanized governments. Every Romish country in the civilized world has been forced into conflicts the most deadly with this infamous society of Jesuits; every strong government in Europe has been forced to banish them as hostile to all social systems which they cannot control. Enemies of the human race, they have now invaded our great national domain, and under laws made for freedom, are making themselves "free" to establish their own *despotism*.

The society of Jesuits has no patriotism; is identified with no nationality; has no domestic or social ties; and glories in being subject to its own authorities only. It is a *military invasion*, wherever it enters any country; every member being a mere instrument in the hands of a superior, and all directed by a "general" in Rome. They bear no arms, but they master those who do and use them absolutely. Where ballots are bullets, it is enough to become controllers of these silent but revolutionizing arms. They are rapidly revolutionizing America in this way, our supine and recreant politicians selling themselves to the enemy, for momentary self-aggrandizements; our press enslaved and subsidized in their interest; our schools and school funds indirectly taken into their possession; and our "Protestant" pastors, societies, and "professors of religion" cowed into silence or lending themselves to their machinations.

I am persuaded that no amendment to the Constitution that fails to guard us against combinations such as these, and to render an alien society like that of the Jesuits incapable of operations among us such as have troubled the civilized world elsewhere, will be of any effect. Indirectly, as educators, as agents of "secret service," as philanthropists, as the heads of hospitals, as directors of "reformatories," as "Indian agents," as contractors (and what not?), the Jesuits, in the disguises which

their rules not only permit, but encourage, will make themselves arbiters of every question on which the future of our republic depends. Look at Mexico, look at Old Spain, look again at Canada, and see to what we are predestinated, if Americans are resolved to learn nothing from the experience of nations; if with their own hands they persist in subjecting their glorious inheritance of constitutional freedom to these invaders of their homes, to these burglars of the universe.

NOTE.—It is curious that *Louisiana* may, at any time, be subjected to the same processes which have led to the Canadian imbroglio, through the intricacies of what is known as the “Battune estate controversy,” familiar to all who are acquainted with the biography of Edward Livingston and the administration of President Jefferson. While I write, comes to us the partially suppressed account of what the Jesuits of Fordham have been doing in a common-school election, in Westchester County, in this State. It may be worth while, also, to note a significant hint that illustrates what has been said of the Jesuit University at Washington. The First Presbyterian Church of Erie, Pa., recently called a Canadian minister to be its pastor, says the *Christian Secretary* of Hartford. They were notified if their new pastor came it would be in violation of the Contract-labor Law. The Catholic University at Washington has recently made arrangements for the importation of a faculty from Europe, and the managers feared that their professors would be prohibited by these laws. But great is the power of Rome with the government, and the authorities ruled that a liberal construction of the laws would be made and the professors admitted. We have no particular affection for this law, but we hold that no discrimination should be made between Catholics and Presbyterians. The so-called *American* “Catholic” University is thoroughly foreign in its character, and might just as well be located in Rome. It will not be American in any sense. And why its foreign professors should be hired and brought over here, while a Presbyterian church cannot have the same privilege, is one of the questions this government must answer.

EDUCATIONAL IDEALS IN MISS BRIGHAM'S LIFE.

THERE are few whose passing onward would have brought the burden of heavy personal grief to a wider circle than to-day mourns the loss of Miss Mary A. Brigham. Her beautiful life was a living power in homes all over the country ; her death a mystery of darkness and distress. Young and old, rich and poor, the lofty and the lowly, join hands in a common sorrow over her grave.

Through such souls alone
God stooping shows sufficient of his light,
For us i' the dark to rise by.

Miss Brigham exemplified the power of a quiet consistent life, wholly devoted to the highest ends. Though one of the most distinguished educators of the country, she was in no sense before the public eye ; she did not write or speak for the public ear ; she advanced no new theories of education or reform ; but she lived, in the midst of hundreds of city girls, such a pure, earnest, consecrated life that they had no need to go beyond the walls of their school-room to find their highest type of cultured Christian womanhood.

It has been said that when one sees a perfect woman one never thinks of her attributes, but is conscious only of her presence. In the character of Miss Brigham there was such a harmonious blending that individual traits were merged in the completeness of her personality, and one felt the restfulness of her presence without analyzing its charm.

Dowered by nature with superb health, unusual beauty, fine intellect, and a sweet and gracious dignity, she was rarely fitted for her chosen work. In her girlhood Mt. Holyoke Seminary was the leading girls' school of the country, and she was sent to it to acquire the foundation of her rapidly widening knowledge. She had at that time no thought of becoming a teacher, but, on being invited back to her school home, accepted the po-

sition offered her. The brief stay there developed her remarkable adaptation to the work, and, giving herself to it with characteristic vigor and enthusiasm, she taught for over thirty years, with no interruption save the rest of the annual vacations. Two years were given to Mt. Holyoke, three to Ingham University, and in 1863 Miss Brigham accepted the call to Brooklyn, little dreaming that there she was to find the home and labor of a lifetime. At first as a teacher simply, then as associate principal in the Brooklyn Heights Seminary she found wide scope for her powers. Never was teacher rewarded with more perfect love and confidence, never with more pervasive and dominant influence over her pupils. Sweet to encourage, steadfast to control, she governed with a firmness that was never severe, a gentleness that was never weak. The affection she inspired was no girlish infatuation, but a sincere sentiment founded on gratitude and admiration, never degenerating into sentimentality, but increasing with a loyalty that long outlived the school days.

Miss Brigham never hesitated to reprove her pupils; she never flattered them; but her words of censure were so tenderly spoken and so tempered by encouragement that their sting was lost in the quick impulse to do better. Her confidence in her girls inspired them with self-respect. Her patience made them patient with themselves in the character building which she so constantly urged. Those who came under her immediate care, teachers and pupils who met her daily in the family life, were won by the sweet motherliness of the woman, so spontaneous, so all-embracing, so cheery that few could resist it. No girlish perplexity or trouble was too slight to win her attentive sympathy; her girls were ever in her mind, and any sacrifice of time and strength was gladly made if it conduced to their happiness or well-being; while the heartiness with which she planned and entered into their pleasures gave them an added zest.

Especially fortunate were those who began their life as teachers under Miss Brigham's wise leadership. Her cordial interest and coöperation, her confidence in their powers, were a constant stimulus. "You young people can do anything," was

a favorite expression with her, and no help that she could give was ever withheld from those new to the profession. No one could more graciously have excused the mistakes of inexperience; no one more cordially have accepted suggestion from the humblest source. By her wide experience she guided younger workers out of rashness, by her breadth of culture freed them from crudity, by her earnestness put a new meaning into their work, and in her whole life presented to them the ideal of a true teacher.

Her giving power was wonderful. With a generosity that was part of her large nature she bestowed lavishly of her wisdom, her strength, her time, on all who claimed them. One of her friends has said of her that "she had the genius for friendship." She certainly possessed its two requisites of tenderness and truth. She never met one with a half-hearted attention, but gave her whole mind to the subject before her, whether trivial or important, listening, questioning, balancing arguments and suggestions with such a hearty interest that her manner inspired confidence, and the question under discussion gained new importance. This interested attention, her tact in dealing with different natures, her winning manners, and clear-sighted judgment made her a great power in social and in philanthropic circles. She was everybody's confidant. Few ever left her without feeling themselves the gainers by the contact.

Wide and regnant as was Miss Brigham's influence, it was one of the greatest charms of her beautiful life that it was crowned with a humility as sweet as it was sincere. Miss Brigham believed in herself — otherwise she could never have attained the equipoise and the steadfastness that were so noticeable in her life. In spite of this, no woman endowed so richly as she could have been less conscious of her gifts. She was wont to give most generous praise to those far less talented and successful than herself, and sigh for their powers with a gentle wistfulness that would have been ludicrous had it not been so genuine.

Her power lay not alone in the largeness of her heart, but also in the strength of her intellect. She had a fine mind, with a special talent for detail and classification. The keen-

ness of her critical faculty was remarkable ; nothing escaped her. She went straight to the heart of things, sifting, judging, and arranging with innate discrimination of values. Her knowledge was never obtruded ; she seemed to prefer being told to telling. She possessed the faculty of acquiring from all sources, and was always abreast of the times.

With the higher education, Miss Brigham was in fullest sympathy. No college-bred woman ever had more respect for college training than did this teacher, whose remarkable success without it might have gone far to convince her that it was non-essential. She constantly regretted that she had not enjoyed its advantages, quite oblivious to the fact so patent to others that in her case lack of college training was more than compensated by experience and breadth of culture.

Scholarly attainment in large measure was hers ; but not in this, not in her executive ability or her social qualities, lay the secret of her beautiful life ; but in her deep, all-pervasive spirituality. "Common souls pay with what they do ; noble souls with that which they are." It was what Miss Brigham was that told. Entire simplicity, absence of all sentimentality or ostentation, characterized her religion. It was not that she talked of it much, though the name of Christ came to her lips as naturally as the name of a friend ; but she lived it, with such a whole-souled, joyous self-surrender that no one could be in her presence for a day without feeling that with her the religion of Christ was the ever-present, the actuating power. Whether with all her other endowments had been granted a peculiarly spiritual temperament, or whether in those far-off girlish days at Mt. Holyoke she had become imbued with the spirit of self-sacrifice where it was taught in its simplicity, certain it was that to her morality meant self-control, religion self-denial. There was nothing narrow in her views, nothing of the bigot or the fanatic. In religion, as in all else, she was broad, progressive, tolerant. Thoroughly interested in the affairs of the world, she was charitable to all men, and strict only with herself.

It may be said that this picture represents her as an ideal character, but one who knew her well for many years said with

the force of sincere conviction: "In calm and truthful earnestness I express the belief that it is impossible for us to idealize the character of Miss Brigham;" and those to whom her sweet life ministered, know best how inadequate are words to tell of her worth to them.

Miss Brigham's power over young girls, her intellectual vigor, and her deep religious feeling were not unrecognized by those interested in education. The highest positions open to women in the country were repeatedly offered her. With her characteristic shrinking from publicity, and her equally characteristic depreciation of her own powers, she refused them all. The time was coming when the demands of a broader work became imperative. When, in 1888, Mt. Holyoke Seminary obtained its college charter, it was a surprise to no one but herself that Miss Brigham was immediately invited to become its first president. The same feeling that had kept her in retirement so long asserted itself in view of the new work. For many years it had been her wish to establish a school of her own, where she could carry out her own ideas of preparatory education. It was hard to relinquish this long-cherished project, and bring herself to undertake a work so fraught with difficulties as was the organization of the new college. Every objection presented itself to her mind; obstacle after obstacle confronted her. To make the decision doubly hard, Brooklyn rose in protest, and for the first time Miss Brigham realized what a place was hers in the city's affection and respect. But at last, convinced beyond question that she was directly called of God to the new work, she accepted it, and pledged to Mt. Holyoke the powers that had been so eagerly sought by other institutions.

Though fully appreciative of the confidence reposed in her, she was singularly free from the desire for any fame or personal distinction the position might confer. Never was such honor received with less of self-seeking. That her acceptance was a supreme act of self-denial, no one who knew her inner life at the time could doubt. "Here stand I; I can no other; so help me, God," was her first telegram of acceptance of the presidency, and no utterance could more exactly have expressed her attitude.

The decision once made, there were still, at times, shrinking, timidity, and self-distrust. She had, however, a steadfast determination to give her best energies to the new work, relying in simple trust on the Divine guidance. "If the Lord does not want me there after all, He has plenty of time to remove me," she has said over and over again in the past months. These words come back now to the memory of her friends with the pathos of a prophecy. Day by day the grandeur and the beauty of the coming work grew upon her, as her plans took more definite shape. With increasing courage she set herself to master every detail of the complex problem before her. It was characteristic that no present duty was set aside. Each detail of home and school life was as carefully considered, each child's interests as thoughtfully guarded, as if the founding of a college did not await her. Hers was a nature "capable of conceiving and choosing a life's task with far-off issues, yet capable of the unapplauded heroism which turns off the road of achievement at the call of the nearer duty, whose effect lies in the beating of the hearts that are close."

The friends of Mt. Holyoke rallied grandly to her support. From all over the country, from hundreds of enthusiastic alumnae, came letters bespeaking their delight and their loyalty. No one who was present at that last memorable meeting of the New York association of the graduates of Mt. Holyoke will ever forget its enthusiasm. The sweet and hopeful words of the president-elect, the grace with which she presided, the surprised pleasure and the gracious dignity with which she accepted the ovation which greeted her there will be lost out of memory by no one of all that company.

What she would have accomplished, what a college Mt. Holyoke would have become under her wise, steady, and progressive rule, will never be known. The Lord *did* remove her. In the hour of its fullest triumph Mt. Holyoke was plunged into the direst calamity that has marked its history since the death of its first leader.

In the full vigor of matured womanhood, she passed beyond our sight; but the rhythm of her life's music was broken with no jarring discords. The tender heart was grieved by no pre-

science of coming loss to those who loved her; the steadfast mind unruffled by dismay or fear. Without a shadow of regret or pain, swiftly at the summons of her God, the strong, sweet soul took flight. Falling asleep in the beauty of the June day, she woke to the rapture of heaven as its gates swung wide to welcome her "to the celestial city, to infinite serenities, to love without limit, to perfect joy."

Her work still goes on. In the many lives she touched, and never touched except to better, will be found her continuing influence. All over the country, fresh young girls look back to her as their fairest model, and, loving her still, would fain be worthy for her sake and for His whom she obeyed. The helpful human presence is gone. In its place has come the grander impulse — the inspiration of the saint. Those who mourn her most sincerely have the constantly strengthening purpose to carry on her work, and still, "despite the distance and the dark," to join hands with her in cheering, strengthening, and uplifting, until, in the perfecting of the Divine plan, they too shall be summoned to follow her

On to the bound of the waste,
On to the city of God.

KATHARINE SHEPHERD WOODWARD.

Damariscotta, Maine,
August 24, 1889.

FRENCH ROMAN CATHOLIC INFLUENCE IN NEW ENGLAND.

EVERY nation has its great and decisive epochs. The growth of the nation, or its decadence, depends very largely on what is done or left undone during what may be called crucial years.

There can be but little doubt in the minds of thoughtful men who make themselves acquainted with current events that the American republic is approaching a crisis in its history, not to say that it has reached it already. With magnanimous liberality it has opened its arms to all classes and conditions of men. It has invited individuals of all nationalities to come in and enjoy the blessings of liberty, of gospel truth, and of a free and liberal education. Millions of foreigners have made of this country their home; already in many towns and cities they have become numerically stronger than the American population; they are becoming naturalized rapidly, and their influence in political matters is already felt in a very decided way.

Until recently, the attention of the churches in the East has been fixed almost entirely upon the West. At all missionary gatherings at which the interests of the home field were discussed, emphasis has been laid on the needs of the great West, and the duty of the New England churches towards this work of Western evangelization was insisted upon. That was right; such a policy was full of wisdom and the country has reaped from it a blessed harvest of good. The time has fully come, however, for the East to consider carefully its changed and changing condition, and both for its own sake and for the sake of all those missionary enterprises that have looked to it for help in days past, to inquire very earnestly what measures shall be taken to keep New England Protestant and American, that she may be in the future that centre of Christian and elevating influences she has been in the past?

The New England of cherished memory exists no more. The

founders of these world-renowned States are gone, and many of their virtues — integrity, manliness, devotedness to principles — have passed away with them. Thousands of their children have died, not to be replaced by others ; thousands have abandoned their native States, and foreigners, with different aims and purposes and holding religious views opposed to the genius of American institutions, have replaced them. In Massachusetts, Vermont, and Rhode Island the foreign element outnumbers the American population and is largely drawn from French Roman Catholic Quebec. In this paper I shall confine myself wholly to the French, leaving to others the duty of ascertaining what the influence of the other nationalities shall be. We purpose asking what can be expected of the French Canadian Roman Catholics, who will soon number one half million in New England.

The nation is called upon to solve a great problem ; and in order that it may be solved in a way beneficial to this nation and to Christendom some great changes are needed. There must be an awakening on the part of the clergy and laity ; there must be a readjustment of methods of work in New England, and, above all, Protestantism must become Protestantism anew, be baptized afresh with that spirit of the Reformation which wrought such wonders ; it must consider it a sacred duty to convert to evangelical truth the benighted slaves of Romanism. There is no virtue, there is no breadth of view, there is an utter absence of charity, in that debilitated phase of Christianity that would place all systems of religion on a par, and then, on the assumption of a more enlightened charity, allow deluded souls to groan and to perish under the burden of error and superstition. If Romanism be what the American nation, as a whole, has considered it to be up to the present time, a Christian denomination to be sustained and encouraged by Protestant patronage and money, because it works in common with the other religious bodies of the land for the upbuilding of the nation, it is high time that Protestantism should cease to exist, for then we were all wrong in our views of truth, religious and political. The two systems have scarcely anything in common, save in certain outward appearances. In the fundamental prin-

ciples by which systems must be tested, evangelical Protestantism and ultramontane Romanism are as opposed one to the other as light is to darkness. The one necessarily destroys the other. The great question is, Which shall it be in New England?

In determining what shall be the influence of the French Canadian Roman Catholic element on the destinies of New England, and that means of the whole country and continent, it is necessary to have a clear idea of the actual strength of this population and of its probable growth in the future; of its character, its methods of education in the past and its plans in this direction for the future on American soil. To ignore the religious question would be blindness and folly, because the whole problem resolves itself into a religious one. Make Protestant Christians of the French Canadians and they cease to be, what the doctrines of the Syllabus compel them, politically and religiously, to be, the natural enemies of American institutions. Give them the gospel of salvation, and they become what the Huguenots were for France, a source of untold strength to the nation.

I. THE STRENGTH OF THIS POPULATION.

As far as we can ascertain, the French-speaking population of the United States numbers 1,500,000. Of these 1,000,000 are French Canadians, the others being French, Swiss, and Belgians. The New England States have about 326,000 French Canadians, distributed as follows: Massachusetts 165,000; Maine 45,000; Vermont 31,000; Connecticut 30,000; New Hampshire 30,000; and Rhode Island 25,000. In a good number of towns they hold the balance of power.

Great and rapid as this immigration has been of late years, it has by no means reached its height. It is helped on in different ways. The exactions of the Church of Rome are such in Quebec that thousands of people are driven across the lines by dire poverty. The tithes, pew-rents, assessments for the erection of those palatial ecclesiastical buildings with which the Province is fairly covered (they are estimated at \$62,000,000), the traffic of masses, scapularies, holy water, relics, and other

innumerable papal inventions, drain the people, make and keep them poor. The annual revenue of the church is estimated at \$12,000,000, and that from a population of 1,240,000 at the most. Canadians must flee for a refuge.

Moreover, the clergy now encourage this emigration, because they are satisfied that French Ultramontanism runs no great danger in Protestant New England, provided the children of the French can be kept out of the American schools and placed in French Catholic parochial schools where ultramontane doctrine reigns supreme. The educative power of New England is not in its damp air. We must find it in its good institutions. These, however, are of little benefit to the mass of French children, who are made to believe that the public schools are dens of iniquity, which they are absolutely forbidden to attend under pain of hell fire. Other causes might be mentioned, which in union with those given help to swell this tide of immigration.

The growth of this population in your Puritan States receives an impetus from another source. The French Canadians owe their great political strength in Canada to their marvelous natural increase. The race is one of the most prolific on this continent. The clergy have not left this mine unexplored. They encourage early marriages; boys and girls of fifteen years of age are very often made man and wife. It may be said that necessity is laid on them to raise large families. Special discourses are given on these subjects by priests appointed for that purpose, to men alone, then to women, to boys alone, then to girls. We hold it from reliable persons who were present on these occasions, that the most indelicate things are uttered by bachelor priests. The finger of scorn is pointed at the New England home, often childless or at best with few children. The curse of God, it is said, must rest on such a nation. On the other hand, the possibilities of the French race are dilated upon, and not without good reason does the wily priest picture to the ingenuous Canadian matron the grand future of the French Catholic nationality, when by their overwhelming numbers they can outvote the Americans at the polls.

We calmly ask, as matters are now developing, what stands

in the way of the realization of these dreams? Have they not been realized in British Protestant Canada? Is it true or is it not that New England homes, of the type you need to maintain your national life, are not multiplying in anything like the ratio of French Catholic homes? Is it true that it requires four or five American families to make one French Canadian? Such are the facts, and unless educationalists, Christian politicians, and reformers take hold of this question fearlessly, unless they adopt strong measures to Americanize the French and Irish Catholics, Romanism will rule New England in the near future just as surely as it rules Canada to-day. Optimists who read these lines will no doubt shrug their shoulders and ridicule the idea. This is precisely what English Protestants have been doing in Canada for years. The efforts of the brave missionaries who worked so heroically, who bled and died to give the gospel to the French of Canada, were little appreciated by English Protestantism. There was no need of such a work. Conquered Canada, it was thought, would always have to submit to Protestant England. But what has been enacted of late? The 70,000 French of the conquest have become 1,240,000. The church which controls them has become so powerful that it controls the Province of Quebec, and through it the Dominion parliament, that does not dare to veto a bill, the unrighteousness of which is admitted on all sides, and the opposition is so afraid that it does not dare say a word against it. The Province of Quebec openly declares its intention, through its Premier, to become a French Catholic nation, break loose from the confederation and submit in all things to the Pope and no longer to the Queen of England. The public-school system of Ontario is shattered at Rome's demand. English is banished from many schools of that English Protestant province, and the Roman Catholic catechism is taught even to Protestant children in schools subsidized by the state. These historical facts need to be weighed by New Englanders. They are of such a character as to lead men to think, and should help to save this country from that dangerous *laissez faire* policy followed by Protestant England, the sad results of which are seen so clearly to-day in the Dominion.

II. CHARACTER OF THIS POPULATION.

It is generally admitted that the French Canadians form a desirable portion of the immigrant population of the United States. History shows that the first colonists who came from France to lay the foundations of what became New France were not, as a rule, of the class which this country now receives from Europe and even from Canada. Several of these colonists were men of rank and learning. They were actuated by the highest motives, and they have left their impress on the French Canadian race.

The French Canadian is naturally intelligent and bright; he is of a genial disposition, gentlemanly, and polite. The religious sentiment is deeply rooted in his heart. He is social in his instincts, and like the old Gaulois is fond of hearing and communicating news. He is animated and sometimes says more by his gestures and attitudes than by his words.

French Canada, in spite of the defective system of education which Rome has imposed upon the people, has had, and has to-day, many enlightened men, who have distinguished themselves as novelists, poets, historians, jurists, and statesmen. Many of our French Canadian young men, who have had the moral courage to face the opposition of Rome in order to enter our high schools and Protestant universities, have taken the highest honors, carrying off prizes and medals. We say all this in order to help to remove a prejudice which exists in the mind of many of our American friends, and which leads them to imagine that this large foreign field, brought by God to their very doors, is unfit for intellectual, moral, and religious culture. Our experience has proved the contrary. Remove the French Canadian from the blighting influences by which Rome has surrounded him for more than three centuries, let him have the advantage of a good, liberal education, give him the gospel of Christ, and ere long you see the old Huguenot traits reappearing in him, and soon you have an American Christian citizen, ready to uphold your institutions, not necessarily because they are American, but because they rest on great principles which he approves. He thus becomes a happy, prosperous man and a source of strength to the nation.

III. RELIGION OF THIS POPULATION.

We are forced by facts to admit, notwithstanding what has just been said, that the vast majority of the French who come to New England are illiterate, superstitious, and far behind their noble ancestors. They belong to the Middle Ages rather than to our century. We admit this frankly, but with the same breath hasten to assign to this deplorable state of things its unmistakable cause. We charge Rome with being responsible for the state of backwardness and of ignorance which exists in Roman Catholic Quebec. Seeing that she has had absolute control in matters religious and educational; seeing that she has had the moulding of the destinies of this nation, we may say to her that her religious system, that her methods of education must be sadly defective to have produced such fruits. It manifestly becomes the duty of every American Christian who loves humanity, who loves his native land and his God, to uproot this system of error from the heart of the French and prevent it from establishing itself in New England.

Such a sentiment is termed uncharitable by a class of men who claim to have more breadth, more liberality, more charity, tact, and judgment than those who consider it a sacred duty to God and the nation to oppose a bold front to the encroachment of the Papacy in this republic.

But is it true that we are uncharitable, that we show signs of intellectual debility, when we charge Rome with being the mother of ignorance and superstition, and with many of the sins and immoralities which follow these? We French Canadians look back with regret over the sad pages of our history. We go back in thought to the cradle of our nation. We see our Huguenot fathers establishing their colonies, some of them under the direction of the noble Coligny, and we picture to ourselves the greatness to which New France would have attained had its destinies been shaped by our God-fearing Huguenot ancestors. But we also see persecuting Rome disbanding these Huguenot settlements, driving them back across the sea by royal edicts, in order that she might reign supreme. She is endowed with large sums of money for religious and educational pur-

poses, and large grants of territory are made her by the French government. In fine, she has everything she needs to make a people great, prosperous, and happy. Her circumstances are very different from those of the Pilgrims and Puritans who laid the foundation of this republic.

But what does the world behold after three centuries? New France has remained stationary, its inhabitants, on the whole, are abjectly ignorant, behind in everything, and groaning under the weight of the mediæval chains which Ultramontaniam has forged about her and so firmly riveted. We find that more than a million of Canadians have been compelled to cross the lines and ask a livelihood of the Puritan colony founded a hundred years later and now become a great Protestant nation. Why so striking a difference between New France and New England? The answer has been given already: Over the first, for more than three centuries, the dark night of Romish errors has reigned; over the latter the Sun of righteousness has shone. See to it, American Christians, that the bright rays of His countenance be not hid from you by the sinister clouds of selfishness, of moral cowardice, of love of wealth and political honors, and of that debilitated phase of Protestantism which fears to grapple with error. The strength of Romanism in any nation will always be commensurate with the weakness of its Protestantism.

IV. THE AIMS AND PLANS OF THE FRENCH CLERGY HERE.

Although the past of the French Canadian race concerns us in that it has left its impress on the thousands we are receiving from Canada, we are still more concerned about their plans, aims, and purposes as these are worked out by them among us in New England.

There is no possible trouble to be expected from the French Protestant portion of this population. For fifty years they have fought heroically in the midst of untold persecutions. They have been insulted, misrepresented, beaten, imprisoned. Their property has been destroyed, and in some cases they have shed their blood. Through all these trials the God of their fathers sustained them, so much so that they now number 40,000 in

America. If they thus suffered it was because they believed in the great principles of freedom, of truth, and progress on which the Constitution of the American nation is based, and which Rome has always trampled under foot. It is as natural for us French Protestants to fall in with your American civilization as it is for the eagle to soar above the clouds.

The French Roman Catholic occupies a totally different position. He is a man of days gone by. He belongs to that period of the world's history when emperors were compelled to place their necks under the feet of the Pope. Ultramontanism is his creed. The Pope is his sovereign in things spiritual, and that means in politics and in everything else.

Should this concern us? Has not a man the right of throwing himself abjectly under the Pope's feet if he choose? Yes, if in so doing he does not interfere with my rights, if he does not destroy that which I most prize. How does the matter affect New England? In the case of the French it works thus:—

The clergy have succeeded in identifying the French Canadian nationality with Romanism. To be a good French Canadian one must be a good Papist. To preserve your religion is to preserve your nationality. Now, says the priest, if you will remain faithful to Rome and to the teachings it has always given you in Canada, if you will be guided by us, your religion will preserve your nationality, and in time we will be so strong that we will control New England, if not alone, by making an alliance with Irish Catholics. Just as Protestant and English Canada is at our bidding to-day, so shall New England be.

This, therefore, is the aim of the clergy: to keep the French as a separate race here, to perpetuate among them the customs, manners, methods of education, traditions, and religious beliefs of Quebec, the results of which have been a curse to the nation, and in time change New England into a New France. Bishop Laffèche, of Three Rivers, Quebec, predicts that the American Republic will be divided into several independent States, and that New England will be annexed to Quebec. He sees the hand of Providence in the large immigration of French to these States, and foresees the drawing together of the French Canadian element in New England and Quebec. The picture, as

drawn by this prelate, is an interesting one, as it gives an idea of the plans of Rome. With such aims in view the clergy are hard at work making use of the following agencies to attain their ends : —

1. The church, in many instances built with Protestant money, and in which the old-fashioned doctrine is preached : There is no religion outside of Romanism. There is no salvation in any other church.

2. The parochial school, taught by French Canadian nuns ; schools in which no English, or as little as possible, is heard, and in which the old prejudices of mediævalism, which still prevail in Quebec, are inculcated.

3. The press, absolutely controlled by the clergy. With few exceptions the French papers advocate the views of the Ultramontane school. It is painful to say that in the majority of cases the editors do not believe in what they write. It would be useless to attempt to publish a paper which the priests would not approve. It would be boycotted, and its sure death would follow. Necessity is laid upon these journalists to voice the sentiments of the French clergy. American institutions are misrepresented and maligned, and Protestantism is dragged in the mud.

4. The national conventions, composed of French Canadians exclusively, and from which French Protestants are excluded. We were present at the Nashua convention last year. There were eighty priests there, and they controlled every movement. Such mottoes as these were exhibited : “ Our tongue, our nationality, and our religion.” “ Before everything else let us remain French.”

5. Finally, the priests have understood that numerical strength does not mean much without the power to vote. They have therefore inaugurated a naturalization campaign, and every year thousands of Canadians are made voters, which does not mean that they become true American citizens. If we here remember what was said above concerning the strength and the natural increase of the people as compared with that of Americans, it becomes quite clear that Romanism will control New England soon unless the French and Irish can be converted to evangel-

ical truth. They will never be made loyal citizens otherwise. It is impossible for an honest, consistent Romanist to be a loyal American citizen.

A great moral battle is thus forced upon New England, and it centres around the school. Rome cannot develop, she cannot even hold her own, while standing side by side with free institutions. You gladly offer her the same opportunities, the same advantages, as other churches enjoy. She cannot be satisfied with these. What is strength, growth, and life to us, is weakness, decay, and death to her. To be or not to be, that is the question with her, and so should it be with us. She must have her own schools, where Ultramontaniam shall be taught. The latter and true Americanism are at war. The French parochial school is therefore a constant menace to the nation. We object to it, first, because it prevents the pupil from receiving an education that would set him free and permit him to rise to a higher plane, and thus fit him to become an enlightened citizen. We oppose it, in the second place, because it teaches the child principles that make of him a natural enemy of this nation, little less than a rebel.

So soon as one touches this question the cry is raised: the parent has a right to educate his child religiously. We do not question this. No one as much as dreams of taking that prerogative from him. On the other hand, the state has rights that Rome should not be allowed to invade. The state must protect itself. It has duties also. It must see to it that its future citizens are not misguided by an avaricious and self-seeking clergy and made unwittingly to work their own destruction intellectually and morally as well as that of the nation. The children now being educated will be citizens in the near future. If they have received an imperfect education, if they have been taught to mistrust American institutions, if they have been made to believe that the latter are at war with God, it follows that the Catholic child, now become a citizen, will oppose your American principles. A French Canadian member of the Massachusetts legislature did not hesitate to say at the French Canadian Convention, held at Spencer, in August, that he hated the American civilization.

Nothing is gained by delay. The Roman Catholic vote is increasing every day. The demands of the Ultramontane party are bolder every year. So soon as they are strong enough the demand for the separation of the school fund will be pressed, and then New England will have the same trouble as Ontario. At all the conventions of French Canadians held during the summer, it was voted to leave no stone unturned to plant parochial schools everywhere, to teach French and speak it, and thus prevent this nationality from becoming American. Yet, with that provoking inconsistency so natural to Jesuitism, these same conventions declare they are loyal to the land of their adoption.

V. MEANS TO REACH THIS POPULATION.

The French Canadian needs, above all things, that of which Rome has deprived him for generations: the word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the truth as taught in the Scriptures. To those acquainted with Romish principles and theology, such a statement seems trite. And yet, my stay of five years in New England has more than convinced me that thousands of ministers and Christian men and women here do not believe that the French Romanist is deprived of God's word and of its saving truths. They imagine they exemplify the character of Christ by remaining silent in reference to the grossest forms of error, by tacitly encouraging phases of religious belief which are idolatrous to the core, which well-nigh destroy religious life, and produce fruits such as are found in Canada, Spain, Italy, France, and Mexico. Hence they do not feel called upon to convert the millions of Romanists who surround them. They have no mission to these men. Where would the world be to-day if Martin Luther, John Calvin, John Knox, and other reformers had held such language? We need just such reformers to-day.

Others again find it very convenient to give a few thousands of dollars to the American Board to send the gospel to the papal lands of Europe; they are quite prepared to convert the Spaniards and the French. But the papal homes of New England, the baneful influence of which is already so strongly felt,

do not need to be enlightened by the rays of the Sun of righteousness. We do not take upon ourselves to say whether this policy is due to want of thought or to moral cowardice.

There is another strong reason why the gospel should at once be given to the French Canadians. Thousands of them, whilst remaining Romanists in name, have lost all faith in the system and are drifting rapidly into the ranks of infidelity and anarchy. From the tyranny and dogmatism of Romanism, France rushed madly into blind infidelity. Italy is doing the same, and history will continue repeating itself. Leave the Roman Catholic masses of this country to Rome's tender mercies, in matters political, educational, and religious, and she will rule them with a rod of iron for some years, and through their votes obtain from weak-kneed politicians a great deal of mischievous legislation, as the Province of Quebec is doing, and then these down-trodden masses from whom true religion is withheld will rise with indignation and destroy everything that savors of religion, morality, and law. We have had abundant proof of this already in the labor troubles of the West, coming as they do from men who once were under Rome's control.

The French Canadians are yet submissive. They are open to good influences. They are eager to receive the gospel when they hear it. From all parts of New England calls come to us from groups of our countrymen: "Send us a missionary to teach us the gospel." The field is ripe for just such a work as that of the McAll Mission in France. The Massachusetts Home Missionary Society has five regular churches with bilingual pastors over them. It has several missions, and altogether twelve missionaries in the field. The Baptist Church has a number of missionaries at work, so has the Methodist Church. And yet the work is hardly begun. Men properly qualified, men acquainted with the French language and with French character, and yet well versed in English, accustomed to and in sympathy with American modes of thought, scores of workers thus qualified are needed, and but few can be found, because but few exist. They must be educated. Special needs demand special training, special methods of work. To insist upon doing missionary work in New England to-day only as it was done fifty years ago, would be short-sighted policy.

In addition to missions and churches where the gospel is preached and taught in both languages, we need a press to distribute among these French masses a wholesome literature, tracts, and pamphlets, bearing upon questions of the day, and placing before the people, in a striking way, the contrast between Protestant principles and the grand results they have produced, and Romish teachings and their baneful effects. We need a good semi-weekly paper, partly English and partly French, having as one of its features the refutation of those misleading statements against Protestantism and American institutions, which, as a rule, constitute the editorials of our French Roman Catholic papers. Such a paper, well edited, would do incalculable good. The French Evangelical Publishing Society has lately been incorporated for these ends. Its constitution provides that every cent it receives over and above legitimate expenses shall be used for missionary purposes. An agent is at work trying to raise \$5,000. The directors are waiting for this money to begin operations.

As has already been said, for all these departments of work men especially qualified and filled with the spirit of Christ are required, and they must be acquainted with the French language. The logical conclusion is that we need a French American college, undenominational in its character; a college with its preparatory course leading up to the regular college course, the main object of the preparatory course being to give to the youth, who in days to come will be our pastors and leaders in various phases of missionary and educational work, that religious training absolutely wanting in the Catholic and indifferent homes from which the young men are drawn, and which must necessarily be but imperfect for some time to come in our new-born French Protestant homes.

Such a college has been called into existence. For four years it has struggled preparing for its first regular college year. The French Protestant College of Springfield, Mass., opens its doors to a large and ever-increasing class of French Canadian young men, who, dissatisfied with the imperfect education Rome has given them and with its dogmas, are eagerly looking for something better. Their parents cannot or will not help them. A

large number are now knocking for admission but cannot pay their own way. Unless a Christian institution like this one can offer them a college education at a very moderate cost, they will remove themselves from all educational and religious influences, and becoming lost to God and his church, will prove a source of trouble to the nation. Several young men who came to this institution not knowing what they believed, have become earnest Christians and are preparing for Christian work among their countrymen. One of them has been at work all summer. For want of room and funds more than a score have been turned away these last four years.

A new building has just been completed; it will accommodate about seventy students and there is need of as many annual scholarships of \$75 to help these young men. There is probably no educational institution in New England more needed. It is indispensable to the right solution of the problem discussed in this article. It has no funds, however, to do its work. By this we do not mean that it is not rich, but precisely what we say. Faith, prayer, and sacrifices have sustained it so far. Its founders and promoters are earnestly looking for \$100,000, with which sum they could place the institution on somewhat of a working basis.

We are satisfied that what is needed to-day in this and kindred matters is information of the right kind. Let the Christian men and women of the Puritan States become acquainted with the changed and changing state of things around them. Let wise and judicious methods of work be proposed to them to bring our multitudes of foreigners into sympathy with a civilization which they will love when they know and understand it, and the Christian philanthropy of New England will be equal to the demands, privileges, and opportunities of these closing years of our century.

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INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN MISSIONS.

THE whole civilized world is now turning its attention to the question of industrial education. It is compelled to do so because industries have undergone a revolution. They are no longer handicrafts. They are machine crafts. Their motive force comes in a far smaller degree than formerly from human or animal muscle. It is derived, in a constantly increasing ratio, from steam, wind, water, and electricity. The labor of construction and oversight, however, constantly increases. Steam power prepares most of the materials for a wooden building, but human hands must put them together. A better education of the eye and hand, more precision, more taste and judgment in combinations, are required in the workman now than formerly. Industries are changed by an invention, but the workman is not so changed. He must go through a process to fit him for a new employment.

These difficulties of industries press upon England more than upon any other country, and her history with regard to them should be profitable to all both as a guide and a warning.

England, by developing mechanical industries and foreign commerce and neglecting the home market and agriculture, has become top-heavy. In the waves of international conflicts in commerce she rolls and plunges like her Great Eastern, now being broken up. She has more mechanics than she can find work for. She wants to do the weaving and spinning and forging for the world. She will do anything, good or bad, atrocious or benevolent, to enlarge her foreign market. But, as other nations like to have a market and industries of their own, her success is never equal to her desires or even to her necessities. An ever-increasing mass of dark, filthy, degraded, hopeless, unemployed humanity spoils the landscape of England's future.

She exports to us, until now at length our good-will shows

signs of exhaustion, many thousands and tens of thousands of "assisted emigrants," terms which really mean "paupers, with a sad mixture of lunatics and criminals." They are at best discouraged, despairing people. Poverty and beer have taken hope and manhood out of them. They are worthless and injurious at home. England may well wish to get rid of them, but we are not anxious to receive them. We wish for no more paupers, lunatics, and criminals than we can make ourselves.

The chief difficulty in these cases, and it is precisely the difficulty we meet everywhere, is their incompetency to labor. An English writer finds among the unemployed in London physical inability, moral inability, and want of training in youth as the obstacles to every reform effort. In East London, out of a population of 908,000, 91,000 have no certain employment, no trade, no pursuit, but live by chance, in squalor, wretchedness, and vice. South London is becoming like it, and North London is following suit.

And yet in Essex, a county lying alongside of the Thames, famed in former years for wheat, barley, oats, hops, and vegetables, the land is going out of cultivation. Good farming land can be purchased there for less than in the Champlain valley in Vermont. The Right Hon. the Earl of Meath, in the December number of the "Nineteenth Century," affirms that land in Essex sells at £10 to £11 the acre. You cannot buy first-class farming land in Middlebury, a country town of Vermont, at that price. Now, there are more than 200,000 persons in the immediate vicinity of that land whose adult population, without any employment, live the most degraded life that human beings can live.

Just fifteen years ago the Cobden club sounded the alarm that more than four millions of acres of land in England had gone out of tillage. It has been recently asserted that the amount is now eleven millions. This seems incredible. Liverpool and Glasgow, like London, are burdened with the unemployed. England has twelve great colonies, to say nothing of the United States, and she can overstock them all with pauper laborers.

Now, what remedy does she propose for the future? It is in-

dustrial education. She has unemployed millions in England, Ireland, and Scotland, who have had none of that early training of the physical, moral, and mental faculties that fit a man to conquer in the struggle for existence. If all the unemployed men and youth had been suitably trained and nurtured, the millions of untilled acres would now be furnishing themselves and their families a comfortable subsistence. The ragged schools of England and Scotland have failed of accomplishing what was hoped from them on account of the almost uniformly pallid hunger of the poor children. The noble Earl of Shaftesbury once entered one of the London ragged schools in cold winter weather and was dismayed at the general look of misery upon so many youthful faces. Stooping to a child, he said, "What is the matter with you, my little dear?" "I'ze cold and I'ze hungry." "And what did you have for breakfast?" "Morning had no breakfast." Receiving similar replies from others, he was so affected he went into a side room and burst into weeping. He said to the teacher, "Is this always so?" "Always, my lord." The Earl gave a bowl of hot soup to the children of that school every day through the winter, and it became cheerful and happy and prosperous. But what of the children of the two or three hundred thousand in London who never have enough? The Earl of Shaftesbury could feed four hundred through the winter; there were not Earls of Shaftesbury enough to feed forty thousand.

The state must feed and educate them in some way so that they may become laborers. If England has allowed her millions of acres to go out of tillage into pasturage, it is not because she has not laborers enough to cultivate them, but because her laborers are degraded below the level of their task. They have neither the physical nor mental capacity which is needed to change those millions of acres into fruitful fields. Another great obstacle is the moral incapacity which is so often engendered by extreme poverty, the uncertain modes of life, and the constant companionship of every species of vileness. Those who fall from a better condition do not long resist the degrading influences. The Earl of Shaftesbury devoted his whole life to this problem, from youth to old age, through evil

report and good report, his honors, his fortune, his taste, he gave up all, hoping to compass this dark problem of poverty and misery and vice.

The most direct and hopeful movement in England for the alleviation of poverty is the establishment of industrial schools by the government. Our school boards and private charities are following on the same line. Peter Cooper gave the first example on a large scale of industrial education in Cooper Institute. Mr. Pratt, the "Standard Oil" millionaire, has established a magnificent industrial institution in Brooklyn, N. Y., and many schools and colleges are introducing more or less of an industrial element into education. It is a great movement looking towards a better future if it shall be wisely followed up.

Industrial education is to be looked at from three points of view.

First, simply as education, as a training of the powers for action, in the same light as we view mathematics or languages or philosophy. As such it can establish its right to a place in all education. It carries out to completion the training of the whole man. It gives him a wider dominion over nature. It gives him a consciousness of power he could not otherwise have. The eye, the ear, and the hand are essential instruments of our earthly life. They can be so trained, with no loss of time, that each shall make the other more efficient and a source of higher joy in the struggle for existence. Their skillful union reacts upon all the faculties and the whole man is better fitted for whatever sphere of life he may be called to. It is for this reason that men of wealth and official station often insist that their sons shall have a physical training in the common arts of civilized life. The gymnasium is excellent in its place, but is too narrow. It trains the muscles, it adds little to the sum of useful knowledge and is no special fitness for any industry.

The second point aimed at is self-support while pursuing a course of education. Some of our noblest men have fought their way through poverty up to eminence and usefulness by hard manual labor. Industrial schools are now giving large numbers of young men, and in fewer instances young women, the priceless opportunity for obtaining an education, which other-

wise would be impossible of attainment. Where circumstances favor an industrial annex that will afford self-support its value is very great. All other objects will be attained by the student as well as his own support.

The third point of view is that of general skill in the use of tools and a general knowledge of processes without attaining the mastery of any particular trade. This is the object which will be the more generally aimed at, the more easily attained, and therefore the most important.

In our present mode of life boys grow up without any mechanical skill. Formerly the farmer was the general mechanic of the farm. Every young man who went to college was more or less skilled in the use of tools. Now he is helpless if he has to drive a nail. He does not know the names even of the ordinary tools that are found on the farm or in the shop of the carpenter, mason, blacksmith, and plumber. If he is a theologian he leaves the seminary, we will say, to go into the great West. He will doubtless break into his work. If there are manhood and piety in him he will not fail because he cannot swing an axe or make a door. But he will work at immense disadvantage. He will at first be looked upon by rough worldly men as an "innocent," "a lamb." There is a better way. The boy can learn the use of tools, can become interested in many mechanical processes with positive advantage to him as an educated man. What a man learns theoretically he learns more perfectly by actually doing it. The mechanical processes give a student a closer acquaintance with nature, a conscious power over her forces, and a higher joy in the works of God. The carpenter's, wheelwright's, plumber's, blacksmith's, tinsmith's tools can all be brought into use without sacrificing an hour of needful study time.

At Hampton Institute, Virginia, into which General Armstrong has thrown so much energy and zeal, these and other industries are pursued, so that when opportunity offers the student will be able to use what he has learned best for his livelihood. In this way that noble institution is preparing hundreds of Indians and colored people to become intelligent and useful citizens. Their education has been advanced rather than retarded by their manual labor.

All that I have said above has an application to mission fields. In Mohammedan and heathen lands labor is always at a discount. It must be made respectable by being a part of education. It must be made useful by the introduction of better tools and better processes. The student is not necessarily made a mechanic by using tools. He becomes more of a man. He is a better teacher and guide for being able to reform old and stupid industries. Wherever Christianity enters a new civilization comes in. This cannot be prevented. The best way is to guide it to useful and practical results. This must be done in the education of youth. Every school cannot be an industrial school, but every mission school should have an industrial element in it. This is comparatively easy in girls' schools, for their industries are household industries, and they are managed without much expense. The lady teachers, moreover, are skilled in all the arts they need to teach.

In boys' schools and seminaries the question completely changes. The tools do not exist, and possibly the teachers are not competent. This is the difficulty that must be remedied. Where there is a will there is a way. No great expense is needed. In the old Bebek Seminary at Constantinople a number of industries were pursued without drawing upon the Board for a shilling. Forty-five and forty years ago the measure incurred no little obloquy. But it fought its way and vindicated itself. The students clothed themselves decently and paid all their incidental expenses by their own labor. They became better students, more manly, and better balanced. They have made better men in all departments of life. The doing of something for their own support is only one of the objects in view. It is sometimes a very important one, but what exalts the question into a fixed policy is the needs of the Christian community that is to be formed and reformed. Every living, growing community is based upon labor. That is the ordinance of God, and man cannot change it. It is often a great drawback upon a mission church that its industries are boycotted. Labor, however, is less exposed than trade, and it will always win its way. There was formerly great jealousy

lest worldly motives should enter and mar the spirituality of the work if industries should be established. But, on the other hand, men must live. Those who receive the truth must have some means of livelihood. They often sacrifice their means of gain. Or conscience compels them to abandon their old pursuits. The missionary cannot say to such sufferers, "It is no concern of ours how you get your living. We preach to you the truth for your salvation, and with that our duty ends." He must show a Christian sympathy. He must, so far as possible, help the poor and destitute to help themselves. To give aid without some corresponding labor in return, which shall be a fair equivalent, is to take the temper out of the springs of action. Elasticity and strength are gone. Christian character and self-respect are fatally weakened.

The sentiment of the Christian world on the subject of industrial training in missions is slowly changing. In 1861 or 1862 the Bebek Seminary of the American Board was removed by Doctor Anderson to Marsovan in order to make it more directly a theological institution. The plan upon which it was started was not a practicable one, and has developed into Anatolia College by the natural logic of things. The industries at Bebek were gravely questioned by many. The principal of the institution received very severe letters of condemnation, to which he generally replied, "Wait a few years and then pass judgment." The time had not then come for a public discussion. It was a good time for demonstration. The time has now fully come. Anatolia College at Marsovan, which is the old Bebek Seminary developed on the line of its original movement, now boldly appeals for aid to establish certain industries by which students shall be able to support themselves (*Laus Deo*). Three thousand dollars will enable thirty students to support themselves.

In the "Missionary Herald" for January, 1889, page 19, the Rev. C. C. Tracy writes as follows:—

Now why shall not this method of self-help be encouraged? Knowing, as we Americans do, that so large a proportion of our own most influential men in their youth did chores morning and evening to pay for their bread while going to school; knowing how many of

them gladly did menial work to pay college bills; how many hoed, mowed, or peddled in vacation to meet immediate necessities, how is it that our American friends do not more readily give countenance to plans for self-help in other lands? It is to us a phenomenal fact that most of our friends prefer, apparently, to help young men without work, than to help them by their work. Mistaken, and even dangerous, as this course is, it is, nevertheless, a favorite course with many.

We want this Self-Help Department in Anatolia College. It is not to teach trades; it is not to make money, for every such department must, in such a land as this, have more or less deficit every year. It is to make men. We feel like appealing to the common sense of our Christian people, and if common sense is not found in the land of the Pilgrims, surely it must be the most uncommon thing on this poor planet.

These are words of great weight and wisdom. The reference to a course "mistaken and even dangerous" is very true of the past. It is not so true of the present. The world is beginning to see that men must work if they would live; and to remove all obstruction to work is the truest, the most productive philanthropy.

Mr. Tracy urges two considerations, self-support and manliness of character. They naturally go together and in that order. He who supports himself by his own labor attains thereby a direct and palpable good. He becomes independent. He can pursue a course of life, of study, or of philanthropy if his labor leaves him a large share of his time at command.

And besides this, he knows himself to be more of a man. He may not reason upon it, but he instinctively feels it and acts upon it. He shows it in his whole life and bearing. "It is to make men," says Mr. Tracy, and he expresses compactly one great result of such training as he proposes in Anatolia College. I trust his appeal will bring, if it has not already brought, all the aid he needs. Money can hardly be devoted to a purpose more fruitful of good. But we must look farther ahead than to the individual who thus becomes a man. He is thus fitted to help make men of others. He will help correct a perverted public opinion. In all the Eastern world to live without labor is considered as the height of human felicity.

No one will work unless compelled by dire necessity. Ignorance always accompanies idleness. A lazy people is always and everywhere a stupid people. That man must live by the sweat of his brow is the law, whether it be a blessing or a curse. It can easily be made a blessing by heartily accepting and conforming one's life to it. Men thus educated are to be the pioneers to a mode of life from whence dark and grim poverty will be eliminated. Intelligence and industry will have the blessing of God conspicuously above ignorance and indolence in all lands and climes.

Such men are needed for Africa. Drummond's "Tropical Africa" opens to us vast regions where fertility of soil, variety of natural production, and strong heathen tribes, docile and willing to work and patient of labor, are calling for practical, well-equipped Christian teachers, who shall have the faculty of leadership and of organization, and who will be able to form self-supporting Christian communities. The slave trade of the Moslem Arabs, and the rum trade of Christian governments of Europe and America, are the two great foes to missions in Africa. One can hardly say which is the greater. The rum trade is the more atrocious, inasmuch as it destroys more lives and is the work of traitors to their own faith. The Moslems regard the slave trade as in support of their faith and in accordance with their law. When the public sentiment of the civilized world shall demand and secure the abolition of the rum traffic, the last day of the slave trade in Africa will have dawned. Rum and slavery are the smoke out of the bottomless pit by which the sun and the air are darkened. Africa will be the dark continent so long as thus overshadowed, but the light is breaking in and these twin enormities must disappear. Prophetic vision had a glimpse of this consummation and burst forth: "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God. Sing unto God, ye kingdoms of the earth. Sing praises unto the Lord."

CYRUS HAMLIN.

Lexington, Mass.

BOSTON HYMN.

NOON OF NOONS.

SUNG AT TREMONT TEMPLE,

AT THE 210TH BOSTON MONDAY LECTURE, MARCH 25, 1889.

1. GOD the sun, the dewdrops we,
Lighteth every sparkle He ;
Him we drink whose boundless light
Is Perfection Infinite.
2. In His sunbeams one are we,
Holy, holy, holy, He ;
Noon of noons is in His face,
Endless justice, endless grace.
3. He whose will the heaven rolls,
Upward leadeth contrite souls ;
To His chosen giveth He
Power the sons of God to be.
4. God in man will flash and blaze,
If the whole heart drinks His rays ;
In the drop is heaven begun,
If the whole drop drinks the sun.
5. Heaven's high noon hath never night ;
Sunbeams weave all robes of white ;
Evermore surrendered souls
God's love crowns with aureoles.
6. Saviour Matchless, King Divine,
Light and Lightning, make us Thine ;
As through crystal drops the sun,
Let Thy White Shafts through us run.

JOSEPH COOK.

BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES.

FOURTEENTH YEAR. SEASON OF 1889.

PRELUDE VIII.

SUNDAY AND THE SALOON AS RIVALS.

THE fourteenth year of the Boston Monday lectureship closed March 25, with an audience of the usual extraordinary size, quality, and enthusiasm. People were standing at several doors of the balconies. The Rev. Dr. A. J. Gordon of Boston presided, and the Rev. Dr. D. M. Mears of Worcester offered prayer. The hymn *Noon of Noons* was sung to the tune Martyn. Miss M. F. Cusack, the Nun of Kenmare, was introduced to the audience previous to the lecture and spoke briefly on Romanism. A large bouquet of flowers was presented to her by the American Loyal Woman's League. The Report for the year was presented by the Rev. Mr. Gray for the Executive Committee of the lectureship, and the Committee reelected. Short addresses were made by Hon. J. B. Grinnell of Iowa, and the Rev. W. F. Crafts of New York.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE SALOON IN POLITICS.

The citadel of lawlessness in the American Republic is the Sunday saloon. The tap root of Sabbath desecration is the tap room. All but five States of the American Republic have laws forbidding the opening of saloons on Sunday. It is therefore impossible for any ruling political party, Democrat, Republican, or Fusion, to say that it cannot execute the laws against Sunday saloons because there is no sentiment in the community against them. Most of our States have laws against selling liquor to minors and drunkards. We are told by belated reformers of various kinds, on the platform and in a few religious journals, that until public sentiment rises far higher than it has yet risen on the topic of the liquor traffic, it is impossible to execute anything like serious temperance legislation. The truth is that we need not only public sentiment but a political party behind it pledged to the execution of sound temperance

enactments. We shall never break up the whiskey rings until we have a political party that is not afraid of the whiskey rings. (Applause.) Until we destroy the alliance of politics with the saloons, it will be impossible, no matter how high public sentiment may rise in individual States, to secure anything like national deliverance from bondage to the dram shop. It will be difficult even in single States to do so. Every temperance hilt needs a temperance blade, and every temperance blade needs a temperance hilt. Only a political party entirely free from confederacy with the saloons can give to every temperance blade a hilt and to every temperance hilt a blade. (Applause.)

In the city of Cincinnati the saloons trample on the law. The Republican party, which is there in power, elected a mayor who resolved to keep his oath. The law permits the imprisonment of those who do not observe Sunday closing. There was a prospect some weeks or months ago that a number of liquor sellers would be imprisoned. The Republican leaders in the city of Cincinnati came together and whispered significantly to this mayor that he must not go too fast. The consequence has been that he has thrown his oath to the winds, and now Sunday liquor selling is almost as free in Cincinnati as Tuesday liquor selling, or Wednesday, or that of any other day of the week. You can see in Cincinnati a whole block filled with saloons, connected with dance houses and brothels in the rear, and with gambling dens above; and all this under Republican rule. (See *OUR DAY* for September, 1889, for an article on recent successful efforts to repress Sunday liquor selling in Cincinnati.)

The Republican party in Iowa and Kansas is vastly above this level. In Boston it is above it. By the aid of the Law and Order Leagues, and of a police appointed in part by the Governor of the State, Sunday liquor selling in this city has been greatly diminished. So has the selling of liquor to minors and drunkards. Under high license the liquor traffic acquires commercial respectability in great centres. This fact does more to corrupt the average temperance opinion of respectable people than most of us dream. Massachusetts as a whole is very torpid in the temperance reform. Brave souls are here, however, and great numbers of them. I most solemnly believe

that if you bring out a full vote you have a fighting chance on the 22d of April. (Loud applause.) But our cities are under the heel of the dram shop oligarchy. The land as a whole tramples on the laws against Sunday closing, from the Lakes to the Gulf, and from sea to sea.

NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF SUNDAY REFORM.

Sunday is a white angel now entering Africa, Asia, and the isles of the sea. That angel, Cincinnati, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans, and nearly every other great municipality in our republic is now stabbing in the back. Are we to stand still and allow such assassination? The field is the world for every great reform in our time. The Orient is imitating the Occident, and if we in our great cities allow Sunday to be trampled upon, we immensely impede the advance of great reforms at the ends of the earth. The cause of Sunday observance is not only of national but of international significance in our time, and must be such always hereafter.

What is Sunday worth to the individual? The State is made up of individuals, and if we can form a correct idea of what one day's rest in seven is worth to the single citizen, we may know something of what it is worth to generation after generation. The human physical machine cannot be kept in order without periodic rest. Herbert Spencer thinks that the greatest fault of Americans is over-work. A distinguished theologian of my acquaintance says that no American ever takes care of himself until he breaks down twice. Most Americans break down from working seven days in seven. It is the definite teaching of cool economic science that man and beast, and even iron and steel, can do more work while working six days in seven than they can while working every day. This is a great commercial fact of which we cannot lose sight without immense commercial loss.

It has been estimated by Mr. Crafts, our foremost specialist on Sabbath reform, who is soon to address you, that the Sundays of twenty-one years contain as much time for thought as the studying days of a college course. The Sundays of twenty-eight years certainly contain as much time for self-improvement as the four years of college study. Say that the college student

works ten hours a day, a very large estimate; say that he works 300 days a year, that is, 3,000 hours, so that he has 12,000 hours in his college course. Ten hours on each of the Sundays of twenty-eight years amount to 14,560 hours. The laboring man is weary on Sunday. Let him have fourteen hours on that day for rest. In every Sunday, therefore, there should be ten hours for reading and various forms of self-improvement. The priceless religious culture to be found in the best churches ought to occupy three of these hours regularly. Even a laboring man ought to account for seven other hours every Sunday. The Sundays of every seven years amount to a year. The Sundays of four times seven years amount to four years. Anybody, therefore, who makes a right use of Sundays has time for substantial self-education before he is forty. Let hardworking men and women, who say they have no chance to improve their minds and hearts, notice what Sunday leisure is worth to the individual.

It is not merely one portion of the soul that Sunday is meant to benefit. It is the entire range of the faculties, the intellect, the emotions, and most especially the conscience. Sunday is meant to call a halt and to lift up our thoughts to the citizenship that is on high. It is usually from the effect of Sunday thought that a man resolves, if he ever does resolve, to do his duty. The time taken to make that resolve may be but an instant, but it is the rudder of a life. Many lives under such guidance may become a rudder of a nation, and the nation of a whole world. Sunday brings that seriousness and conscientiousness which secures the divine indwelling in the individual soul, and that is life, that is success, that and that only, repeated in large populations, is civilization.

What Sunday is to the individual it is to the nation, an opportunity of rest, an opportunity of self-culture, an opportunity to acquire the spirit of righteousness. Let us have for the nation as well as for the individual pauses in which we can hear the still small voice. Our civilization without Sunday is like the lines of a telegraph system without the electricity. A right use of Sunday fills a nation with divine fire. Bare wires stretched under the canopy are an offense to high heaven unless filled

with that marvelous element which communicates messages ; and so civilization, without Sunday in it, is not torpid, merely ; it is a kind of blasphemy.

It is important to remember that the liquor saloon has the gambling dens and the brothels as allies in Sunday lawlessness. Most of the Sunday saloons are managed by men of foreign birth and training, so that the continental Sunday and the continental saloon lock hands. As Mr. Crafts has said, "the continental Sunday and the continental saloon are Siamese twins. Kill either of them, and the other must die. Intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, impurity, anarchy, and political corruption are sympathetic strands in a cable that will strangle American liberty and morality unless it is cut by the strong hand of the nation."

NATIONAL PETITION FOR A SUNDAY REST LAW.

We enact Sabbath laws in many of our States very easily, but interstate commerce interferes with their execution, and so our Sabbath reformers of broadest scope are now demanding national Sabbath legislation. In order to be effective in any State, Sabbath legislation must be in some sense national.

We have seen lately in Washington a petition of 10,000,000 names put before Congress asking for a national Sabbath rest law. New England is right on this subject, but I have heard complaint from specialists that far too small a proportion of these names came from this side of the Hudson. The inertness of Massachusetts is so unusual and unnatural that it is quoted as a serious sign of the times whenever any moral question is in debate before the nation at large. Massachusetts is like anthracite ; she is difficult to kindle, but when once kindled she does not easily go out. (Applause.)

Unnecessary Sunday work keeps more than a million of men in seven days' slavery in the United States. Senator Blair said recently before a congressional committee : —

I have been hungry when a boy. The first thing I can remember was being hungry. I know how the working-people feel. I have tugged along through the week and been tired out Saturday night, and I have been where I would have been compelled to work until the next

Monday morning if there had been no law against it. I would not have had any chance to get that twenty-four hours' rest if the Sunday law had not given it to me. It was a civil law under which I got it. The masses of the working-people in this country would never get that twenty-four hours' rest if there had not been a law of the land that gave it to us. The tired and hungry men, women, and children all over this country want a chance to lie down and rest for twenty-four hours out of the whole seven days. . . . Abolish the law of rest, take it away from the working-people, and leave corporations, and employers, and saloon-keepers, and everybody at perfect liberty to destroy that twenty-four hours of rest, and law-givers and law-makers will find out whether or not the people want it, and whether they want those law-makers.

The Constitution itself protects the President in an opportunity to rest on Sunday ; why should it not protect every man ? Congress adjourns over Sunday ; the President is allowed to except Sunday in the ten days which are allowed to him within which he may return a bill. In short, the fundamental law of the republic recognizes Sunday for its civil worth. Why should not the Blair Sunday rest law receive our hearty support ? It stands upon constitutional principles, well understood, thoroughly trustworthy, fully indorsed by the best legal experts.

Mr. Blair says all he wants to do in what he proposes concerning national Sabbath reform is to aid the States in executing their separate Sunday rest laws. Certain powers have been given the national government by the States, but, of course, those powers should not be exercised so as to prevent the success of the individual States in exercising the powers which they have retained. But many States find it impossible to secure a full enforcement of their Sunday rest laws, because interstate commerce thunders across the land and breaks up individual State reforms. We want several improvements in the conduct of the mail service, and many in that of interstate commerce.

The carelessness of church-members has started a large amount of Sunday travel. We are told by many railway experts that it does not pay to run Sunday trains, but that the Christian public appears to expect Sunday trains to be run, es-

pecially into large cities from the suburbs. This carelessness of church-members in asking that trains be run between somewhat distant suburbs and municipal centres has been emphasized by the Bureau of Statistics of Massachusetts, and pointed out by Carroll Wright himself, one of the coolest of statisticians, as the chief initiating cause of the running of trains into this city. Christians going in this style into town on Sunday morning give excuse to the excursionists who, by the use of special trains, flood your shores in the summer months on Sundays. There is an immense and almost unconfessed responsibility resting on the Christian church in this matter.

What I suppose to be the golden mean is the American Sunday, half way between the Puritan Sunday and the continental Sunday. The continental workingmen are asking for something far less lax than their present arrangements. More than half the factories in Germany keep open on Sunday. More than seventy-five per cent. of the people employed in transportation in Germany work seven days every week. The overburdened toiling millions of Europe are begging for deliverance from seven days' slavery. Americans are expected to set at least as good an example as Canada does. Toronto starts no train on Sunday. She lets American trains rush through her stations, but her own passenger trains are under very careful regulations. Toronto goes farther on several lines of Sabbath reform than any American city, and one result is that by securing Sunday closing she abolishes a quarter of the liquor traffic.

Sunday in the liquor traffic is financially the most profitable of all the days of the week. Whenever you close saloons on Sunday you break up about one quarter, some would say two thirds, of the liquor traffic as a whole. In Scotland the closing of the saloons on Sunday reduced the number of arrests to one eighth of their former volume. In Ireland an effect of the most marked kind was brought about by similar Sunday closing. The city prosecutor of Cincinnati says that a third of the arrests for drunkenness during the whole week are made on Sundays in that city. Toronto, Canada in general, by Sunday closing has reduced the amount of liquors consumed per head in her whole population to two and three quarters gallons. You

consume thirteen gallons per head, and the inhabitants of the British Islands over forty gallons per head. We have some journals that cannot adopt the principle of prohibition for the whole week, but they do adopt it for Sunday. Now, let us unite our forces and ask for Sunday prohibition, and by and by we may obtain Monday prohibition, and Tuesday prohibition, and prohibition the whole week through.

Until we spread conscientiousness through the slums, our great cities will be governed by the slums. Unless the churches carry Christianity to the masses, there is no escape from Sunday lawlessness. Let us support the Law and Order League which sprang up in this city, and like a banyan tree now covers the continent, and has dropped its daughter boughs into every State in the Union. I would have Christian Law and Order Leagues in the churches, after the fashion of some of the churches in the Mississippi valley. Bondage to bummers is the broad road to barbarism. Why should not all voters who are church-members imitate those people in Cincinnati who have lately formed a league, now, I believe, of 2,500 members, resolved to vote for no man who does not before his election give the most serious kind of a pledge that, if elected, he will carry out the law on the statute books on the subject of temperance? (Applause.) That is the kind of a league I would have formed in every church on this continent. There is no political party that dares stand up against such a movement as that. The newspaper press dare not stand up against it. Let us thank God for good newspapers, and pray God to give us fewer poor ones. (Laughter and applause.) When the church does its whole duty the press will do its duty. Give me the parlor, give me the platform, give me the pulpit, all three in a right attitude concerning Sunday and the saloon, and I will secure the correct action of the press, of the police, and even of politics. (Applause.)

LECTURE VIII.

REVERSES AND RESOURCES OF ROMANISM.

POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AMONG CATHOLICS.

ON the day, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, when the blasphemous edict proclaiming the infallibility of the Pope was issued, July 18, 1870, a thunder-storm of unusual duration and intensity hung above the dome of St. Peter's. When at last the Pope came forward and read the dogma which made him infallible, he was obliged to call for the light of a candle in order to enable him to pass intelligently through the paragraphs. As the dogma was voted for, every window was filled with a flash of lightning, and some of the bolts appeared ready to lick up the dome of St. Peter's. The lurid gleams revealed dismally the whole interior of the vast temple. The reverberations extended over the entire region from the Apennines to the Sea. This display of the elements was interpreted by Catholics as indicating divine displeasure with Gallicanism and Liberal Catholicism, but by many Protestants as denoting such displeasure against the dogma of infallibility. Providence, however, is its own interpreter. What has followed since the decree of 1870? On the very day after the dogma of infallibility was issued, France declared war against Germany, withdrew her soldiers from Rome, and so the Papal States fell a prey to the Reform party among Italian politicians and soldiers. (Applause.) Italy became a monarchy under a man who had been excommunicated by the Pope, and who immediately made Rome his capital, and put the Pope in what that supreme Pontiff himself calls a prison in the Vatican. Following this declaration of war against Germany, France, which had been the supporter of the Papacy and ally of the court of Rome, ceased to be an empire, passed out of history as a monarchy, and was succeeded by a republic in which the spirit of Ultramontanism

is no longer predominant in politics, and is likely to be less and less influential as the years progress. But this was not the greatest of the events closely succeeding that decree. From the battle-fields of the war between Germany and France rose Prussia and the German empire, and Protestantism took the lead in the politics of Europe. (Applause.)

"I look out into the world," Mr. Gladstone says ("Vaticanism," Am. ed., p. 85), "and I find that now, and in great part since the Vatican decrees, the Church of Rome, through the court of Rome and its Head the Pope, is in direct feud with Portugal, with Spain, with Germany, with Switzerland, with Austria, with Russia, with Brazil, and with most of South America; in short, with the far larger part of Christendom. The particulars may be found in, nay, they almost fill, the speeches, letters, and allocutions of the Pope himself. So notorious are the facts that, according to Archbishop Manning, they are due to a conspiracy of the governments. He might as reasonably say they were due to the Council of the Amphictyons."

The reverses of Romanism since the Vatican Council of 1870 have been due largely to the growth among Catholic populations of the spirit of political independence. It is a significant sign of the times that much of that feeling is abroad which dictated Daniel O'Connell's famous saying: "I am willing to take my religion from Rome, but my politics I should sooner think of taking from Stamboul." Italy led the way in breaking the yoke of political bondage to the Vatican, France followed. Mexico, Chili, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic have set in Spanish America the fashion of self-government in politics. Servile obedience to the Pope has been rudely strained in Ireland itself. The Pope's famous rescript requiring Irish tenants to give up certain favorite methods of resistance to the demands of their landlords has been treated with practical contempt in Ireland by both priests and people. The purpose of the Pope to interfere in Ireland on behalf of England rouses a political resentment that is a cheerful omen of reform. The infallible ruler in the Vatican has changed his policy. It is now announced on his authority that no political requirements will be made by him in Ireland without due consultation with the bishops of that country itself and also with those of America

and Australia. This significant concession strengthens the hope of some excessively sanguine people that the Catholic Church is to be brought gradually to allow, at least in politics, a measure of self-rule to its various and vast constituencies. Great losses to the Catholic faith occur in recently immigrated populations in the United States. The whole tone of modern politics, education, and social life is inimical to the mediæval pretensions of the clerical party. The spirit of the age dooms unmixed Vaticanism to defeat. Nevertheless, the Romish hierarchy and especially its Jesuit black militia remain undismayed.

FIVE CHIEF RESOURCES OF ROMANISM.

The great resources of the Romish Church, or the five fingers of that giant hand with which she clasps the world, are —

1. The unity of the hierarchy, crowned by the alleged infallibility of the Pope in all matters of faith and morals, which practically include education and politics.

2. The power of the purse, or the control of the finances of the church, laymen having no part in disposing of its revenues.

3. The power of the sword, or the assumed superiority of the ecclesiastical to the civil authority and the right of the former when in power to employ force against the latter.

4. The power of the school, educating whole populations in the spirit of subserviency to the Pope, and opening universities in which a few are trained to lead the many.

5. The power of the confessional, refusing absolution to all who disobey the church in matters of politics, no less than in those of faith and morals, and exercising a system of espionage and spiritual terrorism, not only in the church and the household, but also at the polls.

Leo XIII. no doubt takes himself seriously. He solemnly accepts his position as head of the church and endeavors to administer wisely his spiritual kingdom. Among the devoutest of the hierarchy are many who are animated by lofty religious motives. But the mechanism of the Romish Church has many wheels in it that are not driven by celestial forces. The Catholic hierarchy is such a masterpiece of ecclesiastical organization

that some of its chief eulogists regard its arrangements as partially inspired from on high. Not a few particulars in it, such as the Inquisition, celibacy, the confessional, and the doctrine of the infallibility of the Pope, are naturally capable of leading to most dangerous abuses. The unity and greed of the hierarchy, and its practical irresponsibility except to itself, are an immense temptation to any bad men found in its ranks. Great power, wealth, luxury, and license attend certain positions within reach of ambitious ecclesiastics. Love of authority, of gain, of display, and even of indulgence in the common vices of humanity, have notoriously actuated many secret proceedings of rival religious orders in ages past and actuate many yet.

THE FUTURE OF JESUIT ACTIVITY.

There is money in the Romish machine. Success for Jesuitism means great power and wealth for many Jesuit bodies. Several of the Catholic religious orders have immense financial resources. In Ecuador to-day one fourth of all the property belongs to the bishop and seventy-five per cent. of the children born are illegitimate. A combination of celestial and infernal forces thus makes the Romish machine powerful and dangerous. The military unity and wide diffusion of the Romish hierarchy secure to it not only vast national, but also most formidable international influence. The Jesuit has no nation, no family, no home, except his own order. Patriotism for him is an unmeaning word. Its place is taken by loyalty to an ecclesiastical machine. He is the soldier of a secret society. His supreme allegiance is to the head of his order; his supreme purpose, its advancement in wealth and power.

The chief field of Jesuit activity hereafter will not be the Latin, but the English-speaking, races. The centre of the civilized world is no longer at Rome. It is gravely proposed now by a few Catholic writers that the Pope should take up his residence either in England or America. The Tiber is less important in the mass of modern nations than the Thames or the Mississippi. We may expect that wherever their prey is to be found in the greatest abundance, there the eagles will be gathered together. As in a forest conflagration the wild beasts and

creeping things are driven out of the ravaged districts and overpopulate neighboring quarters; so the Jesuits, driven out of most of the nations of Europe, are now concentrating their activities on the United States. It is said that half the Jesuits of the world are now in our republic. The chief opportunities of Jesuitism will determine the place and time of its chief activities. The future of the English-speaking races is beyond question a more tempting field for Jesuit intrigue than that of the Latin races.

It is certain also that the interference of the Jesuits with free nations will be in the fields of education, journalism, and party politics, rather than in those of camps and courts. The Jesuit becomes all things to all men. He changes his methods of persuasion as the world changes, but never alters his central principles. He is studying party politics now, and not the best forms of court intrigue. He is pushing himself secretly into journalism. He is founding parochial schools by thousands and establishing universities of commanding financial endowments. He is teaching vast Catholic populations to act as a unit at the polls. He intimidates politicians and overawes senates by his weight in the scales of universal suffrage.

A recent letter to Lord Randolph Churchill, from Archbishop Lynch of Toronto, affirmed that the Jesuits hold the balance of power in the Canadian Dominion, and settle the succession of premiers at Ottawa; and also that they hold the balance of power in the American republic, and very soon will settle the succession of Presidents. It is important that you should be convinced that threats like these do not seem to Roman Catholics idle words. "It is your task, holy fathers," said Cardinal Manning to a recent convocation of Romish prelates in London, "to bend and to break the will of an imperial race."

REMEDIES FOR JESUIT AGGRESSION.

My central contention is that in conflicts with Jesuit aggression, even America must condescend to take initial instruction from the experience of other nations in similar conflicts.

The power of the parochial school and of the confessional is so vast in securing the allegiance of Romish populations to

the hierarchy that when Catholic states shake off the temporal power of the Pope the earliest measures taken are usually the expulsion of Jesuits from all positions in the schools and a requirement that the confessional shall be public. Marriages, too, are put under the control of the civil law, and the accumulation of untaxed property by secret religious orders is forbidden. These are among the great measures which have recently been taken in the leading states of Spanish America. The full equivalents of these measures will yet become necessary in Anglo-Saxon America. They have again and again been found indispensable to the well-being of the foremost countries of Europe. It has been only by the breaking up of parochial schools under Jesuit instruction and by destroying the spiritual terrorism of the confessional that liberal Catholics in South American republics have been able to protect themselves from papal imperialism and the ascendancy of the clerical party at the polls.

It must be granted to Catholics of the liberal school, that before the decrees of 1870 there was much reason for affirming, as their representatives in Great Britain often did, that nothing in their relations to the Vatican vitiated their civil allegiance. I do not admit that even then there was sufficient reason for trusting such assurances as those, but there was much to make them plausible. Since the decrees of 1870, however, as has been shown over and over to the satisfaction of candid men, there has been no ground for trusting the assertions of such minor Catholic authorities as assume that civil allegiance is not vitiated by the papal declarations of recent date. Such assertions are now not even plausible. They mislead no one in educated circles. Indeed, in such circles these assertions now are not often made. The "Catholic Review" drops its mask and says plainly: "We would be first Catholics and afterwards citizens." The 23d, 24th, 42d, 55th, and 77th paragraphs of the famous Syllabus, changed from their negative to an exactly equivalent affirmative form, contain these astounding assertions:—

23. The Roman Pontiffs and œcumenical councils have not exceeded the limits of their power. They have not usurped the rights of princes. They have not committed errors in defining matters of faith and morals.

24. The church has the power of availing herself of force or any direct or indirect temporal power.

42. In the case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the civil law ought not to prevail.

55. The state ought not to be separated from the church and the church from the state.

77. In the present day it is yet expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship.

It is openly avowed by Roman Catholic writers that the purpose of the hierarchy is to introduce Romish canon law into the United States. (See Smith's "Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore.") It is declared that the church is absolutely supreme and the state only relatively supreme; and that the Pope can dispense with any law. (See Thomson's "The Papacy and the Civil Power," p. 609.) Dr. G. F. Von Schulte, professor of canonical law at Prague, teaches that, according to its present standards, "the Pope has the right to annul state laws, treaties, and constitutions and to absolve from obedience thereto as soon as they seem detrimental to the rights of the church or those of the clergy." The Pope, according to both the Syllabus and canon law, has the right "to absolve from oaths and obedience to the persons and the laws of the princes whom he excommunicates." Mr. Gladstone has shown that the power of deposing princes and annulling laws has been repeatedly exercised by the Pope in very recent years. (See "Rome and the Newest Fashions in Religion," "Vaticanism," p. 63.) In Sardinia, in New Granada, and in Mexico laws protecting the state from the aggressions of the clerical orders have since 1850 been declared null and void by the Pope.

In view, then, of both the reverses and resources of Romanism, what practical duty lies upon American citizens in relation to the clerical party; and what are the great leading facts which point out that duty?

1. The American constitution and the principles of the papal Syllabus and of Romish canon law agree as well as fire and water. The notorious papal claims of to-day are wholly irreconcilable with American civil and religious liberty.

2. But the principles of the papal Syllabus and of the canon law are incontestably the established principles of the Roman Catholic clerical party. Since the Vatican Council, which declared the Pope infallible who issued this Syllabus, these principles are to be considered as the inflexible and irreformable creed of Roman Catholics.

3. If the Syllabus is to be carried out the American common-school system is to be destroyed, Catholicism made a state religion, no other faith tolerated, and all laws and oaths unsatisfactory to the Vatican declared null and void.

4. It is not to be supposed that the Roman Catholic laity intelligently indorse these principles and intend to act up to them, but the laity has almost no power in the Romish Church and is diligently instructed in the spirit of subservience to a hierarchy which obeys the Pope.

5. It is notorious that the clerical party and the Jesuits indorse the Syllabus in every part, and intend, as opportunity offers, to act up to it.

6. So far as appears, they are so acting now and have been so acting for a long period, and no change in their policy is to be expected. They are under oath to advance this policy.

7. On account of the political mischievousness of the inculcations of the Syllabus, the Jesuits, or clerical party, or both, have been deprived of political power in nearly every leading Protestant nation of the world and by many nominally Catholic nations.

8. On the same account, the Jesuits, as a teaching body, have been expelled from nearly every modern civilized nation, except Belgium and the United States.

9. The activities of the Jesuit clerical party in the United States, so far as the principles of the Syllabus are followed in full, tend beyond question to exalt the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical law above the American civil law and to place the Pope in a position of higher authority for Catholics than the President or the nation.

10. The instruction given in all private schools should be subjected to a reasonable degree of public inspection, but there is special reason for making this inspection thorough in all schools

governed by the clerical party which owes obedience to the principles of the Syllabus.

11. It is, or ought to be, clear to all thoughtful men, that there is needed in the national constitution an amendment such as the American Senate has once recommended by a great majority, providing that no state shall establish a state church and that there shall be no sectarian use of public funds by any city or state or by the nation.

12. In view of all the facts in the case, parochial schools under Romish control can be said to exist at present in the republic only on tolerance and during good behavior.

13. It may easily become necessary here, as it did in Mexico, Chili, and the Argentine Republic, to suppress Roman Catholic parochial schools and to expel Jesuits from positions of influence in education and politics. (Applause.)

A FREE SCHOOL, A FREE CHURCH, AND A FREE STATE.

It is exceedingly significant that there is now no one topic of greater interest to the awakened portion of the American people than papal aggression on this continent. (Applause.) It is the high honor of Boston, in her election in December, 1888, to have struck the key-note for popular discussion of the perils of Jesuit interference with the American common-school system. The key-note set by your Committee of One Hundred begins to set the tone of discussion all the way to the sunset seas. (Applause.) This topic will come back to you promptly and often. You have not saved Boston yet. You have not saved the New England States. But in saving them you will ultimately, as I hope, save the nation. Thomas Carlyle said when he wrote his history of the French Revolution, and prepared "*Sartor Resartus*" for the press, that he was a poor man, but that he had one incalculably valuable possession, and that was future time. He was sowing into that field. You are sowing into the future of the valley of the Merrimack and the Connecticut, sowing into the future of the valleys of the Hudson, the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Rio Grande, the Oregon; and, indeed, into the valleys of the Amazon, the La Plata, the Rhine, the Danube, and the Tiber. Victor Hugo

says the child is the future. The teachers of the child are the parents of the future.

America is young and strong. She is a child in gay, overflowing health, rushing forward in full sunlight through lush, rank growths of vernal meadows. Jesuitism is a snake in the grass. The viper fastens itself almost unnoticed around her ankles as she runs. It already sinks its fangs into the veins of journalism, and into those of education, and into the great central artery of politics. The racing child in her eagerness and vigor as yet hardly feels the wounds. But the poison will tell in due time. When once the health of the republic begins seriously to suffer, the head of the serpent will be crushed beneath the heel of public opinion. The safety of men is inconsistent with the freedom of vipers. The plea for toleration is to be answered in presence of a full exposure of the purposes of Jesuit aggression. When the Syllabus lies behind the Roman Catholic propaganda, the right of self-preservation lies in front of it. (Applause.)

No Protestant American desires a union of church and state, or asks for himself in church or school any privilege he is not willing to grant to any other loyal citizen. But the safety of the people is the supreme law. A free school, a free church, and a free state are the three supports of the tripod on which rests the whole weight of American prosperity. Strike away either of these three and you cause the whole to fall. It is undeniable that the entire force of the Romish hierarchy is now pledged to the destruction of the first of these supports. The arm of the Vatican is lifted to destroy the American common-school system. The Republic is insufficiently alert, but it is awake and attent, in presence of this great peril. At the right moment it will leap to its feet with the victorious cry of the fathers on its lips: A free school, a free church, a free state!

Dread not the skeptic's puny hands,
While near the school the church spire stands ;
Nor fear the blinded bigot's rule,
While near the church spire stands the school.

(Applause.)

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE BOSTON MONDAY LECTURESHIP COMMITTEE, MARCH
25, 1889.

THE committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship make the following report :—

I. The Lectureship is now in its fourteenth year. Mr. Cook has delivered in Boston two hundred and ten lectures on the most difficult and important religious and philosophical themes. As nearly all these lectures have been accompanied by preludes on the most vital issues of reform, he has discussed not far from twice that number of subjects.

II. The committee have been gratified at the undiminished attendance on the lectures, from two to three thousand people having gathered at noon on Mondays, week after week, during the present course, to listen to these discussions. The committee regard the value and importance, as well as the success, of the work undertaken by the Lectureship as sufficiently attested by the fact that for fourteen years it has gathered, on the busiest hour of the busiest day of the week, audiences of extraordinary size, quality, and enthusiasm.

III. The subjects discussed in the lectures of this year have related to various aspects of the great theme : ROMANISM AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. The positions taken have commanded the earnest approval of the evangelical friends of the Lectureship. A continuous course of thought, occupying over five hours, and intended to be read as one discourse, has outlined a defense of the historic American common-school system, under the following heads :—

1. Papal Domination in American Schools.
2. Shall the Common Schools teach Common Morals ?
3. Shall the Common Schools teach Christian Morals ?
4. Papal and American Plans in Conflict.
5. Political Mischiefs of Parochial Schools.
6. Misleading Catholic Text-Books.
7. New Catholicism in Spanish America.
8. Reverses and Resources of Romanism.

IV. The preludes of the lectures this year have touched, as usual, on the most urgent issues of leading reforms :—

1. A Fair and Full Ballot.
2. Constitutional Prohibition and its Rivals.
3. Nullification and Murder in the South.
4. New Duties of the New North.

5. Power and Pledges of the Republican Party.

6. Political Union with Canada.

7. Rumsellers as Robbers and Rulers.

8. Sunday and the Saloon as Rivals.

V. The new feature of original hymns, introduced in 1887, has been continued now for three years with impressive effect. Some of the hymns first used here have already been employed in the aggressive religious activities of the churches.

VI. The publication of the Boston Monday lectures in a separate form, in a series of pamphlets, made the Lectureship in 1887 wholly independent of the press, and gave it an accredited organ of its own, of which the lecturer had exclusive control. This serial was succeeded in 1888 by the new magazine, *OUR DAY*, a Monthly Record and Review of Current Reform, of which the Monday lecturer is editor, with Miss Frances E. Willard, Prof. E. J. James, Ph. D., Prof. L. T. Townsend, D. D., Anthony Comstock, Ex-President Cyrus Hamlin, D. D., LL. D., and Rev. W. F. Crafts, as associate editors, and with the assistance of eminent specialists in reform at home and abroad. This periodical has met with most cordial favor from both the religious and the secular journals, and has already proved a success, with large promise for the future. The committee can but congratulate the friends of the Lectureship on the fact that an independent platform is thus connected with an independent press, both consecrated to high purposes and commanding the united support of specialists in the study of current reform. The opportunities opened by this conjuncture of circumstances have rarely been equaled in the history of public discussion. The coöperation of specialists by letters to the Lectureship, and by addresses on its platform, has been especially full and valuable. The wide travel and acquaintanceship of the lecturer enable him to draw fresh information from correspondents in many parts of the world.

VII. The following gentlemen have given written permission for the use of their names on the honorary committee of the Boston Monday Lectureship : Rev. JAMES MCCOSH, D. D., LL. D., President of Princeton College ; Rev. R. S. STORRS, D. D., LL. D., Brooklyn, N. Y. ; Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D. D., LL. D., New York City ; Prof. EDWARDS A. PARK, D. D., LL. D., Andover, Mass. ; Prof. J. P. GULLIVER, D. D., Andover, Mass. ; Bishop F. D. HUNTINGTON, D. D., LL. D., Syracuse, N. Y. ; Prof. S. I. CURTISS, D. D., Chicago Theological Seminary ; Ex-President GEORGE F. MAGOUN, D. D., LL. D., Iowa College ; Bishop BENJAMIN N. PADDOCK, D. D., LL. D., Boston ; Hon. A. H. RICE, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Hon. WILLIAM CLAFLIN, Ex-Governor of Massachusetts ; Prof. BORDEN P. BOWNE, Boston University ; SAMUEL JOHNSON, Esq., Boston ; Rev. Prof. L. T. TOWNSEND, D. D., Boston University ; Rev. OTIS GIBSON, San Francisco ; Hon. JOHN EATON, Ph. D., LL. D., Marietta College, Ohio.

VIII. Profoundly grateful to Providence for the remarkable opportunities of usefulness opened for so many years to the Boston Monday Lectureship, the committee in charge of it recommend, —

1. That Mr. Cook be requested to continue his lectures next season on the same general plan as heretofore.

2. That the Boston Monday Lectureship Association, consisting of all who buy reserved seats, be enlarged, but that a portion of the seats at the lectures be kept open free to the general public.

3. That the thanks of the Association are due to Mr. J. P. Bacon, the accomplished stenographer, who has reported the lectures ; and to Mr. G. H. Ryder, for his effective service in the organ selections ; and to students of Boston University Theological School, who have acted as ushers ; and to the various specialists who have made addresses on the platform of the Lectureship.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XVII.

MISS FAIRFIELD was for a time uncertain whether it was best that Curfew should be introduced to Miss Miller, for what good object could be served? To gratify curiosity was wrong in every aspect, and what more could this introduction amount to? On the other hand, there are unexplained impulses which it is always best to obey, as all history testifies. We never know what we are preparing for. We are always going on towards the next thing. Besides, reason's little light cannot last out to the final step in some difficult processes of thought, so the last action is one of faith; — it is like leaving the known land for the unknown sea. Why should Miss Miller be identified, gazed upon, pitied, patronized, congratulated? Let Miss Fairchild and Miss Miller talk it out, and get light by friction. Here is the frank and honest dialogue: —

Miss Fairchild. As Mr. Jessell comes from your parish he is aware of some kind of story about the Millers; will it not be better for him to know you and to know the truth about you?

Miss Miller. No one can know the truth; the truth is more than what merely happened; I might tell all the facts one by one, and yet the truth would not and could not be told.

Miss F. But he could be made to understand that the case against you is by no means so black as some may suppose.

Miss M. But who would ever believe that such folly as mine could stop short of what is known as sin? Besides, there is no sin greater than mine. I broke my father's heart. And he was blind, and his very blindness led him to trust me more —

Miss F. I am not excusing you, I only remind you that you have repented, — that your own heart has been broken, — that you have found peace at the blessed Saviour's cross, and surely you have a right to claim the standing ground of a penitent.

Miss M. What if I am asked to go back to Dulbury?

Miss F. Why not? You owe something to your father's memory. It may be the right course to take. Go and tell your old neighbors your story, and if any social punishment is to be inflicted you must submit to it, for you deserve it; that very punishment may be the one thing you need to perfect your conversion. Your pride must be ground to powder.

Miss M. There is more in that than in anything you have said.

Miss F. After the worst we may expect the best. We punish ourselves when by some decisive act we might end it forever. It is like the toothache ; how much we suffer rather than have the aching tooth extracted. I really think you might go to Dulsbury and tell the people all you can and then prove your sincerity by a really devoted life. You might even turn your father's house into a branch of the Rescue Society.

Miss M. That might be misunderstood. It might be regarded as theatrical.

Miss F. Never mind ; do what you think is right and put yourself for defense into the blessed Saviour's keeping. He has never forsaken you. When you had no home He found one for you. He intends something to come out of your life or He would not have led you as He has done. Christ wastes nothing useful.

Miss M. Yes, He has led me in a wonderful way. My feet were almost gone ; my steps had well-nigh slipped. Sometimes I wonder, even now, if I am quite safe. When I think of my would-be destroyer, Jacob Watson, it is as if the bottomless pit were opening at my feet, — not on his account so much as on my own, for it seems as if he might have escaped and I should certainly have been lost. He had more excuse than I had. O, how could I tell the people everything ! They would stop me in the middle of my story and run away from me as from a raging plague. How could I explain the very first step I took ? Why did I not strangle the tempter, seeing I must either murder him or break my father's heart ? But his proposals were so easy and so natural that I could see no harm in them. Perhaps I misunderstood him. Perhaps it was my vanity rather than my conscience that kept me from going straight back to my father and telling him that I had only been a fool, not a criminal.

Miss F. That would have been the thing to do.

Miss M. If poor mother had been living perhaps I would have done so.

Miss F. Fathers are sometimes more pitiful than mothers.

Miss M. My father never chided me. He never said one hard word to me. If I had gone back he never would have asked me one hard or sharp question. But that would have been part of my trouble. I could never have looked at him without feeling that I was wronging him in every breath I drew. All that passed before my mind before I came to my decision, a decision which I now know to have been wrong. But it is too late. Poor blind father ! dear, dear father ! I have not suffered one tenth of my due.

Miss F. Mr. Jessell said hell was not hot enough for you.

Miss M. He was quite right. I like him all the better for saying so. If he had treated the matter lightly I should never have met him. His anger is his recommendation.

Miss F. He turned livid with rage.

Miss M. Thank God, for it shows that his heart is neither cold nor callous. If any one tried to comfort me at the expense of the wrong I did to my father I should despise and repulse him. This young man evidently

has fine qualities. So had Jacob Watson. I am sorry to name them together ; but a strange fear comes over me lest he should in any degree entangle me and lessen my interest in work. This would seem to be impossible ; but who can say what is impossible ? As a girl of eighteen roaming in the green fields of Dulsbury, I never saw the possibility of my coming to Whitechapel. Ah me, dear old Dulsbury ! The lovely home, the childish delights, the chasing of butterflies, the gathering of wild flowers, the laughter of innocence : all this makes my heart cry in bitterness and pain. The day when I left school, and the piano which father had ready standing open for me as a present to mark my home-coming, and his insisting that the very first tune played upon it should be "Home, sweet home,"—all comes back upon me and makes my poor brain turn with fever ;—how his face glowed as he heard the simple strain, and can I ever forget how he asked me to kiss his closed eyelids as well as his warm lips. Talk about what is possible and what is impossible ! O God, why did not the lightning strike me dead as I came down the green slopes of Dulsbury ! I feel as if I must go mad ! Even now I am on the brink. . . . Perhaps I had better spare myself the agony of this interview.

Miss F. It will mark a new period in your life.

Miss M. It will. I can never be concealed again. New responsibilities will come out of it. People will expect to hear about me, and will have some kind of claim upon me, and I shall be a sort of public property. . . . I am bewildered. . . . I wish I could feel the touch of a strong hand. . . . I will try to sleep. . . . In my sleep I may see, . . . perhaps, — I may see my father.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WE have seen how Curfew and his mother accidentally heard Mr. Bell preach a sermon in a London church ; this very evening as he walked home Curfew entered a public building into which large numbers of people were flocking, and there he heard a deliverance which seemed to have some bearing upon the business which he had in hand. It was not a sermon, nor was it a lecture ; the speaker called it a parable, and explained that his use of the first personal pronoun must not be taken as necessarily identifying himself with the action of the little drama. With this explanation the parable must speak for itself :—

I played in our garden at home as a little child, and knew every flower and bird that came with the shining spring and warm summer, and the dear old garden seemed to love me and to grow some of its prettiest things all for myself. One corner was all mine, and there I planted pansies, and daisies, and gillyflowers, and mignonette, and looked after them all with the anxiety of love. I never saw any shadows in the garden, or, if I did, I must have taken them for flowers. My mother called me good, my father hugged me for a blessing, and my nurse said I made her happy. I played wher-

ever I liked in the garden, and my pattering little feet never seemed to do any harm. Dear old garden! The double redthorn, and pure lilac, and golden laburnum, the broad chestnut trees—how can I forget them? One day I felt cold in the garden, suddenly and bitterly cold, and the flowers turned away from me, or closed up as if they had been cold too, and not a bird was heard to chirp or sing. I felt like a stranger, and crawled into the house in fear and shame.

Years passed on, and I saw the garden only at evening when I returned from the city. It opened great arms to receive me, and made all the birds sing a song of glad welcome in honor of my home-coming. The days seemed to lengthen for my benefit, as I could no longer spend daylight in the sacred retreat. The sun would tarry a while, and be sorry to leave me, and would only finally go after a great broad blaze of light, which made the sky quiver with thrilling joy. I carried the garden into the city, but took special care never to carry the city into the garden. Eventide was holy time,—the sky was but a larger garden,—the garden was but a smaller sky starred with flowers. Then the quiet old house in the middle of the velvet lawn, that was home and still with the white-haired old folks in it, and still a room in it for the old nurse who had carried the children many a year. One memorable evening I came home a little later than usual, and I heard a moaning among the trees which made me afraid. It was like the sound of human voices. I can never think otherwise, say what you like about superstition. It was a groan of heart-pain. The sigh was a sigh of love that had been grieved. I know it. Do not mock me. The low wind talked in the branches with the solemn eloquence of mortal sorrow.

Years passed on. The old folks died, and were lovingly carried to God's-acre, that other garden planted with shadows and watered with rain of tears. The old nurse said good-by, and joined the hosts of the dead. Others followed, and I was left alone. I took my loneliness amiss by making a heavy burden of it. I tried to escape from solitude by joining companions whose hearts were given over to foolishness. I talked their foolish talk, and was led about by them at will. Little by little my ruin was wrought. The garden withered, the birds were silent, and I, impoverished and ashamed, had to leave the sweet home of childhood. For years I never saw a flower that did not seem to fear, if not to hate, me. Yet I felt it to be a kind of mercy to have to leave the church of the flowers; for what right had I to be there, so near heaven, so close to God? How could I look at purity, or feel quite comfortable in presences that had known no sin? It was better for me to be outside, walking on the stony roads, seeking impossible rest in the desert, and calling, with a voice that had lost the mystery of prayer, to the cold and mocking wind. There is a dreary comfort in undergoing punishment that is just, and that was the only comfort available in those hours of chagrin and distress. Once I wandered back to the dear old house, and looked over the wall at the garden which had forgotten me. Ah me, how the heart wildly throbbed! I saw the blue smoke curling above the trees that sheltered the house; I saw another nurse carrying

another child ; and I saw another matron with her husband, enjoying the joy that was once mine. No one spoke to me. No gate opened of its own accord. No heart yearned for my home-coming. I tried to look up to the heaven that is so kind to us all, but it drew a cloud over its face, and knew me not. Poor soul ! the pains of hell gat hold upon me, and my spirit was swallowed up in sorrow. I tried to say, "Our Father," but no other words would come. Father I had none. I said the same great words again ; but no further utterance was possible. Men left the side of the street on which I walked ; and children ceased their play to let me pass. That was the hour and the power of darkness ! Suddenly I resolved to go to the churchyard and talked to my loved ones, and thitherward I went in eager haste, resolved to be heard, answered, comforted, and be made a child again !

On my way the oldest friend of my family turned me aside, and his memory and strength were infinitely more precious to me than even the graves of the honored dead.

"Gerald," said he, "let me take the privilege of age and talk to you. I have traveled much and seen much since we last met ; let me tell you one thing I saw, and take your opinion upon it. The thing I saw was a little rill of water, quite a threadlet, making its way through green gates which bent down to let it pass, — quite an infant river, — the brightest and sweetest of baby waters. A few miles farther down other rills had joined it, and it broadened out into a noticeable river ; there was quite a touch of pride about it as it curled into snowy foam around the largest stones that made its channel rough, and purled and curved, and splashed in a friendly anger amongst the bowlders — quite a youth-river, almost a man indeed, with a man's strength, a man's ambition, and yet an infant's purity. Farther on still, when many tributaries had joined it, the stream became a deep river, broad and swift, famous amongst rivers for its length and fullness ; the banks on either side were clothed with pines, here and there pasture-land came down to its very edge, here and there bright homes overlooked it, here and there a town lay not far away. It was a full-grown river, yet the same that was cradled in the green hills. Now the bowlders were very large, and the whole channel was very rough, and it seemed as if not very far ahead there might be danger. Little did I suppose what that danger was. A mile off there was a precipice a hundred feet deep — a tremendous leap — a leap that meant death. I could have prayed for the noble stream as it hastened unconsciously to its appalling doom, but prayer could not avert the near catastrophe. Oh, Gerald, I tremble as I think of it : I waited at the head of the precipice for the coming of the noble stream ; on and on it swiftly came ; it came with pride and gladness ; it might have been bringing good news and great wealth to men who were waiting down the valley ; on it swept in mighty strength — and then ! Oh then ! then the infinite plunge ! No time to pause, no power to return — on it plunged. Oh, the roar of trouble, the shattering into ruin, the tremendous leap into the sharp rocks, into the deeps below ! It affected me as murder might have done. Can I ever forget the mangled strength, the torn pride, the white agony ? That

was the little rill I played with amongst the green lands far away, the silvery thread that I twisted with tender grass and golden sand, miles off in the quiet hills. That it should have come to this! Oh that I had diverted the course when it was in my power to do so! Would that the kind sun had dried it up and made a colored cloud of it. Surely it would have been better. Oh, Gerald," he added — and stopped: "Can you read my parable?"

"The human meaning of every word of it," said I, "is in my own life."

"You are right, child," my venerable friend continued; "but I would not have troubled you if the parable ended there. Let me tell you more. I clambered down through the wood that was on the side of the precipice, having great difficulty in keeping my foothold in many places. I had to clamber over the rocks and fallen trees, and often had to lay hold of frail branches to keep me from falling into deep pools. At length I got down to the level, and there the shattered river writhed in agony, here white with terror, there black with despair, yonder seething and boiling in fierce emotion. It was a sight to touch the heart; there I stood and felt an instinctive desire to pray for the suffering water. I wandered farther down, and the water came after me. On still, and still the water followed; it had escaped the precipice, it had flowed out of the cauldron; and oh, Gerald, there it was, quiet, solemn, quite healed, a river whose waters were reunited. Now, can you?" —

"Yes," said I, "your meaning is clear; you think I can be myself again?"

"Exactly so. You have had the terrific plunge, and from this day you may be gathered together, and the river of your life may roll peacefully through green valleys away to the eternal sea."

That night I became a child again. In my dream I saw the rill, the stream, the river, the plunge, and as the startled water leaped with tremendous force down the rocky steep I awoke, and cried mightily to Heaven that all its pity might come down upon me and give me another chance. Again I slept, and again I awoke, and prayed, and then in the quiet dawn I stole away to the churchyard to make a vow on my mother's grave. On my way I met a woman, young, haggard, forlorn, the picture of misery, planning some scheme of revenge. She looked like a fierce tenant of the woods. Her eyes struck me like fiery darts. Away she passed. A whole history in one frail woman's figure — a fall, a curse, a ruin; yet neither the morning sun nor the morning dew seemed ashamed of the living sin. They looked rather as if they would heal and pardon it! They might well have been ashamed of two such creatures, and would have been, were not the Lord's tender mercies over all His works, and the Lord's spirit a spirit of saving grace. I can give no explanation of the matter, yet I was constrained to go after that poor woman and to accost her in a sympathizing tone. I had myself been told of a river that had been dashed to pieces, and healed again, and the telling had done me good. Perhaps if I told the story to

the poor girl she might take heart again, and thank God for my friend's typical Gospel.

"I want to tell you something," said I, as I came on a level with her."

In a moment she sprang away from me, and ordered me to leave her. Her eyes were alive with baleful fire, and her hands stretched out as if in deprecation or self-defense.

"I want to help you if I possibly can."

"Away!" she cried.

"You quite mistake me," I exclaimed; "I do not wish to intrude; I want to do you good if I can, but I will certainly do you no harm."

"Won't you?" she inquired in an altered tone.

"I am sure I will not. I don't know how it is, but I was compelled to come after you, and ask you if I can give you any kind of help."

In this explanatory manner we talked for a short time, and her confidence in my good intentions evidently increased. One or two questions more were asked and answered, and then the young girl was silent, but silent in a way that always ends in earnest speech. During her silence I made some reference to my early life which gave quite a startled look to her face, and drew her within a step of the place where I was standing, another sentence or two, and she softly laid her hand on mine. A moment more and the tears put out the fire in her eyes. I soon found that I was in the presence of no ordinary wayfarer, and I felt hopeful that the impulse to speak to her was no whim of passion or of fancy.

"Will you go an errand for me?" said she, in a tone now wonderful for softness.

"With great pleasure. Give me my instructions."

"Can you travel to the very top of one of the highest hills in England?"

"Yes."

"It is one of the highest hills in all the world, and very, very steep."

"Never mind."

"At the top of it you will see a house whiter than snow, and many a red rose growing around its sunny door."

"Yes."

"You will enter the garden by a green wicket gate, and walk by the side of the purest little stream that ever eyes were set upon."

I started.

"Nothing to be afraid of," she continued. "Nothing will harm you up there. In the house you will find a man not sixty years of age, but hoary, wrinkled, bowed down, as if carrying the weight of many years. Go close up to him, and whisper the word 'Janet.' Say no more. He will start to his feet. He will throw his arms around you. He will lay his old head on your shoulder and cry like a child. In a few moments he will be quiet again, and then you can whisper, 'She is at the foot of the hill, and wants to be once more a child at home.' Mind, the hill is very steep—you cannot imagine how steep. Go to the place named on the piece of paper which I now give you; and, if you mean what you say, go and do what I wish."

"Is the old man sure to be at home?" I inquired.

"Sure, he cannot be persuaded to go out. But if you tell him that Janet is at the foot of the hill, he will become a young man again in a moment."

"But how is he to know that I am telling the truth?"

"Give him this, and he will have no doubt."

She gave me a lock of her young hair, and added, "he knows the color and the quality." I noted the time as the fourth of May, and having shaken hands we parted; she only saying, when I had gone a few steps, "Mind, the hill is very steep."

In four days I was at the foot of the hill. In very deed its ascent seemed to be hopeless. Only after wandering for an hour did I come upon a very narrow opening which might possibly turn out to be a road to the snow-white house. Up many a weary stretch of road I urged my way, and then came upon a flat of green land, where I rested for an hour. The sun looked kindly upon me, as if approving my errand, and the birds sang their tender benediction. Again I climbed and again I rested. One more spell of climbing and I heard the noise of feet. Several people appeared to be walking slowly down a green lane highly hedged; presently they came into the open space, and then I knew that it was a funeral party. The mourners turned off along a little path, and I followed as if by right. There stood the rude stone church, there the man of God with open book in his hand, and there the little group of neighbors. An inquiry addressed to one of them showed me that I was attending the funeral of Janet's white-haired father, on whose coffin there was an inscription that he had departed this life on the morning of the fourth of May, in the fiftieth year of his age. "Dust to dust, ashes to ashes." Each of the mourners threw in a handful of earth, and I did the same, inclosing in mine the lock of hair which Janet had made the passport to her father's recognition. Mayhap it fell close to his dead heart. "Dust to dust, ashes to ashes." The poor white-haired man died? No! The poor white-haired man was murdered — murdered without steel, murdered by his own Janet, whom he had nursed, and kissed, and loved, and prayed over, times without number. "Dust to dust, ashes to ashes," — as if God had done it! So we tell lies to heaven! No, no. This was not God's doing. A murdered man, a broken heart, was laid in the green churchyard on that sweet May morning, which was so eloquently declaring the resurrection and the life, and we had better say so in plain terms, lest we lay down murder in the grave of falsehood.

The neighbor to whom I had spoken was a friendly man, whose company I sought in the hope that I might hear something about Janet.

"She dug his grave with her own hands," said he with bitter pathos.

"You knew her, then?"

"I knew my own niece. Yes, I knew her, and loved her, and made her part of my life."

"Her mother?"

"Died two years ago, and died on Janet's account — died of a broken

heart ; and this poor thing we have just dropped into the earth never lifted up his head after it. Father, mother, and Janet — just the three of them ; and Janet killed them both. She was a pretty child, though, with eyes you could see when you were only half-way up the hill, and with a heart as warm as the sun. And ” —

Here the speaker stopped, and as we turned round to look down the hill who should be approaching us but Janet herself ! A few moments more and she was in her uncle’s arms. In such an interview there was no room for a stranger. I resolved to flee away from the holy scene, and as I carried out my intention I heard the uncle say with much sobbing, —

“ While the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return.”

What more was said I know not, for I ran down the hill, and never saw Janet or her uncle any more. In my dream, indeed, I saw the child approaching her father’s grave in the silvery moonlight ; kneeling down beside it, and looking up to the infinite sky with those eyes so grand and solemn. I then saw her return to the white house, and on her way she stopped at the purling brook, and bathed her hot forehead in the cool stream ; then she passed into her father’s house, and so forever vanished even from my dreams. The third attempt I made to reach my mother’s grave was successful. I saw it then as I could not have seen it but for Janet’s story. I, too, was a murderer ! Up to this time I had spoken flattering words to myself about circumstances, and temptations, and wild oats. I had compared myself without disadvantage with many other young men ; but that kind of lying had run its course, and now filled me with disgust and contempt. I saw and owned the naked truth. I called myself a murderer, and not the less so that I had shed no blood. By no stunning blow had I killed the brain ; by no sharp steel had I pierced the heart ; by no subtle poison had I cankered the blood ; but by disobedience, self-will, self-gratification, defiance of law, and resentment of love, I had slain the lives to which I owed my own, and the very ground seemed to cry for vengeance. In that agony it was useless to talk to me about good behavior for the future, or even repentance for the past. A bolder speech must be addressed to me. This was not a case of hand-washing, as if some trivial error had been accidentally committed ; this was a treason of the heart, an inward and spiritual blasphemy in the very centre of the soul ! I now knew something of the real nature of sin. Darkness pressed upon my life like a burden ; every door was shut against me ; the earth was uneasy under my feet ; and there was now none to pray for me in a voice that Heaven would answer. But is not the extremity of man the opportunity of God ? Leaning upon the gravestone for rest in my utter weariness of mind and body, I saw the word which my soul needed : “ *The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.*” With that word light came into my mind, and a new life throbbed in my heart, and I saw what Janet’s uncle meant when on the high hill he said, —

“ While the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return.”

BOOK NOTICES.

ROMANISM AND THE REPUBLIC. A Discussion of the Purposes, Assumptions, Principles, and Methods of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. By Rev. ISAAC T. LANSING, M. A., of Worcester, Mass. With an Introduction by Rev. LEROY M. VERNON, D. D., late Superintendent of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Italy. Boston: W. Kellaway, Publisher. 1889. 8vo, pp. 436.

This book does not contain an uninteresting page. It is made up of a series of fourteen outspoken, trenchant, and most timely discourses, published as they were delivered to great audiences in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1888. We regret that the expressions of the audiences by which the most vigorous of the sentences of these addresses were so significantly indorsed have not been preserved, but the author has thought best to eliminate them from the stenographer's record. The general characteristics of Mr. Lansing's eloquence are manliness, weight, clearness, caution, pertinency, rather than ornament and passion. But the style is clear and pleasing, and there are not wanting passages of spontaneous fire. The great merit of the discussion is its careful adherence to unquestioned authorities in matters of fact. The references to documentary evidence are full and careful. While, therefore, the book is popular in manner, it is cautious and trustworthy in matter. It is specially adapted to the wants of such readers as are beginning their study of the vast and vital theme of Romanism and the Republic.

It was our fortune to meet at Rome some years ago the Rev. Dr. Vernon, who writes the introduction to Mr. Lansing's volume. Dr. Vernon was then one of the most competent guides the Eternal City contained to all that concerned the conflicts of the Papacy with Protestant ideas in Europe. We are particularly interested in what he writes, as a specialist, after an experience of seventeen years in Rome, concerning present American perils from papal imperialism:—

This vast power, besides assuming and exercising the most blasphemous religious prerogatives for more than a thousand years, has dispensed crowns and dethroned kings, absolved peoples from allegiance to their rightful sovereigns, or sanctioned their bondage under tyrants, according to its own pleasure or caprice; nor has it ever formally or impliedly abandoned any of its enormous pretensions. There is not a people in the Old World whose peace it has not disturbed, whose rulers it has not embroiled, the administration of whose government it has not embarrassed, whose rights it has not usurped, and whose soil it has not drenched with blood. Its arrogant and hoary hierarchy early began from the Vatican to project its all-pervading system over our country, now by gigantic institutions commands centres

of power throughout the land, has a large and rapidly increasing constituency among our people, and daily becomes more pronounced and menacing, faithful to its own traditions.

Within the last week Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore has posed before the country as an advocate of religious toleration, and the press has made much of it far and wide. What swain-like simplicity! Either the Cardinal is sincere, and therefore antagonistic to the principles, traditions, and usages of his church, and doomed finally to recant and reform; or he simply plays a part, winked at by the Pope, in order to ingratiate himself and his church with the people, and to smoothe the way for new encroachments.

The momentous, the perilous fact is the public indifference to the insidious advances and encroachments of this despotic and mighty mediævalism. While it is quietly interweaving itself with the national life, and strategically preparing the basis for its future self-assertion, contentious action, and usurpations, almost no one takes heed or offers a serious obstruction. Were any one indeed openly and vigorously to controvert its character, its progress, and grasping for power, among the Catholic population of our large cities, the result would be mob violence. There, and on this question, free speech is the ante-war free speech south of Mason and Dixon's line. The new thralldom, like the old bondage, requires to be let alone. The public peril is neglected for personal aims. Pride, pleasure, and luxury, like a leash of hounds, bay on the heels of gratification. Vanity parades, ambition climbs, business hastes to be rich. The press panders, the politicians trim, the preachers doze; the priests sow tares. The country drifts, drifts, and drifts. Meanwhile duty commands every voice to cry aloud and spare not, the pen and the press to unite in impetuous sustained appeal, enforced by the priceless interests of our imperiled civil and religious liberty and institutions. When the Jesuit assassin stabbed Fra Paolo Sarpi of Venice, to end his too liberal and evangelical writing, and fled, leaving his weapon sticking in the wound, Sarpi himself plucked the bribed stiletto from his flesh, and holding it aloft said: "The pen of the Papacy!" Contrariwise the pen is the sword of Protestantism, civil and religious, for holy war against Popery. "Awake, O sword, against" the deceiver and the destroyer; "put up thyself into thy scabbard" only when the people are delivered by knowledge; recognizing that ROMANISM AND THE REPUBLIC are irreconcilable opposites; that the tiara and our starry banner are divorced as the poles, incongruous as the Roman wolf and the American eagle.

THE SABBATH — WHAT — WHY — HOW? By M. C. BRIGGS, D. D.
New York: Phillips & Hunt. 16mo, pp. 188.

This book is admirably epitomized in its own preface, as follows:—

Our controversy is not chiefly with the ardent advocates of a Saturday-Sabbath. Those zealous people, students of statistics tell us, amount to a fraction less than seven tenths of one per cent. of the population. Their energy, liberality in denominational outlays, industry in season and out of season in propagating their doctrines, and fidelity to their Sabbatarian convictions, are to be commended. One only regrets that their influence is not brought to bear in support of the true Sabbath. Their genius of interpretation — especially that of the Saturday-Sabbath Adventists — illustrates itself in specific results which must counterwork each other, such as formal feet-washing (now well-nigh abandoned, I believe), the denial of Christ's divinity, the utter and contemptuous rejection of a supersensu-

ous nature, a soul or spirit in man, and the annihilation of the wicked. Small neighborhoods and narrowly read individuals will be disquieted by the busy and well-meant obtrusiveness of these people; but no imminent peril to Christian truth need be anticipated from a sect which begins with Judaism and ends with naked materialism. A sect which has no stated commemoration of the grand certifying fact of the Gospel, the *egersis* of the crucified Redeemer, will not long and to any great extent rob the world of the "lively hope" to which we have been "begotten by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead."

A far greater peril menaces Christianity from another quarter. The indifference of multitudes of the professed friends of the Sabbath; the ignorance of other multitudes of its grounds and claims; the puerile pretenses for secularizing the day; the facility of guilty compromises; the pompous formality; the pride of display; the sensationalism miscalled "preaching;" the needless and thoughtless Sunday travel; the self-accommodating ministerial exchanges; the Sunday pleasure-seeking; the feeble excuses offered for voluntary absence from the house of God; the social visiting; the open profanation of the Lord's day by excursion-trains to camp-meetings, and advertised preaching in places of irreligious resort; the putting forth of the doctrine of expediency, or precedent, or temporal benefits, or apostolic example, or patristic usage, as the only "authority" for Sabbath-keeping—these are counts in an indictment of many church-members, and some ministers, whose example is a thousand times more damaging to the Church's influence and the Sabbath's proper sanctification than Saturday-Sabbathism and open-mouthed infidelity in all their shapes and names and moods and tenses. Here lies the cause of my alarm and the chief reason for this intrusion upon the attention of the Christian public. . . .

In the following pages I undertake to do these nine things:—

First. To show a commanding probability that the Sun's day of the Sabeian idolatry which prevailed in all the nations of the East was the perverted primeval Sabbath.

Second. To prove that the Hebrews, at the time of the Exodus, were worshipers of the Egyptian Sun-god Osiris, symbolized by Apis, the golden bull.

Third. To prove that the day of the Hebrews' toilsome march from Rameses to Succoth was made the initial of an exceptional weekly Sabbath, set back one day from the perverted primeval Sabbath, and belonging to this peculiar people alone, and during their preparatory history.

In another place our author says on this point: "This people must be effectually separated from the old life; from temple, altar, set days, and all the concomitants of sun-worship. . . . For this purpose they needed a new order of months, and a new beginning of their year. . . . The seventh month of the Egyptian year was made the first of the Hebrew. Ex. xii. 1, 2. . . . This strange people, destined to stand alone in all the earth, had not so much as a yearly calendar in common with surrounding nations. They were, indeed, to be a 'peculiar people.' But that feature of heathenism which was most ensnaring, because fullest of suggestions of the all-prevalent sun-worship, was the corrupted primeval Sabbath, the Sunday of idolatrous devotion. If the order of months needed to be changed, how immeasurably more this day, so pregnant with evil." He also notes that the beginning of their Sabbath, unlike Sundays and civil days, was at evening,

instead of midnight or morning, and that they worshiped with faces toward the West, instead of the East.

Fourth. To prove that the Sabbath is a sacred proper name by which God designates a day set apart for holy uses, and means more than rest, or seventh, or week, or all of them together; and any day to which the name is applied by divine authority is a holy day.

Fifth. To prove that the Hebrews had a Sabbath out of the septenary order [once a year], and yet as binding and as much under the force of the Sabbath law as the weekly day.

Sixth. To prove that the Decalogue is constitutional and universal law, while the Hebrew statutes and ceremonials are by their very terms restricted to one peculiar people, and must have surceased with the dispensation of which they formed important features.

Seventh. To prove that the fourth commandment is irrepealable on any other supposition than that the entire Decalogue is repealed.

Eighth. To prove that the fourth commandment is the law of a movable festival, is observable everywhere, and demands an ordinal and relative usual and convenient seventh part of time in every longitude and latitude, and not an absolute seventh in astronomical and septenary identity from the time and place of the original institution.

Ninth. To prove that the day of our Lord's resurrection from the dead was made and named the first of the Sabbaths, as being the restoration of the relative primeval Sabbath, and first by preëminence, as being commemorative of the grand certifying fact on which the scheme of redemption is pivoted.

This last point is the special subject of this book, whose keynote is: "The day on which Christ rose from the dead is never called by any other name than Sabbath, save in the one instance in the Revelation." The following extracts will indicate the line of argument:—

The first record to examine is Matt. xxviii. 1: Οψὲ δὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, ἦλθε Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνη, etc.,—"At the end of the Sabbaths, as it began to dawn [the observing reader will notice that there is not only a change of day, but a change also in the beginning of the day] toward the first of the Sabbaths, came Mary the Magdalene," etc. The Accepted Version reads: "In the end of the Sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week," etc. . . . Is this a true translation? . . . The principal reason assigned for the present reading is that it is a Hebraism. . . . It is true that from Sabbath to Sabbath is a week, and equally true that from any other day to the same day again is a week. But *Sabbath* never in itself means week. . . .

The Septuagint follows the Hebrew with severe fidelity, using *hebdomas* (ἑβδομάς) for *Shabua*, week. . . .

On the other hand, when the Sabbath is referred to as the Sabbath, the proper name—*σάββατον*—is employed. Witness one hundred instances of its use. . . .

In all these numerous instances—which include the entire number except the three easily explained in a preceding place—Sabbath in the Hebrew is rendered by Sabbath in the Septuagint. Ought not such exactness of discrimination between *hebdomas* and *Sabbaton* to end dispute?

We now have the first day (more strictly, day one) of whatever is meant by *σαββάτων*. This word is the genitive plural of Sabbath. I think we have seen

that Sabbath never means *week* in the Hebrew Scriptures or in the Septuagint Greek. Σάββατον — Sabbaton — (Sabbath) is used, singular and plural, sixty-eight times in the New Testament. Singularly enough it is rendered *week* only nine times, and these, all save one, in connection with the day of the resurrection. The one exception alluded to is Luke xviii. 12, Νηστεύω δις τοῦ σαββάτου, — “I fast twice in the week.” This language of a Pharisee relates to the Jewish Sabbath, and we might be well content to leave the advocates of Saturday-Sabbath to harmonize it with their theory. Fifty-seven times the word is the name of the Jewish Sabbath. Let the reader attempt to substitute *week* in any of the passages except that alluded to in Luke — and that certainly admits of doubt — and see what sense he will make. The week was made for man, not man for the week; Lord of the week; whether he would heal on the week-day; went into the synagogue on the week; doth not each one of you on the week loose his beast from the stall? the Jews sought to kill him because he had broken the week.

In Acts xiii. Dr. Briggs would translate εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον, “in the Sabbath between,” that is, the new Christian “Sabbath just at hand” (τό τε ἐχόμενα σαββάτω).

If Dr. Briggs had rested his whole case for the Christian Sabbath on his exceptional translation of a Greek word, as some who have only heard of the book have supposed, he would be open to criticism at this point. But he puts beneath the Christian Sabbath the usual and sufficient foundations, and simply adds his argument as to the New Testament name of the Day as an extra buttress. It would certainly seem that those who would give to the disputed word, in place of its natural meaning, Sabbath, the idiomatic meaning, week, have upon them the burden of proof. In any case those who would displace the Christian Sabbath, “the seventh day of the new Christian week,” as it is called by Dr. Byron Sunderland of Washington, who holds the same view as Dr. Briggs as to the word in question, have one more position to overthrow before they can restore the Saturday-Sabbath.

The proper attitude to take toward them, as I think, is, that the Christian Sabbath has the contested seal, and the burden of proof for the *new* proposed “change of day” back to Saturday rests upon its advocates. They must prove to the civilized world, first, that the original Sabbath of Adam did *not* correspond to our Christian Sabbath; second, that at the Exodus the Jews were *not* given a Sabbath set back one day from the original; third, that the Fourth Commandment can be applied only to the seventh day after six days of the *week*, not to the seventh day after six days of *work*; fourth, that the “change of day” which actually occurred in the early church was without adequate authority; fifth, that Saturday in any given place to-day exactly corresponds to the Saturday-Sabbath of the Jews in the wilderness. Until those whose religion is Saturday-centric, instead of Christo-centric, have unloaded this burden of proof, we need not waste time in justifying a “change of day” *already made*. Let those who urge another “change” prove its necessity.

W. F. CRAFTS.

The curious reader may have noticed the remark that the Septuagint translation of the Hebrew Scriptures is said above to employ the name Sabbath three less times than the original which it translates. It may be well to explain this slight and only disagreement. All of the instances occur in Lev. xxiii. 11, 15, and 16. The Passover Sabbath was the 15th of Nisan, *Mimmaharoth Hashabbath* — the morrow after the Sabbath — the Jew was to bring the sheaf of first fruits to the priest, to be waved before the Lord in token of gratitude. The Greek has *τε εἰπαύριον τῆς πρώτης*, — the morrow after the first — that is, the first day of the beginning of the feast, which would be the 16th of Nisan, corresponding with our Sunday. Greek, *τῆς εἰπαύριον τῶν σαββάτων* — the morrow of the Sabbaths. In verse 16 we have *τῆς εἰπαύριον τῆς ἐσχάτης*, — the morrow after the last — that is, the last day of the feast; last being relative to first. The third case is verse 15, last clause; “seven sevens” in the Greek. King James’s version gains two Sabbaths by mistranslation of *Shabbathōn*, in Lev. xxiii. 39, which error the Revised Version corrects.

PROHIBITION: THE PRINCIPLE, THE POLICY, AND THE PARTY. A Dispassionate Study of the Arguments for and against Prohibitory Law, and the Reasons governing the Political Action of its Advocates. By E. J., WHEELER. New York: John R. Anderson Co. 1889. 12mo, pp. 227.

Admirably calm, clear, and candid, this volume justifies its title-page. It is a really dispassionate discussion of the arguments for and against Prohibition — the principle, the policy, and the party. It is written, moreover, by a specialist in reform. Mr. Wheeler was, until recently, one of the foremost editors of the “Voice.” His style is graceful, dignified, winning, and his arguments those of one whose prolonged study gives him an easy mastery of his subject.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY MR. COOK AND MR. RAMSEY AT TREMONT TEMPLE, MARCH 4.

69. *What outrages are yet committed upon the freedmen of the South?*

In reply to this question, I am now to introduce to you a refugee, Mr. J. W. Ramsey, a colored gentleman from Arkansas. He was one of the supporters of the Hon. John M. Clayton, whose recent and yet unavenged assassination has startled the nation. Mr. Ramsey, who has studied at Fisk University and expects soon to enter the legal department of Boston University, came to me introduced by letters from several Republican State committees. He has been speaking in the Presidential campaign, and has won many colored votes for the Republican candidates. He told me that one morning, in the beautiful southern clime, as he went to his school-house through the fields and groves, he found the corpse of a negro woman pinned to a pine by a sharpened stake driven through her body and wedged into an auger hole in the trunk of the tree. He described this horrible skewer minutely, and my secretary has put into my hands this morning a similar object, which I now exhibit to you. That negro woman, who had possibly said a saucy word defending her little boy against the father of a white boy, the two little children having had some quarrel, was dragged from her home at night, taken into the forest, and then a piece of wood of this sort, driven through her body, passed through an auger hole in the tree, and the wood wedged in the aperture. A branch was left on the outer end of the bough, so that the stake had a kind of fish-hook barb, the hook formed by the branch preventing her escape. Her hands were tied. She was left there to die. Over her head was the inscription, "Not to be removed until dead, or you will meet the same fate."

On the frontiers of Montana and Idaho and Wyoming, there are scoundrels in large numbers, but I have never yet heard that they allow insults to females. There are two things that the roughest population of our frontier States do not excuse — horse-stealing and insults to women. It is the glory of this nation as a whole that a woman can travel by night or day alone in it. But among the ruffians of the Southern States your black sister has no honor. She seems to have no rights that a certain type of white men are bound to respect. God bless the regenerated South, and God smite us with adequately hot thunderbolts, if we do not resist the yet barbarous elements left in the South! [Applause.] That negro woman pinned to that pine tree by this rough stake is an object lesson for the nation. Such indignities are typical, not of the action of the whole Southern population, but of the lawlessness of sporadic Southern ruffianism. Such enormities are inadequately rebuked at the South, when they are performed

in the interests of the shot-gun Democracy. [Applause.] If committed upon Republicans, or upon freedmen, such outrages pass almost unnoticed ; if committed against Democrats they are visited with condign retaliation. In the name of justice, in the name of the Constitution, in the name of the martyrs of the civil war, I ask the nation to break the Southern scoundrels' skewer ! [Applause.]

Mr. RAMSEY. In speaking on this question, I shall divide my address into four heads : What outrages against colored men and women in the South have I seen ? What outrages have I been personally made to suffer ? What do I say of the cause of the assassination of Hon. John M. Clayton in Arkansas ? What are the methods by which freedmen are kept in debt to whites and prevented from emigrating from the South ? It would require days to tell why colored men and women in the South have been murdered. One morning, as I was walking along a footpath in Burke County, Georgia, 30 miles from any railroad, I found a colored woman pinned to a pine by a sharpened stake driven through her heart into an auger hole in the tree. Above her was the inscription, "Not to be removed until dead, or you will meet the same fate." It is in the rural districts that you find this oppression of the negroes. I asked the cause of it, and was told, "Oh, she probably insulted John's wife (a white woman), and John, or some of his friends, probably killed her." I spoke somewhat indignantly in regard to the outrage. In less than three hours I received notice to leave the county, or else my life would meet the same penalty.

What have I been made to suffer ? Just six months ago I was assistant county clerk of the county of Crittenden, State of Arkansas, and the town of Marion. I had served with faithfulness and fidelity, and used every means and effort to make peace and harmony in the county where I was. But after all, the whites were not satisfied. On the morning of July 12 I received notice in the clerk's office, enforced by 600 Winchester rifles, to quit. I was unarmed, perfectly defenseless, and without coat, vest or shoes. Men appeared before us with their Winchester rifles all cocked, new, furnished to them by the governor of the State, Simon P. Hughes. If any one doubts this I can produce evidence to prove it. They said to us : "Gentlemen, this county is too small for you and us ; we have decided that, as all the South has put down negro domination, as subverting republican institutions, we, the citizens of Crittenden County and other adjoining counties, are to-day going to put down the rule of negroes." We submitted, and signed our resignations at the point of 600 Winchester rifles, while men's wives were crying, and appealing and begging piteously for the lives of their husbands. They said to me : "Ramsey, we will kill you, anyway." I said to them : "If you kill me, you will kill me for nothing ; I have done nothing, and if you kill me you will kill an innocent and a harmless man." "Well," they said, "you must get out." They put us under a tree, put guards over us, and within 10 minutes afterward we were found in the road on the way to Memphis, Tenn., with 600 men around us, with their guns

cocked. Then I began to pray. When they were about to riddle my body with bullets and choke me to death with a rope around my neck, God sent His voice down into their midst and told them to release me ; and I was released. I reached Memphis, Tenn., and remained there two weeks unconscious. I went to the governor in person and petitioned him. I secured for that petition the best names in Tennessee, Rev. Mr. Chalmers and others. What did the governor say ? "You negroes want no protection; if you want protection, protect yourselves." The grand jury, the prosecuting attorney, and the petit jury were the men who handled the guns and who led this outrage.

What have I to say as regards the murder of Mr. Clayton ? It was the work of some bold assassin murdering a man for political revenge. It is no more than I expected. And to-day, if any of you who sit before me were in Arkansas you would meet with the same fate, should you try to assert your manhood and the rights of a citizen in this republic. I have seen many kinds of saws. I have seen meat saws, wood saws, circular saws and other saws ; but among all the saws I ever saw I never saw a saw that could saw up so many human lives as Arkansas. [Loud laughter.]

I do not look for any redress for Mr. Clayton's murder, unless it comes from the North. He was murdered by the hand of some unknown assassin, who cares not for the life of an American citizen. All that I have to say about the murder of Hon. John M. Clayton is that he was murdered simply because he upheld his principles as a man for the right.

As to the manner in which freedmen are kept in debt to the whites, you will find that when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued the negro was usually in poverty. He had almost nothing, and he was compelled to enter into a contract. He worked on and on from that day to this, and some negroes are not out of debt yet. His employer has paid him only about one quarter as much as he was worth. He does not give the employee this money, but he gives him an order on the storekeeper, who stands in with the employer, and makes a living out of his goods, besides robbing the colored man of his property. In Mississippi and Arkansas I recorded mortgages with my own hand that read in this way : "After you have made your cotton, packed it, ginned it, and got it ready for market, bring it before my door and throw it down ; do not ask how much you owe but take what I give you." These are undeniable facts, recorded in the State of Arkansas, in the county of Crittenden, in ledger D. The greater part of the people who desire to leave the country are those who are able to leave, and because they want to leave objection is made by the governor and citizens, who say : "We cannot afford to lose our laborers ; we must kill you if you try to run away." To-day General Benjamin Harrison's oath will be : "I do solemnly swear and affirm that I will protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." All we ask for is that he should corroborate in the future his oath taken to-day. With that and a right public sentiment I am sure these outrages will cease. [Loud applause.]

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A NATIONAL CONFERENCE on the best means of resisting Ultramontane attacks on American institutions is a significant sign of the times. Such a convention, attended by men whose names would command universal respect were we permitted to give them, was held at Saratoga, August 21-23. The sessions were numerous and laborious, but wholly private. The result was the formation of a NATIONAL LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS, and especially for the prevention of a sectarian use of public funds. This league, of which the Hon. John Jay of New York is president, and the Rev. J. B. Dunn of Boston secretary, places itself on the highly satisfactory basis of the amendment proposed by Senator Edmunds, in 1876, to the national constitution. This bill was duly indorsed by the Senate Judiciary Committee. It came within two votes of receiving the necessary two thirds for its passage as an amendment sent down to the various States for ratification. The proposal, therefore, has already behind it high judicial approval. It has the prestige of a great majority of senatorial votes in its favor. The proposed amendment forbids the creation of a state church by any State of the Union, and also the sectarian use of any public funds; but provides that nothing in it shall be so construed as to prohibit the use of the Bible in the common schools or other public institutions.

In choosing this battle line, the National League, as we need not say, appears to us to have been eminently wise. It avoids extremes. It resists sectarianism on the one side and secularism on the other. It assumes a position in harmony with the great historic tendencies of the American common school system.

The eminent names constituting the list of officers of the league will give to its principles much weight; but the principles in themselves will carry a conviction of their own impor-

tance to all who value a free school, a free church, and a free state. Highly valuable papers were read at the conference from Bishop Coxe, ex-President Thomas Hill, Rev. J. B. Dunn, and Hon. John Jay. At a mass meeting which was called at Saratoga immediately after the conference the principles of the National League were defended in speeches by Rev. Dr. A. A. Miner, Rev. Dr. A. H. Plumb, Rev. J. B. Dunn, and Joseph Cook, of Boston, and by Rev. Dr. Cory of Washington. There were read at this meeting the papers which had been previously presented to the conference from Hon. John Jay, ex-President Hill, and Bishop Coxe.

PROFESSOR THEODORE CHRISTLIEB, of Bonn University, whose death August 15th has so deeply bereaved the evangelical churches of Germany, and indeed those of Scotland, England, and America, was born at Berkenfeld, Würtemberg, March 7, 1833. He studied theology at Tübingen, and has been professor at Bonn since 1868. Besides being perhaps the most incisive and quickening university preacher in Germany, and one of the most accomplished Christian apologists of modern times, he was an ecclesiastical statesman, with a keen sense of both the merits and defects of the German, English, and American church systems. If a movement for the complete or partial separation of the church from the state had been started in Germany, it would have found in Professor Christlieb one of its most judicious and earnest leaders. He was seven years pastor of a German congregation in London. He understood England, Scotland, and America better than almost any other German professor of his time. His accomplished wife was an English lady by birth. Her father, the Rev. T. James Weitbrecht, was a German clergyman in connection with the English Establishment; and her mother, Mrs. Weitbrecht, also an English lady, was a highly valued writer, and noted in London for her zeal in various forms of religious effort. Dr. Andrew Bonar's well-known "Life and Labors of McCheyne" Professor Christlieb caused to be translated into German. He wrote, also, the preface to a German translation of the Autobiography of President Finney. He founded at Bonn an efficient institution for the training of such

evangelists as he thought most needed in Germany. His defense of aggressive evangelical views and methods occasionally found critics among the adherents of an ossified confessionalism in some of the German state churches. Lukewarm and arrogant Broad Church preachers, who think that the baptism of infants and the confirmation of boys and girls at the age of fourteen in the Establishment are nearly or quite saving ordinances, and who make little or no distinction between the converted and the unconverted in their congregations, were naturally much annoyed by the emphasis with which Professor Christlieb taught the doctrine of the New Birth. Preaching which makes no effective distinction between the regenerate and the unregenerate, Professor Christlieb regarded, as Professor Tholuck did, with spiritual horror. It was Professor Christlieb's constant complaint, as it was Tholuck's, that while German theological training is intellectually more thorough than the Scotch or American, it is spiritually less so. He did more than any other German professor of his time, by precept and personal example, to infuse a higher spiritual wisdom into theological training and into preaching in Germany. He was, in many respects, the Tholuck of his generation. He is mourned, as Tholuck was by thousands of Scottish, English, and American students and scholars.

THE AMERICAN BOARD of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has a remarkable recent record. It is a bulwark of sound and scholarly orthodoxy. Three great national meetings of its patrons have most deliberately and emphatically approved its present policy. At Des Moines, at Springfield, and at Cleveland, the so-called New Departure, with its vague and vicious, unscriptural and unscientific, hypothesis of probation after death, was decisively discredited. There can be no doubt that the general mass of the Congregational churches most earnestly support the conclusions so solemnly proclaimed and so impressively reiterated by these national meetings. The treasury of the Board is in a highly encouraging condition. At the approaching meeting at New York, however, there may be made an effort to rearrange the organization of the Board so as indirectly

to favor the purposes of the New Departure. In view of this contingency, we have a few serious words to place on record, after many years of practical experience in various phases of missionary labor.

We hold the following propositions to be so evident that nothing but common sense and an acquaintance with the facts and influences that environ the question are needed for their acceptance:—

1. The present system of the American Board has worked admirably during the seventy-nine years of its existence. Although belonging mainly to a small denomination, no society has risen to a greater influence and confidence among men.

2. The missions of the Board have been signally blessed. Their development has been healthy and regular. Out of weakness they have become strong, and they are still advancing on all their lines. The last year has been one of unequalled progress in fields far distant from each other.

3. The financial history of the Board has been in the highest degree honorable to its management. Not a dollar has been lost in the handling and transmission of its funds, amounting in seventy-nine years to many millions.

4. The confidence of contributors can be secured in no other way than by universal absolute confidence in the ability and integrity of the financial administration. It is this which brings in the offerings, small and great, from all parts of the Union. Let this confidence be shaken but a little and disaster will speedily follow.

5. To change the character of the missions and introduce new doctrines with regard to the Scriptures, inspiration, the moral government of God, the atonement, the justice of God, and the extension of man's probation into unknown ages of the eternal future, would be worse than any financial collapse. Under such a change, or revolution, would there be any revival like that at Aintab? Would there be any unity in the work itself? Would there not be confusion among the workers?

6. To popularize the present organization by giving state or other associations an elective power is not only an insidious approach to abolishing the charter and committing the Board to

the oscillations of partisan conflicts, but it would be a measure contrary to the nature and genius of Congregationalism.

Churches would be permitted or asked to vote upon a subject in which they have no interest and have assumed no responsibility. Many Congregational churches contribute nothing to the foreign work, and are aided in the support of their own home institutions.

Very many members of Congregational churches give nothing to foreign missions. Their favorite theory is, that charity should begin at home. To them would be given the same power over the work as the most devoted givers have. The non-givers would control the gifts of the givers.

The elections would be scenes of partisan conflict and excitement. The present opposition is determined, skillful, and indefatigable. Its own men would be brought to the front, and, so far as its measures should be successful, division and distrust would follow both at home and abroad.

Some one should expose the utter ill-adaptedness of the congregational system of churches to manage and administer a work so complicated, and spread over such an immense area. The churches cannot legislate for individuals, they cannot vote funds and impose taxes. They can only recommend as they now do.

The change is sought chiefly by those who wish to plant the new theology in all the missions. One theological seminary is consecrated to this work. It is gaining insidious entrance into others. The ambition of this party is boundless. Its leaders are able. The sober judgment of Christian people rejects its theology and condemns its course. With regard to the American Board, our earnest advice is to let well enough alone, and not launch our bark upon unknown seas.

7. The Prudential Committee should be a body united in sympathies and views with the great body of their constituents. If any one is opposed to the prevalent and governing principles and measures of the body, he should be dropped. If the body should be equally divided, then one side or the other must give place. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." Such minor diversity of views as will always exist, more or less, in a body of intelligent, independent, conscientious men, and which

will be harmonized by discussion and mature consideration, is not here intended, but rather that fixed opposition which springs from fundamental differences of belief.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

FEMALE SUFFRAGE is under keen discussion in high quarters in England. Of the various able replies made to the somewhat feeble appeal put forth in the June number of the "Nineteenth Century" against woman suffrage, we select for our record of reform that by Mrs. Fawcett. The list of one hundred and four names appended to that appeal has now been more than counterbalanced by an array of two thousand names on the other side. About a quarter of these appear in the "Fortnightly" for July. It need not be said that they are names of weight and distinction. Among them are those of nearly a hundred devoted to art and music; ninety who are occupied with literature; sixty who are regular medical practitioners; eighty-five who are graduates of London, Girton, and other universities, to say nothing of members of the school board, poor law guardians, landowners, and working women. There is a full representation of countesses, marchionesses, and wives of members of parliament and church dignitaries. On the whole it must be confessed that woman suffrage, in the form in which it is advocated by Mrs. Fawcett, who does not ask that married women should vote, has reached in England a point where it cannot be put down by ridicule, but must be treated with candor and respect. The general attitude of the London and the provincial press in England has been favorable to Mrs. Fawcett and her friends.

IN opposition to the great petition for the National Sunday Rest Law, the Seventh Day Adventists are circulating a counter-petition, which, in some cases, has deceived the very elect. The petition in duplicate to the United States Senate and House of Representatives is as follows:—

We, the undersigned, adult residents of the United States, 21 years of age or more, hereby respectfully but earnestly petition your honorable body not to pass any bill in regard to the observance of the Sabbath, or Lord's Day, or any other religious or ecclesiastical institution or rite; nor to favor

in any way the adoption of any resolution for the amendment of the National Constitution that would in any way give preference to the principles of any one religion above another, or that will in any way sanction legislation upon the subject of religion, but that the total separation between Religion and the State, assured by our National Constitution as it now is, may forever remain as our fathers established it.

This Seventh Day Adventist petition is like a Maypole — it provides strings to catch all sorts and conditions of men. To the Catholic who would not sign a plain petition against Sunday laws, especially would not oppose what his cardinal had approved, they reach out the string about religion in the schools; to the Protestants, the string about church and state; to the Southern conservative, the string about keeping the Constitution as it is; and so all these dance around the disguised Maypole together, unconscious that they are being counted not alone against the things to which their attention was called, but against the civil Sabbath also.

Those who discover that their signatures have been obtained under false pretenses should so write to Senator Blair, asking that they be allowed to have their names withdrawn from the petition, or asking that their indorsement be considered only as against enforcing the religious observance of the Sabbath, not as against Sunday Rest Laws for workingmen.

INTERCOLLEGIATE work of the Young Men's Christian Association has begun to produce most encouraging results in Japan. At the student's annual meeting at Northfield, Massachusetts, at Mr. Moody's now celebrated schools, a letter was read from the college secretary, Mr. L. D. Wishard, who speaks with the authority of personal experience concerning this strategic work of reform. Under date of June 6, 1889, Mr. Wishard writes as follows from Tokyo : —

The year 1889 will live in Japanese history as the year when constitutional government was proclaimed to the inhabitants of the Land of the Morning. But the year will be memorable for another reason. It is the birth-year of an intercollegiate Christian movement by which the Christianization of the empire will be hastened and the people will be better fitted for self-government.

I landed in Yokohoma, January 8, 1889, and, as the representative of the students of America and Europe, entered upon a tour of visitation in the

leading government and Christian schools. I was met by Mr. J. T. Swift, of Yale, '84, who had come to Japan a year before to engage in teaching, and to aid in locating teachers from America in the government schools of Japan. In connection with his arduous work, he has cultivated the acquaintance of the Christian students in the three leading government colleges of the empire — the Imperial University, the Preparatory College, and the Commercial College. He has formed Bible classes in each of these institutions, and has developed them into College Young Men's Christian Associations, the three associations containing over one hundred Christian students. He had obtained \$25,000 from a gentleman in America toward the erection of two buildings — one for business men, the other for students, both to cost \$60,000. He has resigned his professorship to devote his entire time to the work of an adviser of the leaders of this enterprise.

In answer to an invitation from faculty and students, we went to Doshisha College, located at Kyoto, the old capital of the empire. It is the largest Christian school in Japan. There are over seven hundred students. Fully half of them were already professing Christians. We spent over two weeks conducting daily meetings and receiving students in our rooms for personal conversation. Notwithstanding the difficulty under which we labored in working through interpreters, over one hundred students professed Christ. In one day one hundred and three students were received into the college church. Joseph Neesima, the distinguished president of the college, says: "This is the largest number of Christians ever baptized at one time in Japan."

At Osaka several crowded meetings were held in the only Young Men's Christian Association building in the Orient. It seats over twelve hundred. Large numbers of government students were present, and many expressed a desire to become Christians. Recently a second visit was made to Osaka to follow up the work begun in February. The meetings of students and others twice a day in Association Hall were crowded. I met the students of the Government Preparatory College several times. The principal expressed a willingness to have me address a large meeting of students in the college building — the first meeting in the interest of Christianity ever held in the building. All the students and a number of professors, including the principal, were present. The subject was the "Harmony of the Bible with Science." The last day in Osaka was enriched by such an outpouring of the Spirit as I have never before witnessed in Japan, and seldom in America. Notwithstanding the heavy rain, the building was filled Sunday morning. The subject was the sin of rejecting Christ. Many were in tears and an awful stillness reigned in the meeting. At the close of the address over one hundred rose to accept Christ, including many government students. They returned in the afternoon and spent two hours in an inquiry meeting, and also filled the building again at night. The following up of this work in the Osaka government schools is assured by the presence of Mr. Theodore Gulick (of the noted Gulick missionary family) and Mr. Basset, University of Minnesota, '87, who teach in two of the leading government schools in this city.

The work in Tokyo consumed several weeks. A two weeks' series of meetings was conducted in the Meiji Gakuin, the second largest Christian college in the empire. Twenty men were baptized, and about ten more will be soon. One day the Christian students spent several hours in a meeting of confession and prayer, which one of the faculty told me was one of the most extraordinary meetings he had ever attended in Japan.

We have purchased a beautifully located lot in the very heart of the student population, less than five minutes' walk from the buildings of the Imperial University and Preparatory College, both containing seventeen hundred students and less than twenty minutes' walk from the leading commercial and normal colleges of the Empire containing a thousand more. Upon this lot we shall erect a building in the fall, which will be adapted to social and Christian work. It will contain a good-sized hall where students can gather for such meetings as we could not have to any extent in March. A general secretary will be secured on the Yale, Cornell, and Toronto plan, and a similar work carried on.

The next point visited was Nagasaki, at the entrance of whose beautiful harbor stands a lofty rock — the Pappenberg (Pope's Rock), from whose top many Christian Japanese were hurled by their persecutors several centuries ago. So urgent an invitation came from the little band of Christian men in the government medical school, to conduct some special meetings for the government students, that I remained, and, notwithstanding the driving rain, the largest church was literally packed with students. In the leading government schools we were accorded a courteous welcome by the professors, who readily consented to announce the meetings to the students. At the close of the meetings, over fifty students pledged themselves earnestly to investigate Christianity.

Kunamoto was the next point, where we were likely to encounter great hostility ; but on the first afternoon seventy of the students of the Government Preparatory College called *en masse*, questioned me for an hour or more about Christianity and Western students, and invited me to conduct some meetings for them. They appointed a committee, had fifteen hundred tickets printed, announcing the meetings, hired the largest hall in the city, which the students crowded for several days. . . .

Let me now call your special attention to a few significant facts : —

First, — The large proportion of highly educated young men in Japan who are already Christian. While only one in fifteen hundred of the entire population is Christian, one in twenty of the students in five of the leading government colleges of the empire is Christian. It must be borne in mind that thus far next to nothing has been done to evangelize the government students. If, notwithstanding this, the proportion of Christians is already so large, what may we not expect as the result of a definite movement among them ? As for the Christian schools, a large proportion, in some cases a large majority, of the students are Christians. As are the students of Germany, so is Germany, applies with equal force to this country.

Second, — This tour is helping to counteract the misrepresentations which

have been made in Japan. The Japanese have been told that Christianity is losing its hold upon the educated classes in America. I am able to offset their statements by the fact that, while among the uneducated young men in America the immense majority are not professing Christians, among the students and recent graduates of the colleges and universities a careful estimate would show that over one third are professing Christians.

The hope is expressed upon all sides that my tour of visitation in those institutions may be but the beginning of a series of such visits from students and professors from the West. The Kyoto Summer School will inaugurate a permanent agency authorized to invite certain well-known gentlemen from the West and to supervise and direct their work in Japan. Their presentation of the arguments in support of the harmony of science and Christianity, by widely known Christian scientific men, will meet a great present need in Japan. The matter has been fully discussed in Japan and the leading missionaries give their unqualified indorsement.

THE REV. WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, pastor of the Shawmut Congregational Church, Boston, and the well-known author of "The Mikado's Empire," writes as follows of the work and ancestry of the Rev. J. T. Isé, whose article on the "Prospects of Unitarianism in Japan" has a leading place in the present number of *OUR DAY*:—

A young Japanese pastor of a Christian church in Tokyo, located near the Imperial University with its two thousand young men, in the educational centre of the empire, containing twenty thousand students of high grade, is now in the United States asking for help to build a church edifice. His name is Isé (ee-say), or, in full, Rev. J. T. Isé. His work is among scholars, students, and the men who will lead New Japan.

Born December 1, 1858, he in 1871 became a Christian, and, despite persecution, threats, and a private sort of imprisonment well known in Japan, resolved to be a preacher of the gospel. After three years' study in Tokyo and Kyoto he began pastoral work at Imabari, and in two years, by God's blessing, had a church of seventy-seven members and a good church edifice. In seven years the membership of three hundred and seventy members showed this church to be the largest Protestant church in Japan. Then called to Tokyo, to begin work among the students, Mr. Isé has been for over a year pastor of a church of seventy-five members, which is without a house of worship. Having fought the lion and the bear of local heathenism, he is now sallying forth with the gospel pebbles to meet the great Goliath of intellectual unbelief and spiritual apathy at the capital. He is no untried stripling in the discipline of the faith.

But who was his father? Let Americans, always so friendly to Japan, who think Commodore Matthew Perry and the American diplomacy of 1854 and later did so much to create the Japan of to-day, know who Yokoi,

the father of this young David of Japan, was. Let them see that God has had equally important instruments inside Japan as well as without.

Yokoi was born in 1808, and remained a bachelor until forty, that he might become a masterful scholar. Hating mere pedantry and erudition, Yokoi sought to know truth, and to reform his native land, so sunk in heathenism, idolatry, superstition, sensualism, and despotism. He waited long years vainly for an opportunity that never came until the American flag mirrored its stars and stripes in the waters of Yedo Bay. Then rising to the occasion, and brave as a lion, Yokoi, despite dangers to his life, declared in favor of intercourse with foreigners, reform of hoary abuses and cruelties, and the lightening of the people's burdens. One of the first to recognize his character and abilities was the Baron of Echizen. Inviting Yokoi to be his teacher and counselor, this enlightened nobleman made his court at Fukui the centre of light, learning, and reform. When called to be premier in Yedo, the Lord of Echizen made Yokoi his right-hand man, and noble were their labors in the interest of reform; but the time of cleansing the Augean stables had not yet come, and on the premier resigning office Yokoi retired to his farm in Higo.

There he conceived the plan of sending Japanese lads to study in the United States, and his nephews, Isé and Numagawa, the first of hundreds to follow, arrived at New Brunswick in 1866. He also taught the people to improve the products most in demand in Europe and America, and thus increase Japanese commerce.

Greatest of all, this admirer of the American constitution, government, and people obtained from missionaries in Shanghai a copy of the Bible in Chinese, and, reading it, was convinced of its truth. Though disapproving of some of the forms which Christianity had assumed in the history of Europe, we may say truly that, without having seen a missionary, and when there were no Christians whom he knew of in Japan, and no church, Yokoi was essentially a Christian. In a letter to a friend he wrote: "In a few years Christianity will come to Japan, and capture the hearts of the best young men."

On the 3d of January, 1868, the crisis of a century and a half of internal preparation, hastened powerfully by the advent of Perry and foreigners, was precipitated; the Tycoon was overthrown; feudalism received its first blow; and the government which rules Japan was inaugurated. Yokoi was at once summoned to the new cabinet, and made a counselor of the emperor. Even before he arrived the new constitution had been proclaimed, the Mikado taking oath to enforce the five articles on which it was based. These, proposed by Mr. Yuri, of Fukui, a young disciple of Yokoi, were:—

1. The formation of a congress, or deliberative body.
2. The decision of government measures according to public opinion.
3. Abolition of uncivilized customs.
4. Impartiality and justice displayed in nature to be made the basis of action.

5. Intellect and learning to be sought for throughout the whole world to establish the empire.

New Japan was thus born. Arriving promptly in Kyoto, Mr. Yokoi, then sixty years of age, and the oldest of his colleagues, began his incessant labors in the interest of morality, freedom, reform, and justice. He proposed at once the elevation to citizenship of the degraded Yéta class, who, though human beings, had been treated for centuries as beasts. He plead for freedom of speech and the press, the equalization of taxation, and the grand ideas which, on the 11th of February, 1889, were settled in the present constitution of Japan.

In one year he had done a mighty work in building up New Japan, despite threatened assassination ; but his end was near. On the 15th of February, 1869, on his return from the palace, he was set upon by six men, and shot, beheaded, outraged, his headless trunk lay in the streets of Kyoto. The only reason given by his assassins and by Japanese historians for the dastardly deed is that Yokoi was suspected of harboring "evil opinions," by which was then meant Christianity. Thus died a patriot, and we think we may say, not a church-member, but a Christian. He died for Japan, for freedom, for man, for Christ.

"The noblest place for man to die,
Is where he dies for man."

The blood of this martyr was the seed of New Japan. Shall it be the seed of the holy Church of Christ also ?

Having lived one year at Fukui Echizen and nearly three years in Tokyo, besides having visited Kyoto, the scenes of the principal labors of Mr. Yokoi, the father of Mr. Isé, and knowing well the influence of both father and son, and the needs of New Japan, I heartily commend this special Christian enterprise.

The son of Japan's martyr for liberty and true Christianity asks for help in winning the intellect and heart of his countrymen to Christ. Send your gifts to MR. ALPHEUS H. HARDY, Sears Building, Boston, Mass. The money for the church is to be expended under the oversight of the missionaries of the A. B. C. F. M. in Tokyo.

Mr. Isé himself, at our request, has sent us the following notes concerning his father's career. We gladly make these pathetic statements a part of our record of reform : —

The three great offenses my father gave the men of his generation were :

1. His advocacy of foreign intercourse ; not, he said, because we could not fight the foreigners, but because intercourse between the different countries of the world is the most natural and reasonable policy. He thought the time would come when the nations would live in peace and fraternity. For this he was killed, but is now regarded as one of the first men of foresight of the time.

2. His idea was that the aim of the king, the statesman, and all who had

any authority, should be to better the condition of the *people*. He tried to teach the Mikado and the friends of the Mikado that unless the emperor governed well he had no right to sit on a throne ; that he was responsible to Heaven ; and that to fulfill that responsibility he must live for the people. My father was charged with being a republican, and with planning for the overthrow of the monarchy. For this he is still unappreciated. This was also one of the reasons why he was assassinated.

3. His belief was that Christianity was not bad, that Christian countries were better governed than others, and the condition of the people better in them than in Japan or China. He was not a Christian, but he approached very near to Christianity in his conceptions of morality and Providence. He used to say to my mother constantly, when things were dark around him and he was sorely persecuted, that Providence or Heaven was specially thoughtful of him in trying him ; that he was one of Heaven's specially loved ones, because afflicted. When the restoration took place, the Mikado sent for him thrice. To the first two calls the local officials, who hated my father, answered that he was ill and could not go to Kyoto. Some of his disciples were impatient of the delay, and seriously thought of going personally to these officials in order to have some frank talk with them and urge the matter. My father told them that unless the Mikado's government wanted him so much as to send for him again, he could be of no service to them even if he went, and also advised them to wait the openings of Providence. His constant idea was that good should be done always through proper means, never through foul means. He stood alone in his generation, uncomprehended. My father's life is about to be published.

THE SUNDAY NEWSPAPER is the giant that breaks down all the six gates to the citadel of Sabbath rest. In a certain walled city, each trade had a separate quarter and a gate of its own. A giant came against the city, with a host of followers ; with his battering-ram he broke down, one after another, the six gates, the gate that protected professional men, the gate that protected mechanics, the gate that protected merchants, the gate that protected hucksters, the gate that protected transporters, the gate that protected amusement-venders. Through these broken gates his greedy soldiers rushed in to plunder and destroy.

The Sunday newspaper breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of professional men by requiring Sunday work of editors. Lawyers and professors, erelong, must share this Sunday slavery unless this gate is rebuilt.

The Sunday newspaper breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of mechanics by requiring Sunday work of printers. If a man may manufacture news on the Sabbath, why

not shoes? The Sunday newspaper breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of merchants by requiring Sunday work of newsdealers. It is a crime against equity for law or custom, having allowed the Sunday sale of gossip and slander, to stop the sale of anything else.

The Sunday newspaper breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of hucksters by requiring Sunday work of the newsboys. If we allow the restful quiet of the Sabbath to be smashed by the cry, "Sunday newspapers," by what right can we suppress the more wholesome crying of "Cabbages?"

The Sunday newspaper breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of those engaged in transportations by requiring Sunday work in the delivery of the paper of mailmen, expressmen, and railroad men. Apologists for the Sunday paper talk of the Monday paper as requiring more Sunday work, as if editors and printers were the only persons that worked on a newspaper. Ten times as many persons work on Sunday in delivering Sunday papers as in making them, while the Monday paper can be issued and is issued in some cases without any Sunday work at all.

The Sunday paper also breaks down the gate that protects the Sabbath rest of amusement venders. The Sunday newspaper is a Sunday amusement. A curious way to be amused, to gaze into a dozen columns of gaunt "wants" and a morgue of horrors! Surely one who sanctions the issue of a Sunday newspaper cannot justly forbid any other exhibition of monstrosities. The lowest dime museum is morally equal to the worst Sunday papers, and the best theatre is equal to the best Sunday papers and has an equal right to use the Sabbath for works of gain.

Here, then, is the chief crime of the Sunday newspapers — that they break down every gate that protects the Sabbath rest of the people. One cannot stand, with Sunday newspaper in hand, and consistently object to any other kind of work or amusement that is legal on a week-day going on "every day in the year." Sunday newspaper editors feel this, and so, with inconsistent and inconsequent exceptions, defend all other crimes against the Sabbath laws as well as their own. Either our Sab-

bath rest or our Sunday newspapers must go. The equity which is the very soul of law, the "fair play" which is the very essence of Americanism, will not long tolerate Sunday work for gain only so far as it is in the interest of the millionaires who own the newspapers, the railroads, and the saloons, and keep their employees in the Egyptian bondage of Sabbathless toil.

All Sunday work for gain, not also work of necessity or mercy, must be impartially suppressed, including the Sunday newspaper, whose chief crime is not that it bars the entrance to the churches to keep the people out, but that its manifold Sunday work breaks down every gate in the citadel of Sabbath rest. The Sunday newspaper is a Carthage that wages ceaseless war on the Sabbath. Both cannot survive. "*Delenda est Carthago.*"

W. F. CRAFTS.

THE movement urging the government to disallow the Jesuit Estates Bill has been the occasion of a scene in the Canadian House of Commons which we will venture to call *unique* in the record of party legislation. The present government, traditionally conservative, in policy protective, can readily on a division command, in a house of 215, a majority of over three score. Having had in due course submitted to it the Jesuit Bill, it formally declared that it would be allowed. A government supporter brought in a motion expressly censuring the government for its course in this matter. A rare opportunity, one would think, for the opposition. The debate was well sustained. The House divided; 201 members were present; the government was sustained by a vote of 188 to 13, the majority including all the more prominent members of the opposition. The thirteen were about equally divided between the two parties. Virtually the government was unanimously sustained. Why? The present government has since then used the veto power on a question affecting the appointment of judges, but contend that the Jesuit Estates Bill was strictly within the rights of the provincial legislature. The opposition justify their vote on the ground of their record in the matter of provincial autonomy.

The real reason is that the Roman Catholic priesthood key the political arch as parties now stand. The Italian priest has

more political power in Canada than Queen Victoria, though it is a British colony. Friends of the United States, this question has growing interest for you, for French Canadian patriotism is the patriotism of the Middle Ages, and is dreaming — nay, working — to reconquer America and thus make amends for the losses of the past. Roman legions held Greece in political subjection, but Greece conquered led captive her fierce conqueror by the fascination of her arts and fashions. Roman Catholic France may still regain her sway by a power more potent and lasting than the sword, and she is distinctly avowing her intention of so doing. If America sleeps, she will awake surprised.

JOHN BURTON.

Toronto.

CLARK UNIVERSITY at Worcester, Massachusetts, October 2, was formally opened with appropriate but unostentatious exercises. Public interest in the institute was shown by the presence of fifteen hundred people in the upper hall where the dedicating exercises took place and by the presence on the grounds of hundreds of people who were unable to gain admittance to the building. Ex-Attorney-General Devens presided, and opened the exercises promptly at 3 o'clock with a brief address of welcome in the course of which he said: "While we have not extended our invitations outside of the limits of the city, to many friends of science and education, whose appreciation and encouragement we highly value, it is because our present state of preparation, although sufficient to justify us in commending the work in those departments of science which we have announced for instruction, is less complete than we could desire, although in matters of detail rather than in those of substance. Whether there shall be at some later period a more formal opening or dedication will be a matter hereafter to be considered. We have received from the founder of the university a most generous gift, the good effects of which, if wisely used, will be felt long after the grass grows green above each one of us."

Rev. Calvin Stebbins, of the First Unitarian Church, offered the prayer of invocation. Colonel John D. Washburn then read a paper prepared by Mr. Clark, the founder of the university.

The following are a few extracts from Mr. Clark's paper : —

We started upon our career with the determinate view of giving to the public all the benefits and advantages of a university, comprehending full well what that implies and feeling the full force of the general understanding that a university must, to a large degree, be a creation of time and experience. We have, however, boldly assumed as the foundation of our institution the principles, the tests, and the responsibilities of universities as they are everywhere recognized, but without making any claim for the prestige or flavor which age imparts to all things. It has, therefore, been our purpose to lay our foundations broad and strong and deep. . . . We propose to put into the hands of those who are members of the university, engaged in its several departments, every facility which money can command—to the extent of our ability—in the way of apparatus and appliances that can in any way promote our object in this direction. . . . All that will be required of any applicant will be evidence, disclosed by examinations or otherwise, that his attainments are such as to qualify him for the position which he seeks.

Mr. Clark's words were warmly applauded. President G. Stanley Hall then read his inaugural address, in which were made these announcements :—

Our history begins more than twenty years ago, in the plans of a reticent and sagacious man, whose leave we cannot here await to speak of, who in affluence maintains the simple and regular mode of life inbred in the plain New England home of his boyhood; plans that have steadily grown with his fortune, and that have been followed and encouraged with an eager and growing interest, which extended to even minor items, by the devoted companion of his life. . . . When one who has graduated with highest honors from this rigorous school of business, after spending years of travel abroad studying the means by which knowledge and culture, the most precious riches of the race, are increased and transmitted, and finding no reason why our country, which so excels in business, should be content with the second best in science, devotes to its services not only his fortune at the end of his life, but also years yet full of exceptional and unabated energy, we see in it not only the normal, complete, if you please, a postgraduate ethical maturity of an individual business life, but also a promise of what wealth now seems likely to do for higher education in America.

The more advanced our standards are to be, the fewer will be our students, and the more expensive their needed outfit of books and apparatus. If we divide our running expenses only by the number of students our present fellowships and scholarships allow us to receive out of our 250 applicants, the amount we spend per student the first year will probably be without a parallel.

Senator George F. Hoar was the next speaker. Some of

the valuable thoughts in the Senator's address were the following: —

When the purpose of Mr. Clark was first announced, there were many people who thought it would have been better to enlarge the resources of some existing college. But as his plans have gradually unfolded, such critics have become satisfied not only that this university can do its work without jar or friction with any other, but that the time has come when a work should be done in this country which it may not be wholly convenient for any other, just now, to undertake, I find an especial sublimity in that purpose of the founder which gives this institution its distinction and peculiarity, certainly among American institutions of learning. It seems to me very remarkable that a man whose own training and life, whose own disciplines and successes have been among what are called practical affairs, who in early life had so well known the need of the strict economies in which our fathers in New England brought up their children, should have conceived the plan of endowing an institution where the study of science for her own sake, as an end, and not as an instrument, should be the leading object; that he should have called into its service eminent scholars whose chief occupation is to be research rather than teaching, and should have understood so perfectly that while waste and extravagance in the smallest things are not only wrong but criminal, the costliest is often the cheapest, so the highest excellence cannot otherwise be attained.

Let no man think that this university is to be indifferent to the moral or religious character of her children. She will signally fail in the judgment of those who expect most from her, if the truths to be revealed to those who study here shall fail to beget a spirit of child-like reverence in the presence of the author of all truth, or if, "by the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night shall grow up in their minds toward divine mysteries." We do not exalt science above faith, or intellectual attainment above moral character. The child that has learned to govern its will by the golden rule, though it can scarce count its fingers, is higher in the scale of being than the astronomer who has not learned that lesson, though he know all Kepler's laws, and have catalogued the stars.

Rev. Dr. Edward Everett Hale of Boston was the last speaker. His remarks were extemporaneous, facetious, and as usual to the point.

The exercises in the hall closed with a benediction pronounced by Rev. Daniel Merriman, D. D., of the Central Congregational Church.

We bid this new university a hearty God-speed, hoping it will be of inestimable service to the multitudes who shall enter its halls and expecting it will prove a safeguard to constitutional liberty.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

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DOMESTIC SERVICE.

TWO prime elements, mistress and maid, enter into the problem of domestic service. Around these cluster many minor elements, and the equation sought is one which shall make all these equal to a well-ordered home. This is a serious and crucial problem, on whose solution rests, much more frequently than we imagine, that of those other questions: Is housekeeping a failure? Is marriage a failure?

It is preëminently a woman question; if it is not solved, we cannot lay the blame upon masculinity: no bloated bond-holder nor tight-fisted monopolist can be held responsible for failure to solve this problem, whose working out must be in our undisputed realm, the home.

Yet I do not admit, what some claim, that the unsatisfactory condition of domestic service, which confessedly needs reforming quite as much as does civil service, is proof of woman's incompetency to govern, or that all the blame lies at her door. This problem, like all others into which the human element enters, is wondrously complicated, far-reaching, and intertwined with some of the deepest problems of social science. Let us examine a few of its elements of complexity.

First, the high-pressure life of the American nineteenth century, especially in cities. It affects domestic service, not only by making every man in a hurry for his breakfast, and cross if it is five minutes late, but in a much more serious way through

the great nerve strain upon mistress and to some extent upon maid. Think what this strain is upon every dweller in New York or Chicago, just from its rush and roar. The noise, the hurry, the confusion of city life tire us more than all the work we do, as is proved by the fact that we can perform an amount of work which in the city wears us out, and can work restfully if only it can be done amid green fields and country quiet. This strain, of which city-born people may not be so conscious as am I who am country-bred, is still a sapping of nerve force, whose loss makes women less able to meet the constant demands upon strength and patience sure to be made by household duties.

Whether it be due to our climate, or to the hurry and push of the nation, it is an undisputed fact that we are more fine-strung nervously than almost any other nation upon earth; consequently things worry, fret, and hurt us in a way that could never be imagined by women like those Rubens so delighted in painting. We have not naturally that steady equipoise of nerve which is so essential to success in governing both ourselves and our servants.

Again, the complexity of modern life is a potent factor in our problem. The very multiplicity of modern improvements enslaves us. Contrast the days when "Adam delved and Eve span" — though what for I never could imagine, for they wore no clothes — with this day of gas fixtures, water pipes, electric bells, and what not. Or, to go back no farther than twenty years, contrast our kitchen then with the institution now. If there is one thing that, more than another, gives calm content to the housewife, it is the feeling that she is monarch of all she surveys, and is able to control all the forces in her dominion. Twenty years ago she could do this. With water in conveniently placed cistern or well, she could draw it whenever she chose, with no fear of having it "cut off" to fix the main in the middle of Monday's washing; her home-made candles or lamp might not give as brilliant a light as a gas jet or an incandescent, but when she had it, she had it, and no outsider could by the turn of a crank shut her off into darkness. She might not always be able to summons her family from "upstairs, downstairs, in my lady's chamber," as hastily as if all were connected

by electric bells, but her power to call them did not reside in cups and batteries over which she had no control. Our modern conveniences, good as they are, certainly do take away from the housewife her sense of power and of certainty, making her feel that her kitchen is ruled in large measure by unseen forces over which she has no authority. This certainly affects her character, making her less self-reliant, hence less fitted to rule well in her kingdom of home. Each one of our modern improvements is, no doubt, a great convenience, and I have no desire to forego them; still it is well, once in a while, to think of the price we pay for them.

There is another way in which they enter into our problem, and this has to do with the maid as that had to do with the mistress. All these "improvements" are liable to get out of order; they require knowledge, skill, and judgment to run them. Introduce into a home thoroughly fitted up with them a green daughter of green Erin, whose sole training for domestice service has been in her native cabin, and to whom furnaces, gas, and water pipes are unknown quantities; keep in mind the antagonism which seems to exist between ignorance and labor-saving machinery, as indicated frequently by Nora's refusal to use even a wringer, and you have a reason other than incompetency of the mistress for things not running smoothly.

Another thing bearing upon the question, for which she is not at all to blame, is republican institutions. They may be very good in their place, but they certainly have a bad effect on our kitchens. I am heterodox enough to believe that "universal equality,"—the foundation of republican institutions,—at least as it is often *misunderstood*, is not an unmixed good; that some "class distinctions," so far as having a class trained for domestic service, and considering it an honor, not a disgrace, would be a boon alike to mistress and to maid. Contrast the calm content of the English housemaid who wins the Victoria cross, or her German sister who wins a corresponding decoration, by thirty years' continuous service in one family, with the thriftless unrest of our servants, who make as many changes as the moon, and are ever aping the mistress. And what must it be to the housekeeper to have come to her on her wedding-day a maid who has

been trained by her mother, and remains with her till death doth them part! Some of our mothers had this blessed experience, but I fear few women of this generation or succeeding ones will have it, and the fact that they will not goes a long way toward making housekeeping, in many cases, a failure. If only we could look forward, as Edward Bellamy looked backward, to perfectly trained and perfectly appreciated domestic service, failure here would never be known.

False ideas of equality, the notion put into every schoolboy's head that he stands a good chance of being President, and every girl's of being the President's wife, tend to remove far from us the era when mistress and maid shall be coördinate, not opposing, forces. "Equality, equality, equality!" — the changes are rung upon this word *ad nauseam*, especially about election time, by politicians bidding for "the labor vote," until we feel like exclaiming of it, as of Liberty, "What crimes are committed in thy name!"

These changes echo across the Atlantic, and draw to our shores thousands who come with as utter a misconception of the conditions of life here as had a high-born Swedish lady, who, when America was mentioned, exclaimed: "Indeed, I never could live there; my family and my servants would be on an equality!" This is the idea with which nine tenths of the emigrants come to America. A very serious element in our problem is making clear the distinction between real and fancied equality; between the equality of inalienable rights — life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — and the equality of acquired rights, those won by education and training.

Because this distinction is not clear, even in the mind of the mistress, we are confronted by another disturbing element, — lack of any acknowledged line of demarcation between trained and untrained labor in domestic service. The untrained servant demands, and often receives, the same wages paid to her who thoroughly understands her business. This state of things will continue so long as we have no recognized standard of excellence by which wages are regulated; as long as it does continue, it hinders the solution of our problem.

The first step of reform in this direction must be taken by the

mistress: she must refuse to pay the same wages for bad service as for good; until she does this there will be no real reform; that is, she must conduct her household upon business principles. No business man would think of paying an inexperienced clerk the wages won by experience and success. We must adopt the same rule, or we shall continue to have incompetent service.

"But," you say, "we cannot get trained servants." I know it, and here we touch bottom in our worst Slough of Despond. The hopelessness of our present condition emphasizes the necessity of two things, — training-schools for servants, and the ability of each mistress to train her own maid.

There seems to be quite as much need of training-schools for mistresses as for maids. Thousands of girls marry with no more practical knowledge of housekeeping than have kittens. "Housekeeping comes natural to women," they say, and trust to "inspiration" to carry them through. But housekeeping is the most complex of all employments, requiring more knowledge, more thought, and more judgment than any of the professions, with an immense amount of grace and grit added to make it a success! Henry Ward Beecher says that it requires the same kind of talent, and about as much of it, to rule a house well as to rule a kingdom. We have only to consider the multifarious demands made upon a housewife to be convinced that he does not exaggerate. The most thorough previous preparation cannot always prevent failure, as unforeseen exigencies will arise for which no preparation was possible; without any preparation, failure is almost inevitable.

A well-trained mistress is essential to well-performed domestic service. The most successful business men are those who, like one of New York's merchant princes, can boast their ability to teach every one in the establishment how to do his own specific work. This is one secret of the success of men who have worked their way up from store or office boy to proprietor. The same principle holds true in housework: she is the best mistress who succeeds in having her maids perform the best service, and perform it in the best spirit. To do this she must not only know how everything should be done, but she must awaken

enthusiasm in the doing, and a commendable pride in excellence. This is impossible if she shows either ignorance of, or contempt for, household service.

She needs thorough knowledge to make her mistress of the situation, instead of being at the mercy of servants. To rule her kitchen wisely she must be absolutely fearless, not made cowardly by felt ignorance. Again, she needs this knowledge in order to deal justly by her servants; without it she cannot judge what ought and what ought not to be required of them. An ignorant mistress is liable to impose on her handmaids by demanding of them more than is just; or to be imposed upon by their shirking what they really ought to do. Then the fact that she knows just how hard their work is, and that they know she knows it, establishes a bond of sympathy between mistress and maids that is a wonderful help over hard places.

The mistress must be a skilled worker in order to direct intelligently. Her brain should be competent to direct her servants' hands: to do so it must first become trained in directing her own. We must recognize the close connection between hand and brain. Work develops brain power. Physicians tell us that if a hand is cut off or paralyzed, a certain region of the brain suffers atrophy. If the mistress has not practiced doing the thing, not only are her muscles untrained, but her brain lacks the development necessary for rightly directing its doing. Success or failure depend largely upon her method of directing; clear, distinct, methodical directions go a long way in securing successful execution.

Back of this lies methodical planning of work. Nowhere is the command, "Let all things be done decently and in order," more imperative than in the kitchen. Systematize work; let each day have its appropriate labor, with margins for the unexpected that always happens, so that when Nora wakes in the morning she loses no time in wondering what is to be done that day. Having established your system, abide by it, even at the expense of some inconvenience to yourself. Routine work soon becomes second nature, and is performed almost automatically, thus preventing jars.

On the other hand, the wise mistress respects the individuality

of her maid. If her preparation for housekeeping has been confined to the study of cook-books, she will probably know only one way of doing a thing, and will insist on Nora's doing it *that* way, to the great detriment both of the work and of Nora's temper. Broader views and more experience would have taught her to have held Nora responsible for *results* only, leaving her free as to methods, providing they are not objectionable. No two people work alike, and we all work most easily in our own way. David never yet fought well in Saul's armor.

Definite understanding of duties, and this at the very beginning, is indispensable. Some ladies fear to have Nora's duties fully understood before hiring, lest she refuse to come. I have always found it well to mark out the duties before hiring, more strictly than I expected them to be performed; there was then no after-clap. The mistress' duties should be just as clearly defined and just as strictly adhered to. If in the bargain she is to attend to the parlor and do the dishes Monday morning, be sure she does it, unless something unavoidable prevents. When this is the case, my experience is that the maid is always ready to take the extra work of a mistress who shows that she intends to do her share.

But if the maid never knows exactly what she is expected to do, or what her mistress will do, — if to-day she is called away from her ironing to sweep the parlor, or to-morrow interrupted in the midst of her baking, — no wonder she becomes confused and cross. Or, in the larger establishment, if there be no distinct line of demarcation between the duties of cook and dining-room girl, between those of nurse-girl and chambermaid, the mistress may as well abdicate, for she cannot rule.

Is it not a fact that we expect too much of our servants? I refer now particularly to moral characteristics. Do we not demand that they shall be perfect? "Of course not," you say. Yet stop a minute; go through the category and see which of the cardinal virtues we are willing to omit. Is it truthfulness? "Certainly not; we cannot have one about the house whose word we cannot believe." Is it honesty? "It would be absurd to ask us to harbor a thief, even if her depredations were restricted to sugar-bowl and cake-box." Can we spare punctu-

ality? "Not unless we would throw the domestic machinery out of gear." Can we put up with impudence or hot temper? "Our own temper is too hot for that."

If we go through the whole list, I think we will not find one virtue we would willingly spare from the make-up of our maid. But *we* do not possess them all: we certainly ought not to expect to hire all the cardinal virtues for twenty dollars a month. We may just as well make up our minds to dispense with some of them, for we shall have it to do; common-sense dictates that we decide which can be spared with least detriment to the service. A fault that totally unfits a servant for one position may not seriously interfere with her work in another. For instance, the hot temper of a good cook is proverbial: well, let it be hot, that will interfere with her duties less than would many other faults; keep yourself cool. But such a temper could not be tolerated in a nursery-maid, while she may be so slow as to be unfit for a cook or chambermaid without seriously interfering with her care of children.

But Nora has faults which we can hardly put up with in any position, faults plenty and glaring; she is often untruthful, dishonest, slovenly, impudent, and generally provoking. What can be done about it?

Elevate both the standard and the standing of domestic service to a height which excludes such servants and attracts a better class. How can this be done? If I could give an infallible recipe, I should expect canonization by American housewives. No such honor awaits me; yet by looking the condition squarely in the face, we may gain a hint of the remedy. The fundamental difficulty is, that domestic service is considered degrading. How this ever came about is a mystery; and whether any remedy less radical than that of Bellamy will cure it, is a question. Measured by a rational standard, it should be most honorable, as it is most necessary.

"But the drudgery of it!" Yes, there is drudgery about housework, but to my mind it is not so unpleasant as the monotonous drudgery of shop or office. After all, drudgery depends more upon mental than physical conditions. We grant that the conditions surrounding housework — unattractiveness and iso-

lation of the kitchen, lack of appreciation, snubbings, and the like — tend to produce that despondent frame of mind in which anything would be drudgery. Yet these conditions are not inevitable: it lies largely within the power of the mistress to improve them; and by doing so she does much to remove the stigma resting on the vocation. We need to bring more of the human element into our problem, remembering that our maids are of like passions as we are, subject to moods and tenses like the rest of us, feeling the depression of unpleasant surroundings even more than we who have so many resources within ourselves. Careful and kindly attention to the surroundings of our maid, not simply those of the kitchen, which help her to do *our* work better, but those that pertain to herself individually and show our care for her comfort, and pleasure, will do much towards helping her rise above the mere drudgery plane. A blooming plant placed in her window on her birthday has made a maid's heart light for many a day. Nor is there any danger of such little sisterly attentions making her presuming; they rather tend to make her humble.

Domestic service is more honored in other countries than in America. The English housemaid is never ashamed of her calling, nor does she aspire to equality with the daughters of the family. She does not "give notice" because her beaux are remanded to the area door, nor aspire to be better dressed than her mistress, all of which things are not unknown in America. What is the reason? She was born to her condition, is content to remain in it, and glad to be trained for it. None of these things are true of the majority of our servants. In this discussion I have purposely left out of the calculation intelligent American girls, such as often really "graced" our grandmothers' kitchens, because so few are now found in domestic service that they do not affect the average. Most of our servants have no hereditary aptitude for American housekeeping, being born to conditions entirely different; neither have they been trained for their work, hence cannot do it well, and of course are not content in it. Nobody is ever contented or happy doing slipshod service of any kind. Added to this element of discontent is the one before referred to, — false ideas of equality which they

bring to our shores. They come impressed with the wonderful possibilities America has in store for them; and what wonder when an Irishman, naturalized only seven months before the last election, is appointed to represent this nation in a foreign court! Then the great demand for servants, created by the prejudice against domestic service among those to the manor born, increases their estimate of themselves. All these things combine to produce the obstreperousness of average intelligence-office girls. Put such an one into the family of a lady unskilled in domestic science, and she will soon be terrorized into abject submission to the iron rule of her servant.

The presence of such persons in so many kitchens is one reason why intelligent, self-respecting girls will not work there. No vocation ranks higher than the average character of those engaged in it. Thus the disfavor in which American girls hold housework is at once a cause and an effect of the evils we deplore: they leave our kitchens to the mercy of those who degrade domestic service; then refuse to enter that service because it is thus degraded. Thus the evil, acting and reacting, perpetuates itself.

Do not misunderstand me as undervaluing all foreign house-servants; I cherish too many grateful memories of devoted, efficient service by faithful German, capable Swedish, and warm-hearted Irish maidens to do that willingly. I am only speaking of the servant girl as she often exists, and of the general prejudice against domestic service. What causes it? Why will girls prefer to work in shop or store, often amid unpleasant surroundings, live in cheap boarding-houses from which every element of home is eliminated, for less wages, after deducting board, than they would receive in families? Why are all other employments for women crowded to distraction, while in this — woman's own work, where man cannot compete — the supply never equals the demand? If we suggest housework to the crowds of girls always seeking clerkships, they exclaim, "We won't be anybody's servant to be looked down upon."

By the by, we believe that substituting the good old Bible word "maid" for servant, as our English sisters do, is an improvement. "Servant" seems to be a peculiarly objectionable

word in America, perhaps from recollections of slavery days, for house slaves were called servants. Many have been the devices to avoid this rock of offense, as the New England use of the word "help" and ours of "girl" testify, but neither of these is as definitive or pleasant, either in sound or association, as housemaid.

Our applicant's fear of being looked down upon brings us back to our fundamental difficulty, — domestic service is considered degrading; until we can remove this objection we can make little headway in solving our problem. The uplifting of the work and the worker must go on together. Make housekeeping respected, and respectable girls will go into it; bring into the calling intelligent, self-respecting girls, and they will win for it respect. I am glad to know there are multitudes of such girls scattered throughout our land, helping to make its homes more homelike, appreciated and loved by their mistresses, and respected by the community. Where this is the case, the vocation itself is respected. When these cases become the rule, our problem will be solved.

How can we aid in their becoming so? First, the mistress must respect the vocation. If, by her ignorance or neglect of it, she shows her contempt for housework, her maid will not win for it the respect of others. She must respect the individuality and inalienable rights of her maid. There is a species of nagging carried on by some mistresses, often unconsciously we have the charity to believe, which goes a great way toward prejudicing girls against domestic service. This and the lack of system in many households, whose mistresses are incapable of planning their work well, and often interfere with the well-formed plans of their subordinates, is one reason why office work, with its regular routine, is preferred to housework.

The gregarious instinct, usually strong in those who have few resources within themselves, is another reason for this preference. Did you ever think of the desolateness of being alone in a stranger's kitchen from morning to night? Often this lonesomeness is intensified by homesick yearnings for parents, brothers, and sisters across the sea. Our maid has few mental resources, probably no fondness for reading, so her hungry heart

feeds on itself and eats out all the joy of life. In shop or store she would have plenty of company of her own kind; true, they might not talk with her, but the very sight of their faces and the sense of their presence would in a measure appease the heart-hunger. The wise mistress will recognize this need of her maid for companionship and supply it.

A reason often given for preferring shop or office work to housework is that what time a girl has after her work is done is her own, and this is not the case when doing housework. But it ought to be, and a just mistress will see that it is so. By the way, justice is a prime necessity in the mistress; kind she should be, but just she must be. Had we time to go through the whole list, we should find that the real conditions which make domestic service in such bad repute, it is in the power of a just, judicious, and wise mistress to remedy. There are many fancied grievances growing out of outside influences, over which she has no control; but her application of the Golden Rule to her domestic economy would remove the real offense.

Granted such a mistress, where can she secure servants that are fitting complements to her? From a domestic training school, if she can, or she may take the raw material and train it to her liking. Nor is this such a difficult task as many imagine, given the two conditions precedent, — the mistress's ability to train, and the maid's ability and willingness to be trained. One of the best housemaids I had, during twenty-five years' experience, came to me direct from the ship, unable to speak a word of English; but there was good stuff in her and eagerness to learn. Mine was a small household in which were no little children making imperative demands upon time and attention, so that I could afford the time for her training. Many house-mothers cannot do this; they must depend upon the training of others to give them the "experienced help" for which demands stare us in the face in every daily paper, or upon domestic-service training schools. Nothing seems more needed than such institutions; the twentieth century will surely bring them. They must not rest upon a charity foundation, and thus prejudice self-respecting girls against them. That industrial schools for girls have been so largely charity schools,

may be one reason why so many girls condemn training-schools for domestic service. Our ideal institution will necessarily be a philanthropic movement in the start, just as all colleges look to philanthropy or the state for endowment, for the demand for the training-school is not yet sufficient to endow it; but once established, it should be made self-supporting. Each pupil should pay tuition, thus encouraging that independence which scorns to take something for nothing. Arrangements could be made, as in some of our colleges, to have the tuition paid in installments, after entering service, but paid in some way it must be. Things that cost nothing are deemed worth nothing. I firmly believe that if we had household-service schools, in which are taught in practical fashion all housewifely arts, with tuition to be paid as in colleges, in money, or as in training-schools for nurses, in service, they would be well patronized, and would go far toward lifting us out of our Slough of Despond. An employment for which careful training is required and must be paid for, soon comes to be looked upon with respect by both mistress and maid. What training-schools for nurses have done for that profession, will schools of domestic service do for that profession. All hail to the philanthropists who shall establish them!

Are there any signs of a better day's dawning? Many. The first we shall mention is one often thought to militate against the improvement in household service,—the opening of other employments to women. The dearth of intelligent housemaids is often laid to this cause, but we have seen there are other causes at work to produce this result. Even if it does decrease the number of good maids, it more than makes amends by increasing the number of good mistresses. For our office girls and teachers marry in spite of us, and my experience is that they make capital housekeepers. They may not have had the opportunity for acquiring the technique of housekeeping, but they have habits of systematic, painstaking work which fit them admirably for housekeeping. The fact that they have been under authority gives them insight into the trials of their maids and sympathy with them. In the case of true women, a few years' experience in office and boarding-house makes them ap-

preciate their home, as never could be done by one who steps right into her husband's home from her father's, wherein she had been as care-free as the lilies that neither toil nor spin.

The attention now being paid to household economy is another encouraging sign of the times. It is shown both by the multiplicity of books and papers devoted to this subject, and by the character of the writings upon it, engaging, as it does, some of the ablest pens in the land. This dignifies it in the eyes of mistress, of maid, and of the community.

The great interest now being aroused all over the land in industrial training cannot but affect domestic service favorably. Especially is this true concerning the introduction of cooking and sewing into the public schools, and the establishment of professorships of domestic science in state universities.

The work of young ladies, especially the Young Women's Christian Temperance Unions, in carrying on Kitchen-gardens and Cheerful Home Societies, is making itself felt in the right direction. Not only do the little girls in these societies learn the rudiments of housewifely arts, they also receive lessons teaching the dignity of labor. If these young ladies, whom the little girls may have admired afar off and envied, think it worth while to teach them how to wash dishes, to set the table, to keep the home tidy and cheerful, housework is not a thing to be despised. Nor are they the only gainers; for to teach the children, the young ladies must first learn the lessons themselves.

A very bright sign of the day dawning is seen in the great attention paid to home-making by the W. C. T. U., through its health departments, its mothers' meetings, its kindergartens, and its department of heredity. All of these have their bearing on our problem. Other organizations are doing similar good work, especially in the direction of mothers' meetings, which react to fit the girls in those mothers' homes for the duties awaiting them, whether in the line of mistress or maid.

Brightest omen of all, thousands of women are learning to take God into their kitchens. It is a woful fact that often He is practically shut out of them, even in Christian households. Kitchen cares and worries seem too petty to bring to the Master; they are like the "little ones" whom the disciples would

have kept from Him, except for his "forbid them not." When we learn the full significance of his gracious all, — "cast *all* your care upon me," — we give to Him the cares and worries that had gnawed heart and nerves until fretfulness had come to seem the normal condition of the house-mother, and consequent antagonism the natural position of mistress and maid. With nerves thus steadied we can hear crashing china without passion, and bear the spoiling of our goods by blundering Bridget with equanimity. Better, we can gain strength to bear one another's burdens, even when those burdens are homesick Bridget's; and by the light of His countenance we can discern, even in her face, some lineaments of a daughter of the King. We can see things from her standpoint, and realize that she, too, may have something to bear.

"Noblesse oblige" (My rank compels me). Our rich endowment of privilege, education, opportunity, makes us debtor to all to whom these are denied, most of all to those of our own household. Thus feeling our obligations to our maids, we shall not lack the gentleness that wins, the dignity that controls, the skill to train, the patience to bear, the *heart* that inspires. A renowned painter was asked: "With what do you mix your paints to produce such marvellous effects?" He answered, "With brains, sir." The successful housewife, if asked with what solvent she mixes the diverse elements to produce the perfect whole, a well-ordered Christian home, might with equal appropriateness answer: "With brains, madam, and with heart."

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*Editorial Rooms of The Union Signal,
Chicago.*

THE INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

SPEECH BY SECRETARY BLAINE AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, OCTOBER 2, 1889.

Gentlemen of the International American Conference : Speaking for the Government of the United States, I bid you welcome to this capital. Speaking for the people of the United States, I bid you welcome to every section and to every State of the Union. You come in response to an invitation extended by the President on the special authorization of Congress. Your presence here is no ordinary event. It signifies much to the people of all America to-day. It may signify far more in the days to come. No conference of nations has ever assembled to consider the welfare of territorial possessions so vast, and to contemplate the possibilities of a future so great and so inspiring. Those now sitting within these walls are empowered to speak for nations whose borders are on both the great oceans ; whose northern limits are touched by the Arctic waters for a thousand miles beyond the Straits of Behring ; whose southern extension furnishes human habitations farther below the equator than is elsewhere possible on the globe. The aggregate territorial extent of the nations here represented falls but little short of 12,000,000 square miles — more than three times the area of all Europe, and but little less than one fourth part of the globe ; while in respect to the power of producing the articles which are essential to human life and those which minister to life's luxury, they constitute even a larger proportion of the entire world. These great possessions to-day have an aggregate population approaching 120,000,000 ; but if peopled as densely as the average of Europe, the total number would exceed 1,000,000,000.

While considerations of this character must inspire Americans, both South and North, with the liveliest anticipations of future grandeur and power, they must also impress them with the sense of the gravest responsibility touching the character and development of their respective nationalities. The delegates whom I am addressing can do much to establish permanent relations of confidence, respect, and friendship between the nations which they represent. They can show to the world an honorable and peaceful conference of seventeen independent American powers, in which all shall meet together on terms of absolute equality ; a conference in which there can be no attempt to coerce a single delegate against his own conception of the interests of his nation ; a conference which will permit no secret understanding on any subject, but will frankly publish to the world all its conclusions ; a conference which will tolerate no spirit of conquest, but will aim to cultivate an American sympathy as broad as both continents ; a conference which will form no selfish alliance against the older

nations from which we are proud to claim inheritance ; a conference, in fine, which will seek nothing, propose nothing, endure nothing, that is not, in the general sense of all the delegates, timely and wise and peaceful.

And yet we cannot be expected to forget that our common fate has made us inhabitants of the two continents which, at the close of four centuries, are still regarded beyond the seas as the New World. Like situations beget like sympathies and impose like duties. We meet in the firm belief that the nations of America ought to and can be more helpful, each to the other, than they now are, and that each will find advantage and profit from an enlarged intercourse with the others.

We believe that we should be drawn together more closely by the highways of the sea, and that at no distant day the railway system of the North and South will meet upon the Isthmus, and connect by land routes the political and commercial capitals of all America. We believe that hearty coöperation, based on hearty confidence, will save all American States from the burdens and evils which have long and cruelly afflicted the older nations of the world. We believe that a spirit of justice, of common and equal interest, between the American States will leave no room for an artificial balance of power like unto that which has led to wars abroad and drenched Europe in blood. We believe that friendship, avowed with candor and maintained with good faith, will remove from the American States the necessity of guarding boundary lines between themselves with fortifications and military forces. We believe that standing armies, beyond those which are needed for public order and the safety of internal administration, should be unknown on both American continents. We believe that friendship and not force, the spirit of just law and not the violence of the mob, should be the recognized rule of administration between American nations and in American nations.

To these subjects, and those which are cognate thereto, the attention of this conference is earnestly and cordially invited by the government of the United States. It will be a great gain when we shall acquire that common confidence on which all international friendship must rest. It will be a greater gain when we shall be able to draw the people of all American nations into closer acquaintance with each other—an end to be facilitated by more frequent and more rapid intercommunication. It will be the greatest gain when the personal and commercial relations of the American States, South and North, shall be so developed and so regulated that each shall acquire the highest possible advantage from the enlightened and enlarged intercourse of all.

Before the conference shall formally enter upon the discussion of the subjects to be submitted to it, I am instructed by the President to invite all the delegates to be the guests of the government during a proposed visit to various sections of the country, with the double view of showing to our friends from abroad the condition of the United States and of giving to our own people, in their homes, the privilege and pleasure of extending the warm welcome of Americans to Americans.

CAN THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC BE LEGALIZED WITHOUT SIN ?

It seems to me that the greatest obstacle in the way of the speedy overthrow of the liquor traffic is the attitude towards it of the religious press of the country and of the churches, as a whole. There are some religious papers — a few of them — which are earnest and persistent in their objection to the saloons, under whatever guise they may be presented to the view ; and there are some churches — a few of them — which will consent to no compromise with the grog-shops, whatever plan may be suggested to that end. They say the liquor traffic is all wrong ; where tolerated it is in defiance of every principle of right ; it tramples the law of God and the general welfare under foot ; and for no consideration will they in any way consent or assent to its continuance even by the remotest implication. They say it is the devil's most potent agency for evil ; that more than any other, or all others combined, it makes deadly war upon every good thing, and is the most active and powerful ally of every bad thing. If this be true, it seems to me conclusive that it cannot be licensed and established by law, without sin. I fear the prohibition and suppression of the grog-shop cannot be accomplished until the policy towards them which now seems to control the religious press and the churches shall be changed.

It is not easy to estimate the extent to which this particular obstruction hinders the progress of aggressive action against the saloon ; its direct tendency is to harm and hinder all effective prohibition work ; while in the mean time the liquor traffic is strengthened every year by the great inflow of immigrants from Europe, all of whom are born where intoxicating liquors are cheap and free to all who can pay for them, and where they are regarded as a necessary of life.

My attention was particularly called to this matter by an editorial in the "New York Independent" of the 1st of August.

I was especially struck by it for the reason that that great paper formerly professed to be an honest enemy of the saloon, of which it sometimes said hard things, justly and pointedly; but now its general attitude towards it seems to me to be calculated, practically, to encourage and defend it, and to discourage and antagonize those who are making it their life's work to suppress it. The policy on this question — of the religious press and of that large majority of the churches to which I allude — brings them into fellowship and coöperation with every influence now working in the interest of the liquor traffic. They favor and vote for the same measures and for the same candidates, in relation to it, proposed by Sheridan Shook and all others of the same character and class, and urged by him and his immense following; people who have no moral or religious opinions or convictions, whose energies and votes are devoted to the defense and perpetuation of the business, whose "potentiality for wealth (and wickedness) exceeds all power of imagination." Whatever they may intend, or think, or say about it, the whole influence of that part of the religious press and of the churches of which I speak is practically given to strengthen and uphold the hands of those who constitute what may be called the standing army of the grog-shop.

The working part of the temperance host had set their hearts upon the policy of putting the principle of prohibition into the constitutions of the several States. Such a measure, if successful, would make prohibition a permanent policy wherever it should be adopted; removed largely from the changes and caprices of political parties and the conspiracies and selfish plots of unprincipled party leaders, it would greatly encourage temperance workers and strengthen their hands. In this supreme endeavor they had little help, if any, from that part of the churches and of the religious press of which I speak, but antagonism from much of it. When this policy was first proposed there was strong reason to believe that it would be adopted by the people wherever submitted to the vote. It had, in fact, been adopted in Kansas, Maine, and Iowa, the only states where the popular will had been tried. But at *that* time the political leaders opposed the measure vehemently, and resorted to many

unworthy tricks to prevent its coming to the vote, for the reason that its adoption would be probable, if not certain.

In the mean time, the attitude of a great political party towards the saloon had been radically changed: it was no longer a prohibition party; it no longer had any sympathy in that direction; it had deliberately cast in its fortunes with the liquor traffic, as a policy more likely to win votes and to reinstate the party in power from which it had recently been thrust out. This radical change in the policy and whole character of the party was boldly announced in a pronunciamento of the "New York Tribune" — semi-weekly — of the 18th October, 1887, in an editorial entitled "Force is No Remedy." In this that powerful paper wiped out all its past on the whole question of temperance and prohibition; it went back upon all its traditions, which from Greeley's time to that day had been uniform and consistent, as a warm, able, and earnest friend of prohibition.

From that day the whole machinery of that great party was turned against prohibition. The policy of "high license" *had* been invented by the politicians expressly to head it off, and was put forth as a buffer to be interposed between the grog-shops and the rising popular indignation by which they were vigorously attacked. The "Tribune" falsely denounced prohibition as a failure everywhere — even in Maine — and urged the adoption of this new measure, as wisest and best in the interest of temperance, as well as in that of the saloons.

Astor, the first, many years ago, organized a great overland expedition to Oregon, in connection with his extensive fur business in those wild Western regions. There were no wagons there in those days. The whole force consisted of a long train of pack-horses laden with trade-goods, with another train of mules laden with supplies, and with a numerous mounted personnel. Ross Cox, the historian of the adventure, tells a story of what happened to it. As this long train was slowly winding its way through the mountains, there came suddenly upon it a party of mounted Indians, rushing furiously at right angles with their line of march, with shouts and flying banners — striking their train at the head of the line of pack-horses, which were stampeded and rushed off in the trail of the savages, and

were lost to the expedition. Precisely this happened to us when the unscrupulous politicians came across our line of march with their high-license banner; the great majority of the religious press and of the churches were stampeded, and followed in their trail, and are now loudly proclaiming the eminent virtues, the healing qualities of high license, as the best possible remedy, they say, for intemperance. They look upon us who will have none of it with an air of pity not unmixed with that other sentiment that is sometimes associated with pity.

What! they say; are we not the Lord's anointed, and his appointed watchmen upon the towers of Zion? We are set apart to teach, to lead and warn the people. In any approach of danger, it is we who are to sound the alarm; until then, O ye silly, innocent sheep, you may rest at ease, fearing no harm.

Don't you hear the thunder of the enemy's artillery, we answer, the rattling of his musketry? Don't you see the ground strewn with the wounded and the slain? In God's name help us drive them back. Oh no, they reply, we've agreed to license them to do that work; they consent to pay well for it; and that's the best and wisest thing to do; there's money in it.

I quote from the editorial of the "Independent" of which I spoke: "There are many excellent men who are strenuously opposed to the license system on the ground that it is wrong to license an immoral traffic. They say that it is as offensive to good morals and to conscience to license and regulate by law the sale of intoxicating drinks as it would be to license and regulate by law the social evil. And on this ground they refuse to countenance or support in any way any legislation that provides for the 'legalizing,' as they call it, of the liquor traffic. 'The liquor traffic,' they say, quoting the striking phrase from the Episcopal Address of the Methodist General Conference of 1888, 'can never be legalized without sin.' It is not perfectly clear what the bishops had in mind when they used this phrase. It has been generally interpreted, however, as meaning that all license legislation, however stringent, is morally wrong, because it 'legalizes' and therefore continues the liquor traffic. This we do not admit."

I have known "The Independent" intimately from the year of its birth, and I do not forget the time when its attitude towards the liquor traffic was widely different from that now occupied by it, when it did not speak so gently, so coolly, and with an air of so much indifference, of the grog-shops as it now does. On the 12th January, 1882, it said: —

"The whiskey-sellers flock and follow on all new railroad lines in the wilderness, as the vultures do on the path of caravans in the desert. It is a pity they may not be dealt with as they deserve — shot at sight, like their fellow birds of prey."

It would be interesting to know why the "Independent" now proposes to extend the kindly, paternal, open hand of the government to the "whiskey-sellers," and be a partner in the saloon business, sharing its profits, investing no capital — only abandoning the people to be plundered and murdered by them; no longer proposing "to shoot them at sight, like their fellow birds of prey."

That little paragraph has in it the ring of the clarion which the "Independent" sounded through all the land in the old anti-slavery days; and I remember well how my blood used to flow more quickly at its clear, ringing, trumpet call. It would have no compromise with "the sum of all villainies" in those days; it then demanded, with no mental reservation and no equivocation, just and equal rights for all men. It asked no more and would accept no less. How is it now? This question of the grog-shops is far more important to the prosperity and perpetuity of the nation and the welfare of the people than that of slavery ever was (the "Tribune" said that). What does the "Independent" now propose to do about it? For so much cash down to license it; to go into partnership with it; to give it by law a standing in the country side by side with honest industry, as a good thing, and not as the devilish trade it is.

The article I have quoted from the "Independent" of the 1st August last seems to be very gentle and courteous to the "many excellent men who are strenuously opposed to the license system;" but it is easy to read between the lines that it has a low estimate of their judgment and their common sense, and

even of their ability to construct a simple paragraph intelligibly upon a most important subject; much less to judge intelligently of the best methods of dealing with it. We working temperance men of this day are "fanatics," or are said to be such; and if we had no influential and authoritative support for our opinions and convictions upon this question we might be easily overborne by that large part of the churches and the religious press which favor the policy of license to the saloon. As between us and them, we can confidently rely upon authorities of the highest character, in support of our views of the relation of the liquor traffic to the general good.

John Wesley, in his sermon on "The Use of Money," says: "Neither may we gain by hurting our neighbor in his body. Therefore we may not sell anything which tends to impair health. Such is eminently all that liquid fire commonly called drams, or spirituous liquors. . . . All who sell them in the common way to any that will buy are poisoners general. They murder his majesty's subjects by wholesale; neither does their eye pity or spare. They drive them to hell like sheep; and what is their gain? Is it not the blood of these men? Who, then, would envy their large estates and sumptuous palaces? A curse is in the midst of them; the curse of God cleaves to the stones, the timber, the furniture of them! The curse of God is in their gardens, their groves; a fire that burns to the nethermost hell! Blood, blood is there; the foundation, the floor, the walls, the roof, are stained with blood! And canst thou hope, oh thou man of blood, though thou art clothed in scarlet and fine linen and farest sumptuously every day, canst thou hope to deliver down thy fields to the third generation? Not so; for there is a God in heaven? therefore thy name shall be rooted out. Like as those whom thou hast destroyed body and soul, 'thy memorial perish with thee.'"

I ask the "Independent" in all seriousness whether it thinks John Wesley right; if yes, then how can it deliberately, thoughtfully, approve and advocate a measure of law to authorize these sellers of drams to "drive the people to hell like sheep."

In former days, when it was warm, earnest, and true to tem-

perance and prohibition, as it is now to the policy of licensed grog-shops, the "New York Tribune" said: "Upon what does the success of the liquor traffic depend? Upon debased manhood, wronged womanhood, defrauded childhood. It holds a mortgage over every cradle; a deed written in heart's blood over every human life. Shall mothers know this and be silent? Shall fathers understand and be indifferent?" No; down that infernal trade, we say. No, says the "Independent," give it warrant of law to carry on its infernal traffic, slaughtering men, women, and children, body and soul, provided we are paid well for the permission.

Again, the "Tribune" says: "No government can set aside this subject. Despotic Russia and Republican America must both meet it; the evil is too enormous and atrocious to be hid; too destructive and cyclonic to be regulated; too insolent to be endured; too cruel not to excite indignation. It is true that the capital and influence invested in its defense are enormous and potent, but God and humanity are invested against it; childhood and womanhood out of the depths lift up holy hands against it; and the irrepressible conflict must go on until statesmen shall dare to assail, in our halls at Washington, any evil or monstrous wrong that is destructive to national welfare." Is not that true and well said? Then why should this "monstrous wrong," this "enormous, atrocious, destructive, cyclonic evil" be established by law as a good thing, harmless to the community? Again I quote the "Tribune:"—

"All the granges, alliances, and temperance movements on earth can't save this nation from perdition without drying up the fountains of whiskey." That is undoubtedly true. Then how is it that we find a considerable part of the religious press and of the churches urging measures for their perpetuation?

On the 26th April, 1853, the "Tribune" said:—

"For us who affirm that alcohol is a poison, and its use as a beverage always hurtful, always perilous, always demoralizing, there is obviously but one consistent, defensible position—that of unqualified and uncompromising hostility to the liquor traffic. If men will poison their neighbors for gain, we greatly prefer that they should do it on their own responsibility, rather than

the state's — at all events we cannot permit them to do it on *ours*. [The italics not mine.] To sell men for a livelihood seems bad enough; but for a whole community to share the responsibility and the guilt of such traffic seems a worse bargain than that of Eve or Judas." (Yet such is the bargain which those desire to make who favor and advocate the policy of license to the grog-shop.) "No, we must stand by our principles and trust to time and light to bring us triumph in that position. Alcohol is a poison; the traffic in alcoholic beverages is an offense against the well-being of society, and ought to be a crime against the laws. The essential wrong is not the lack of a license, but inheres in the business for which a license is demanded. If it were a good business no license for its prosecution should be required; being a bad one, no such license should be granted.

"No practicable enforcement of the license system will ever sensibly mitigate the evils of intemperance. But let the laws inflexibly forbid the sale of alcoholic beverages, and every youth is warned from the cradle that those beverages are hurtful and dangerous, and that in drinking them he encourages a violation of the laws of the land. Such legislation may not at once abolish rumselling, as our present laws against theft and burglary do not utterly extirpate these crimes; but, being based on a principle, and dealing out equal justice to rich and poor, it must command the respect even of its antagonists, and gradually win its way to universal respect and obedience."

I respectfully ask the "Independent" if there is any ground for objection to those facts and that reasoning and the conclusion? Here is the "New York Tribune" again: —

"When vice and degradation, immorality and crime, brutality and obscenity — all that is earthly, sensual, devilish — is recognized as beneficent, then, and then only, will the claim put forward for the saloons" (to be licensed and established by law as a public good) "be recognized as valid."

I am confident that the "Independent" will cordially agree that this description of the grog-shop is literally and exactly true, and that it is so infamous and infernal that it is impossible to exaggerate the enormous evils coming from it. Then

how can it be possible for that great paper to approve and advocate its establishment by law? I know of no reason for supposing that the "Independent" is a beneficiary of the "Literary Fund" of the liquor leagues, as a great many other papers are; though few of them, if any, are doing more effective work in their interest.

I have by no means exhausted my ability to quote from the "Tribune" a great many more admirable passages concerning the character of the liquor traffic and its relation to the public good, but my article is growing to inconvenient proportions, and I wish to put other witnesses upon the stand — of whom I have a great many — with the hope of satisfying the "Independent" that if it is folly or unwisdom in us to object to grog-shops established by law, we are in very good company.

The Rev. Joseph Cross, D. D., LL. D., in his "Evangel and Knight Banneret," says: —

"All industrial pursuits or learned professions — agricultural, mechanical, scientific, literary, or religious — are doing something for the support, the comfort, or improvement of other classes. But the rumseller, what does he do that this business should be licensed by law? What knowledge impart? What virtue promote? What evil avert? What blessing dispense? What sad heart console? What desolate dwelling cheer? None! His occupation is evil and only evil, and that continually. More homes has it beggared, more hopes blighted, more hearts broken, more treasure wasted, more territory devastated, more misery inflicted upon mankind than by any war, famine, pestilence, or other visitation of judgment, since the Noachian deluge swept the earth of its irredeemable population. The unsparing enemy of his race — selfish, savage, relentless; void equally of honor and conscience — the rumseller sits upon his throne of iniquity, framing mischief by law."

How is he enabled to do this? It is only because you and such as you approve the policy of establishing that infernal trade by law — and join with unscrupulous, self-seeking politicians and the multitude of the lowest and vilest part of our population — with thieves, burglars, house-burners, garroters, wife-beaters, tramps, roughs, rogues, and rascals, to put it into our statute books by your influence and your votes.

In a letter written by William Wirt, ex-attorney-general of the United States, to the Baltimore Temperance Society, 1831, he said:—

“If some fatal plague of a contagious character were imported into our country, and had commenced its ravages in our cities, we should see the most prompt and vigorous measures at once adopted to repress and extinguish it: but what are the most fearful plagues that ever carried death and havoc in their train through Eastern countries compared with this? They are only occasional; this is perennial. They are confined by climate and place; this malady is of all climates, and all times and places. They kill the body at once; this consumes both body and soul by a lingering and dreadful death, involving the dearest connections in the vortex of ruin. What parent, however exemplary himself, can ever feel that his son is safe while the living fountain of poison” (the licensed saloon) “is within his reach? God grant that it may soon become a fountain sealed” (no longer established by law), “in our country at least. What a relief, what a delightful relief, would it be to turn from the awful and horrid past” (with licensed grog-shops everywhere) “to the pure, peaceful, and happy future!” (with licensed grog-shops nowhere). “To see the springs of life and feeling and intelligence renewed on every hand; health, industry, and prosperity glowing around us; the altars of domestic peace and love rekindled in every family; and the religion of the Saviour presented with a fair field for its celestial action.” The “living fountains of poison”—moral, physical, and religious, no longer open by the approval and votes of the church and the clergy, but hermetically “sealed” by the humanity, patriotism, piety, and votes of the people.

I shall call but one more witness to make out our case that “grog-shops cannot be licensed without sin.” I am afraid that some persons may not be impressed by his testimony because the witness is a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church—and the board of bishops of that church are supposed by some of those who favor license to “the gigantic crime of crimes” not to be able to express their dissent from that policy in terms sufficiently plain to be understood.

Bishop Foster says: —

“The church should always be first to discern and most prompt to lead in every moral and humane advance. Where there is wrong she is bound to condemn it — denounce it, fight against it. The church of to-day, much more the church of the future, must take to its heart the duty of combining and massing its forces against that gigantic atrocity, that diabolical conspiracy, that nameless *monstrum horrendum*, of Christian civilization, that mothers nine tenths of the woes and sorrows which blight and curse our age — the traffic in intoxicants, which hides its deformity under forms of law. How long shall the face of our Christian age blister with this worse than pagan shame? Has the virtue of our time so degenerated that we do not even blush at the legalized traffic in the souls of our own children? That by the very doors of our homes and our temples an army of miscreants should, by authorization of laws made by Christian lawgivers” (approved and advocated by Christian doctors of divinity), “prosecute a work of murder and death? Are we reduced to the shame of admitting that a civilization, grown up about our altars, is impotent to cure the evil? How can we go to the heathen with this cancer, worse than pagan infamy, festering in our bosom? Our church” (Methodist) “from the first has borne testimony against it, but we must renew our protest with louder and more solemn emphasis until our land is rescued. If ever the pulpit had the right, the duty, to blame with unsparing rebuke, it is here. If ever there was a cause which deserves to unite philanthropy and patriotism with piety in tireless endeavor, it is this. The exorcism of this demon, this vampire that has seized and preys upon the very vitals of the nation, demands the combined energy of the government and the church.”

I know very well that these ecclesiastical advocates of license to grog-shops have what they call a reason for their action. They say that license “regulates the liquor traffic; and diminishes its evils;” that under that policy the number of licensed liquor shops is less, consequently the quantity of liquor sold is less, and consequently intemperance is diminished. This is not true and never was, except that the number of licensed

saloons may be less. Under no form of license has the liquor traffic been regulated, or the amount of liquor sold diminished; under every form of license the demand for liquor has been fully supplied, as it is now in all localities in this country where high-license exists. A man who does not know this is not qualified to express an opinion upon the matter. Under license there is always and must be, practically, free rum, because liquor can be had by everybody who wishes it, who has the money with which to pay. An honest opinion that license does or can in any way diminish the evils of intemperance or promote the interest of the temperance cause, can be held only by those who have no practical knowledge of the matter.

NEAL DOW.

Portland, Me.

THE FUTURE OF THE PAPACY.

IN Europe there are at this moment but three men who stand out above their fellows as the supreme representatives of various kinds of power. Alexander the Third represents the authority of material force ; Prince Bismarck the might of scientific organization ; and Leo the Thirteenth the strength of the Catholic world. Of the three the Pope is the most interesting and the most autocratic. His empire is vaster than that of the Russian Czar, and before his authority even the imperious Chancellor has been compelled to bow. Although a prisoner in his own palace, he is ruler of a dominion as wide as the world, and there is no language spoken among men wherein his word is not recognized as the voice of a master. There is a loneliness and a mystery about Leo that differentiates him from the other potentates of our day. Prince Bismarck is intensely human. He stands before us as the very incarnation of masterful man. He lives before us, complete in all human relations, with his wife, his sister, his sons, his dogs, his pipe, and his beer ; he touches the common life of his day at every point. It is the same with the Czar ; although in his case he is more withdrawn from the public gaze, he shares not less fully the ordinary life of the ordinary man. As father, as husband, as master, as friend, he is a man among men ; nor does the burden of empire separate him from the simple family joys and natural every-day cares of the human home. But the Pope stands apart. He sleeps as other men, and eats as they, but a great gulf yawns between him and other mortals. He has a palace, but he is without a home. He has servants and domestic friends ; but the celibacy which for centuries has been imposed upon the clergy of his church debars him from the deepest and most human of all relationships. He has never known the joys nor suffered the sorrows which make up a great part of the higher life of the ordinary man. He has lived and lives apart, alone, divorced from nature that he may be consecrated to the service of his church, without wife or child, that he may care solely for the Bride of the Lamb, and watch more sedulously over the welfare of those who are of the household of faith.

The Pope, thus excluded from the healthy human life or the family, clings all the more passionately to the local surroundings which serve him as a substitute for home. His centre is not a home. It is Rome. The result is that the disadvantages which celibacy was established to avert, reappear in another shape. He that is married careth for the things that are of the world — how he may please his wife : whereas he that is unmarried careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord. For the world and the wife, read Rome and its sovereignty, and it is equally true of the Popes. The local anxieties, the temporal government of the

city in which the Popes succeeded the Cæsars, have become as cramping and crippling to the successors of St. Peter as the household cares that might have encompassed them had they all imitated the Fisherman, who had not only a wife, but a mother-in-law. It is this which gives strange interest to the position of Leo the Thirteenth at the present moment. He is distracted between conflicting ideals — exactly as a good father of a family is often torn asunder between the claims of his household and the claims of the world at large. The struggle which is going on in the Vatican is but the latest phase of the conflict which the apostle declared troubled the married man who had to reconcile the desire to please the Lord and to please his wife.

As some men never have any divine call that leads them to discharge duties outside their own doorstep, so some Popes have never recognized the existence of duties incompatible with their primary fealty to the local interests of the Italian town in which they have spent their lives. That which distinguishes Leo the Thirteenth is that before his mind there has passed a vision of a higher and nobler ideal than that of being the mere temporal master of the Eternal City. He has seen, as it were in a dream, a vision of a wider sovereignty than any which the greatest of his predecessors had ever realized, and before his eyes there has been unfolded a magnificent conception of a really universal church, as "lofty as the love of God, and wide as are the wants of men." But no sooner has he gazed with holy ecstasy on the world-wide dominion which lies almost within his grasp, than he turns with a sigh to the older and smaller ideal of the temporal sovereignty of Rome, which has bounded the horizon of so many of his predecessors, and which presses upon him like the atmosphere of the whole of his waking life. These are the two dreams, the two ideals, hopelessly antagonistic one to the other ; but Leo helplessly clings to both.

To those who do not look at the world and its affairs from an out-of-the-way corner of the world from which the tide of empire has long since ebbed, it is difficult to see how any comparison can be made between the two ideals which haunt the imagination of the Holy Father. It is, to put it vulgarly, all Lombard Street to a China orange in favor of the world-wide ideal. And yet there is to those who have been born and bred under Italian skies a strong and natural fascination about the ideal which centres in the reëstablishment of Papal sovereignty in Rome. Rome is a name to conjure with. For more than two thousand years the Seven-hilled City was for weal or for woe more important than any other point in the world's surface. It is the only city which ever conquered a continent. Alike as the seat of the republic, the empire, and of the popedom of the Middle Ages, Rome was the capital of the world. The broad arrow of Roman empire is branded deep on the body of our civilization. Our law, our language, our habits, our religion — all have the impress of the Roman mint. The very air of Europe is impregnated with the ozone that streams, as from a perennial fountain, from the history of Rome. There is everything that can fascinate the imagination and stimulate the mind in the traditions that cling round the

ruined walls of the Eternal City, nor can the least reverent be unconscious of the awe excited by the sacred shrines which for a thousand years have absorbed the devotion of the world.

“ Mother of Arts as once of Arms; thy hand
Was then our guardian, and is still our Guide,
Parent of our religion ! ”

To reign in Rome might well rouse the loftiest ambition, and to lose the sovereignty of the Imperial City might rend the heart of the most callous of mortals. That great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth, and below whose feet St. John saw peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues, was at any time between the days of the Scipios and the era of the Medici the natural centre of any organization that sought to exercise world-wide dominion. Civilization grew up round the shores of the Mediterranean, that inland sea which was the cradle of the culture of the world. To a devout Catholic, not even the sacred sites which witnessed the passion of our Lord are more sacred than the city where the first martyrs, swathed in pitchy cerements, blazed as torches in the gardens of Nero, and where their descendants founded an empire more splendid than that of Augustus, more beneficent than that of the Antonines. The city of the Catacombs and of the Coliseum, where generation after generation of the most divinely gifted of our race have lavished the utmost resources of their art, their intellect, and their genius, may well seem marked out from of old to be the natural and eternal seat of the Vicegerent of God.

Apart from these considerations, which appeal to all men, the Roman Pontiffs have acquired in the course of ages, by mere force of inveterate habit, an instinct which renders it almost impossible for them to conceive of a Catholic Church which has not Rome as its centre. Use and wont are great deities even in the spiritual realm, and use and wont point to Rome and Rome alone as the centre of the Catholic world. Many a time the Popes have been driven from Rome ; sometimes they have voluntarily left it : but sooner or later they have always returned to it. The administration of the most gigantic polity known to man is centralized there. All roads lead to Rome, and from Rome there have issued since Christian civilization began the winged words of power and of life which have knit the Catholic world into one.

It is therefore natural that the Pope should cling to Rome, and should regard even his contemplated retreat to the Balearic Islands as but a temporary flight from a passing storm. Some day the sky will clear, and once more the Vicar of Christ will reoccupy the See of St. Peter. Equally natural is it that, being in Rome, he should wish to be master in his own house. Absolute independence is an indispensable condition for the free exercise of the spiritual power. This independence, according to English ideas, can best be obtained by the abandonment by the spiritual power of all temporal claims, and the recognition by the secular government that it has no authority in the spiritual realm. But this ideal, which can be realized where there

is no antagonism between church and state, is manifestly impossible where, as in Italy, the state is practically a rival church, quite as determined to persecute as Torquemada or Calvin. Hence to the Pope it seems as part of the ordinance of God that he should dwell in Rome, and, being resident there, that he should reign in the Eternal City as its temporal lord, not because he cares for the sceptre of secular dominion, but because nothing short of sovereignty can, under the circumstances, secure him the freedom necessary for the exercise of his spiritual prerogatives. It is this which dominates the mind of Leo the Thirteenth. Waking or sleeping, the idea of restoring the lost temporal dominion of his predecessors never leaves him. It colors the whole texture of his thoughts, it influences his policy, and makes itself felt throughout the whole orbit of pontifical action.

And here it may be observed in passing that, however absorbing may be the influence of Roman politics on the Holy See, at the present moment, when the restoration of its temporal sovereignty is but a theory or an aspiration, it is nothing to the distraction that would follow if the Pope were to be cursed with the burden of a granted prayer and set up once more on the throne of Rome. If the Italian government cared to make a great *coup*, it could do so to-morrow by simply handing over to the Pope the sovereignty of the city of Rome. Leo the Thirteenth would find himself hopelessly at a loss to discharge the duties of the position for which he sighs. None of the indispensable instruments of government are ready to his hand. He has neither employees, financiers, police, soldiers, nor any other administrative officials. In less than a week the bad elements that lurk in every great city would have made a revolution, and in a fortnight the Italian troops would be enthusiastically welcomed as the only force by which Rome could be rescued from anarchy and bloodshed. . . .

The root of the difficulty seems to lie in the extent to which the Catholic Church has been Italianized and centralized. If the Pope is to fulfill his greater ideal he will have to shake himself free from the influences of the Vatican. The atmosphere of the place, the traditions and associations which cling to its very walls, and the all-pervading presence of the Italian cardinals and great officials, render it impossible for him to rise to the height of his great conception of his rôle as the mouthpiece of the conscience of universal Christendom which speaks with the voice of God. Until he has definitely rid himself of the desire to reëstablish a temporal authority in a second-rate European city, that minor and earthly ambition will continually obscure his higher and brighter ideal, and lead him into devious courses which will impair his influence even in the Catholic world. Nor is it only in the distraction afforded by the petty anxieties connected with the dream of reviving his sovereignty in the States of the Church that the Italianization of the Holy See works evil. The autocratic associations of the Cæsars still haunt the Imperial city. The idea of centralization is one of the most inveterate of the moral miasmas of Rome. Of course if the Pope could claim special divine revelation affording him infallible guidance both as to the facts and as to the judgment to be pronounced on those facts, there

could be no more to be said. But as not even the most extravagant infallibilist ventures to make such a claim, the Pope will find, like other great secular governments, that decentralization is the condition of efficiency and even of existence. Home Rule is the key to the solution of other problems than those of the British empire. The Pope, no doubt, will have his uses even when the affairs of each province of the Catholic world are left chiefly to the guidance of the local hierarchy. But the allowance of a larger liberty to the local churches in all matters social and political is the indispensable condition of any intelligent direction of the moral force of Catholicism to the solution of the difficulties and to the satisfaction of the wants of the human race.

All these considerations point in one and the same direction, and they are powerfully reinforced by the most conspicuous political phenomenon of our day. We stand at the dawn of a new epoch which, from the point of view of universal history, is quite as momentous as that in which the Northern tribes broke in upon and destroyed the fabric of the moribund empire of Rome. It was the supreme merit of the Catholic Church that, amid the crash of the earlier world, it recognized with a sure prevision that the past was gone irrevocably, and that the future lay with the fierce warriors from the fastnesses and forests of the North. It remains to be seen whether the church will be as quick to discern the salient feature of the great transformation through which the world is passing to-day. It is a revolution vaster and more rapid than that which founded the modern European world on the wreck and ruin of the Roman empire. The world is passing into the hands of the English-speaking races. Already the English tongue is becoming the *lingua franca* of the planet. Already the territories over which the laws are made and justice administered in the language of Shakespeare and of Bacon exceed in wealth, in extent, in the number of their populations, and in the limitless latent possibilities of their development, all other lands ruled by all other nations of the earth. In a hundred years, unless the progress of this marvelous transformation is suddenly checked in some manner as yet inconceivable, the English speakers will outnumber all the men of other tongues in the world. Italian, Spanish, and French will be but local dialects of as little importance, except for literature, as Erse and Welsh. English ideas, English laws, English civilization, are becoming as universal as the English speech. Alone among the races the English have escaped the curse of universal military service. Alone among the nations they have learned to combine liberty and law, and to preserve an empire by the timely concession of local self-government. Whether we welcome or whether we deplore the prospect, the fact is unmistakable — the future of the world is English.

What, then, is to be the attitude of the Holy See in face of this strange remaking of the world? Upon the answer to that question depends the future of the church. If she still aspires to exercise her beneficent dominion over the new and the coming world, she will follow the example of the great Popes who created Europe out of the chaos of barbarian invasion.

She will no more seek to restore Papal sovereignty in the capital of Italy, than a thousand years ago she sought to revive the proconsuls of the empire or to restore the Cæsars. Let the dead past bury its dead. Rome, once the world's centre, is now a mere provincial town, in an out-of-the-way corner of a small inland sea. The headquarters of the church, in the days when she was a living reality, gravitated by a natural law to the centre of empire. If she is still to be a living reality, presiding over the development of our civilization and mothering the children of men, then she will be true to the law of her being and establish the seat of her sovereign Pontiff in the centre where sovereignty resides: Rome is of the old world, archaic, moribund, and passing away. The centre, the capital, and the mother city of the new world which Catholicism must conquer or perish is not to be found on the banks of the Tiber, but on the Thames.

Nor is it only on political, geographical, and ethnological grounds that the Papacy must be Occidentalized — Anglicized or Americanized. The whole lesson of the Persico incident, and of many another incident like it, is that the more sedulously the Pope endeavors to fulfill his high mission, the more necessary is it that he should avail himself of those plain and simple principles of common sense applied to the art of government which are the pre-eminent endowment of the English-speaking world. These principles are those of liberty and local self-government. They will never get a fair chance of being worked into the bones and marrow of the Catholic Church until we have a Pope who thinks English.

So clearly does this appear that after long and careful survey of the situation at Rome and throughout the world, it does not seem presumptuous to conclude this paper with a prophecy. It may be that the Church of Rome has played her part in the affairs of men and that in the new English-speaking era, on the threshold of which mankind is standing, there may be no more than a niche in a Roman museum for the successor of Hildebrand. In that case, whether the Pope stays in Rome or goes to Seville or Innsbruck or Minorca, does not much matter. But if there be any real substance of truth in the Pope's belief that the Catholic Church is the chosen instrument whereby Infinite Wisdom inspired by Eternal Love works out the salvation of the world, then as certainly as it was necessary for a persecution to arise to scatter the first Christians from Jerusalem so that they might carry the seed of the faith over the Roman world, not less certainly shall we see in a few years, or even it may be a few months, the breaking of a storm which will compel the Pope to fly from the Eternal City — never to return. And in that hour when those who hate the church fill the air with insult and exultation, and when those who love her more in her accidents than in her essence are abased to the dust with humiliation and shame, then to the eye of faith the enforced hegira of the Pope from the Latin to the English world will be regarded as the supreme affirmation of the providential mission of the church — a new divine commission for her to undertake on a wider basis the great task of rebuilding the City of God. — *Contemporary Review.*

THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY A NATIONAL SCOURGE.

THE Louisiana lottery is a national scourge. It is a crime-breeder ; a public nuisance ; a wrecker of homes ; a bid to dishonesty ; and a constant menace to the peace and industries of this nation.

Through political intriguing it has secured a quasi-lease of existence for twenty-five years from 1868, under a charter granted in 1868 by the General Assembly of Louisiana, and by the same legislative body repealed and declared void March, 1879.

Nine months afterwards, we find the people of that State endeavoring to galvanize this corpse into life again, by a clause inserted, if newspapers and some of Louisiana's best citizens are to be believed, by wholesale bribery and corruption, into the amended or new constitution of that State adopted December, 1879.

I am asked to answer through OUR DAY the following questions : —

First, "What laws, national and state, are there which can be applied to the Louisiana lottery?"

Second, "What additional legislation is needed?"

Lotteries come within the *police power* of the State, because of their injury to public morals.

Every State but two in the Union, and all of the Territories, have laws against lotteries, while twenty-seven States have, in addition thereto, constitutional enactments prohibiting them.

The Congress of the United States has passed laws prohibiting all letters and circulars concerning lotteries passing through the mails.

It will be observed that, in spite of this universal legislation against this monstrous evil, yet like a huge octopus it has spread itself all over our land, sending down into the homes in every State and Territory its merciless tentacles, leaving poverty and

crime in its wake, and this, too, by open, defiant use of the mails of the United States.

Year after year this company has grown rich, arrogant, and shamelessly grasping and greedy. Starting with its tickets, first, at but two dollars each for single drawings which are had ten months in each year, and five dollars per ticket for the extraordinary drawings for the other two months each year, they have gradually increased the price of tickets, until now they charge twenty dollars for a ticket in the ordinary drawings, and forty dollars for a ticket in the two extraordinary drawings. They have had twelve drawings per year, each year since they started. A little calculation will show what a monstrous fraud this public plunderer is. There are supposed to be 100,000 tickets sold every month. This has been their boast, in years past, that "every ticket is sold each drawing."

In order to compare the amounts received, and to show the enormous increase in amounts received, and the heartless greed of the managers, the following tables are presented:—

100,000 tickets sold 10 months in each year at \$2 each . .	\$2,000,000
100,000 tickets sold 2 months in each year at \$5 each . .	1,000,000

Total receipts under the old rates \$3,000,000

Now compare this with the present rates:—

100,000 tickets sold 10 months in the year at \$20 each . .	\$20,000,000
100,000 tickets sold 2 months in the year at \$40 each . .	8,000,000

Total receipts under present management . . \$28,000,000

What does this public plunderer now coolly propose? Its lease of life is drawing to a close. It has defied the law of every State in the Union. It has sent its tickets to be sold all over this land. It has prevented legislation in Congress to restrict its uses of the mails. It has plundered the pockets and cursed the morals of the people of this nation. And now, when a ray of hope was about to dawn that this national scourge was about to end, we have the managers brazenly attempting to bribe the whole State of Louisiana in order to prolong its dishonest practices.

It is currently reported that the managers have offered to give the city of New Orleans a public library building, to

cost not less than \$100,000, and pay the debt of the State of Louisiana, amounting to over \$12,000,000, in addition thereto, provided its charter be extended for a period of fifty years.

Is it not about time for public sentiment to awaken and sweep this robber horde out of existence? At least, let the self-respect of this nation assert itself and prevent the continuation of this national nuisance and disgrace.

The managers of this shameless, monstrous swindle not only are responsible for fostering crime and breeding poverty at home, but have furnished the means of supporting a large army of lazy, shiftless, dishonest, gambling pimps, who live off of the earnings of others spent for tickets in this heartless lottery.

A moment's reference to the character which the experience of all nations has given lotteries will be of interest just at this point.

The historian declares that in England, as early as 1699, lotteries were denounced as "cheats," and their agents as "pil-lagers of the people."

The "Encyclopædia Britannica" says that in October, 1826, "lotteries which had proved unaccountably prejudicial to public morals, by fostering among the people a propensity for gambling, . . . were put an end to by a Treasury minute in England."

The Supreme Court of the United States in May, 1880, declared as follows:—

That lotteries are demoralizing in their effects, no matter how carefully regulated, cannot, in the opinion of this court, be doubted. There is now scarcely a State in the Union where they are tolerated, and Congress has enacted a special statute the object of which is to close the mails against them. *They are a species of gambling and wrong in their influence.* They disturb the check and balances of a well-ordered community. Society built on such foundation would, almost of necessity, bring forth a population of speculators and gamblers, living on the expectation of what chance might award them from the accumulations of others.

Judge Catron of Tennessee, of whom it has been said, "his opinions, delivered both from the Supreme Court of his State and from that of the nation, will ever be regarded as of highest authority," in a most elaborate opinion, given in the great

case of the State of Tennessee against Smith & Lane, says concerning this method of securing property from others without returning a just and fair equivalent therefor: "The presumption of law is, that every man has acquired his property honestly; and *it is the policy of every well-regulated government* that he shall not be deprived of it without a fair equivalent."

After dwelling at length upon the different forms of gambling, and describing the utter demoralization flowing from such sources, he adds:—

Lotteries are more extensive in their consequences, and at least equally pernicious with gaming at cards, in corrupting the morals, prostrating the industrious and steady habits, and wasting the property, and that, too, of a credulous portion of the community, little inclined to gamble otherwise. . . . *Lotteries are gambling, and odious gambling.* To talk of honesty and fair dealing in such transactions would be worse than idle.

Everywhere we find lotteries denounced as public nuisances, against public morals, and as void of honesty and fair dealing.

It is an historic fact, that in all lands the managers of these institutions have almost invariably found it necessary to apologize for their scheme by offering to the public a bribe to blind the eyes or dull the conscience for their mean and contemptible system of robbery. Often they attempt to secure absolution from the church, or the commendation of the public, by offering to share their plunder with some laudable charity, or setting apart a portion for some public enterprise. This is true of this Louisiana monstrosity. It pays *forty thousand* dollars annually to the Charity Hospital of New Orleans. Its charter says it is for "educational and charitable purposes." The \$40,000 clause, however, is the only educational or charitable object mentioned; the balance of the \$28,000,000 per year goes to swell the bank account and arrogance of the managers.

There is a preamble to this charter that few people know about. It is a philosophic curiosity. It says:—

That, whereas many millions of dollars have been withdrawn from and lost to this State by the sale of Havana, Kentucky, and Madrid and other lottery tickets, policies, combinations, and devices, and frac-

tional parts thereof, it shall hereafter be unlawful to sell, offer, or expose for sale any of them, or any other lottery, or policy, or combination ticket or tickets, devices, or certificates, or fractional parts thereof, except in such manner, and by such persons, their heirs, executors, assigns, as shall be hereinafter authorized.

Other persons having plundered the people of this State, they now form a plundering trust of their own. They then go on and state some of the objects of this dishonest trust, as follows :—

The protection of the State against the great losses heretofore incurred by sending large amounts of money to other States and foreign countries for the purchase of lottery tickets and devices, *thereby impoverishing* our own people.

How does the Louisiana lottery protect the citizens of this State from being impoverished? Is it any worse to be impoverished by a man who sells tickets in Havana and Kentucky lotteries than by one who sells Louisiana lottery tickets? The managers are the ones enriched in each instance, and the purchasers of their tickets are the ones impoverished in every instance.

The Louisiana legislature, in the very first instance, branded this scheme as dishonest and a fraud. Other lotteries, according to the charter of this lottery, had plundered and impoverished the people of this State. The pretense of its being for “educational and charitable purposes” is also a subterfuge and a lie. The pretense of its being necessary for the Louisiana Lottery Company to sell \$28,000,000 of lottery tickets a year, for “educational and charitable purposes,” is the silliest and shallowest kind of a sham and delusion. The large increase in moneys received, under the present system of robbery, simply marks the heartless greed of the managers of this monstrous swindling device.

One thing the people of this country may accept as a foregone conclusion, and that is, that the charter of this national scourge and public nuisance will be extended, if wholesale bribery, political intriguing, trickery, and taking advantage of credulous voters can secure it.

Now for an answer to our second question, as to what is needed.

First. A quickened public conscience, and an aroused public sentiment. Laws are useless unless there is a healthy public sentiment demanding their enforcement.

Second. Especial care should be taken in other States that existing laws be rigidly enforced.

Third. The Act of Congress should be so amended as to include all advertisements, including newspapers, and making it a felony to send any letter, circular, advertisement, or ticket concerning a lottery through the mail, fixing a minimum penalty of not less than a year's imprisonment for each offense.

Fourth. Congress, under the head of "Commerce between the States," should prohibit the sending of any tickets or matters concerning the promoting, carrying on, or aiding, assisting, or abetting in the promoting or carrying on, of any lottery between the States. If Louisiana wants a public plunderer, a corruptor of public morals, a bid to dishonesty, a crime-breeder, a select company of a few heartless ex-rebels who are willing to live off of the bread and clothing of the poor, — who can, without a compunction of conscience, impoverish the poor, simple-minded, and credulous ones whom they deceive by their seductive advertisements, — let it have all these. But let it not be longer possible, from lack of wholesome laws to the contrary, for this monstrous imposition to be thrust upon the simple-minded and ignorant ones of other States by these grasping, heartless, and unscrupulous managers. Out upon such false pretenses to manhood! These managers may have good clothes, fat wallets, a money-making machine, and a flood of gold constantly flowing into their coffers, but their consciences must be dead; their pity for the poor dried up, their hearts shrunk by this money press until all manly instincts are squeezed out, and their chivalry has been buried out of sight by their ill-gotten gains. Can the people at large afford to condense these large sums of money under the control of those who can brazenly offer to bribe an entire State? Have not these managers received enough money already to repay their efforts in the interests of "educational and charitable purposes?"

In 1873, General Benjamin F. Butler, then in Congress, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to regulate the commerce between the States, in relation to the sending of obscene matter from one State to another. It was then maintained that Congress had such power, and that such a law would be constitutional. If it is, would not the same principle apply to this public plunderer, especially as all the States but two have laws prohibiting lotteries?

One thing Congress can do, and Congressmen from every State in the Union should be instructed by their constituents to at once amend the laws relating to the mails as suggested herein, so as to prevent any department of government from becoming an agent to assist or abet this monstrous and infamous nineteenth century swindle.

Let the press rise above the paltry subsidy offered by the lottery advertisement, and crush this millionaire robbery scheme.

ANTHONY COMSTOCK.

THE JESUITS' ESTATES ACT IN CANADA.

A CRISIS has been reached in the history of Canada. By Imperial Act, passed shortly after the conquest of Canada by the British, the Roman Catholic religion was practically established in what is now the Province of Quebec. The New England colonists pointed out at the time the grave consequences likely to ensue from the special privileges then granted to the French Roman Catholics, but the War of Independence was looming up and Britain wanted to propitiate the favor of the French Canadians. The grave consequences predicted have followed. The French have retained their language and customs, and have multiplied with rare rapidity. They have more than doubled in number within the last thirty years, while the English element has barely held its own. The Church of Rome has maintained its supremacy in the Province, and used it politically to its own advantage. Political partyism in the other Provinces has made it possible for Quebec to hold the balance of power in the Dominion, and thus to secure special favors and privileges from successive administrations. It is safe to say that there is no country where the Church of Rome enjoys more undisputed sway, and none where it has amassed proportionately as great wealth. Its real estate is valued at over \$50,000,000, and its annual income from tithes, pew-rents, masses, etc., at about \$8,000,000. The Province has thus become a special preserve of the Pope, in which Jesuits, outlawed in other lands, have found an asylum and a good base of operations.

Under the French *régime*, prior to the conquest, the Jesuits were incorporated in Canada, and had acquired property in various ways, chiefly in trust for the education of the Indians and young Canadians, which is now valued at about \$2,000,000. According to the terms of capitulation, and the subsequent Treaty of Paris in 1764, all religious communities in Canada were allowed to retain their properties and revenues, as far as

the laws of Great Britain would permit. But in 1765 it was decided, on appeal, by the highest legal authority in Britain, that the estates of the Jesuits in Canada were undoubtedly the property of the Crown. In 1786 this opinion was indorsed by the highest legal authority in Canada, on this among other grounds, that as the order was finally dissolved and suppressed in 1774, "the existence of a few members of the order in the Province could in no shape be considered as forming a body politic or corporate capable of any of the powers inherent in and enjoyed by communities."

The few surviving Jesuits then residing in Canada were however liberally supported by royal grants till 1800, when the last survivor of the original Jesuits in Canada died, and their estates were formally taken possession of for the Crown by the sheriff of Quebec. Thus, for lack of any heir, real or apparent, these estates escheated to the Crown. In 1831 they were granted by Imperial Act to the Province of Canada, and in the same year the provincial legislature passed an Act requiring the revenues from these estates to be kept separate and applied to "educational purposes exclusively."

From time to time unsuccessful attempts have been made to have these revenues placed at the disposal of the Roman Catholic Church, which claimed that the property of the Jesuits at the time of their suppression should have reverted to it instead of to the Crown. But in 1873 a formal application was made to the legislature of Quebec on behalf of the Jesuits for indemnification for the estates referred to, which was however refused. The Jesuits, though foiled in their purpose, were not diverted from it. They watched for and waited their opportunity. Their restoration to favor at Rome gave them increasing influence in a province so solidly and devotedly Roman Catholic as Quebec. The ambition of a clever and adventurous political leader gave them their long-looked-for opportunity. Political parties were so nearly balanced in the Province that the one securing the Jesuit influence was sure of a majority. But this influence was not to be had for nothing. The Jesuits must be incorporated, and indemnified for the estates of their predecessors which had escheated to the Crown more than a century ago.

It was a bold stroke, but the so-called Liberal government of Quebec, under the leadership of the Hon. Honoré Mercier, which with the help of the Jesuits secured a majority at the last provincial election, has done both these things. In 1887 the Jesuits, under ban in the British empire since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, were incorporated in Quebec, and the act assented to almost without protest; and on the 12th of July, 1888, the Provincial Governor in Council assented to "an Act for the Settlement of the Jesuits' Estates," which had just been passed almost without opposition by the provincial legislature.

This act appropriates \$400,000 in recognition of an alleged "moral claim" on the part of the Roman Catholic Church and the so-called Society of Jesus, to certain properties that had been in possession of that society before its suppression in 1774 and before the conquest of Canada by the British; and deposits the money to the credit of the Pope of Rome, to be disposed of at his discretion. It also appropriates \$60,000, the interest of which, only, may be expended annually for Protestant education, and that only with the approval of the Provincial Governor in Council; and grants to the Society of Jesus, in accordance with the suggestion of its procurator, the Common of Laprairie — a valuable government property near Montreal — in commemoration of a "concordat" between the provincial government and the Jesuit fathers, according to which they are to be "always allowed in accordance with their deserts, and if they ask for it, to participate in the grants allowed for education, arts, colonization," etc., which opens a very wide door of access to the provincial treasury.

According to the Canadian Constitution all provincial acts require the assent of the Governor-General *in Council* in addition to that of the Provincial Governor before they become law. Any provincial measure may be vetoed or disallowed at any time within one year after its transmission to the Dominion government. The British North America Act, which is the Constitution of the Dominion, was passed shortly after the close of the late American war, and the *political veto* was intended to remedy similar evils to those which led to that war. It was thought necessary for the protection of minorities in the

various provinces, and of the general interests of the country, and has been frequently exercised, though it must be admitted oftener for party than for national considerations.

The Jesuits' Estates Act came in due course to the Governor-General in Council for the royal assent, which could be refused only on the advice of his responsible ministers, of whom a large minority are Roman Catholics. It was not politically safe for the government to advise the disallowance of the act. When the government's intention was announced, the question was raised in parliament, which was in session at the time. A motion demanding "disallowance" was lost by a vote of 188 to 13; government supporters, led by the Minister of Justice — a Roman Catholic — arguing that the act was not *ultra vires* of the provincial legislature, that the question was a purely fiscal one, with which the Dominion government had no right to interfere, that the government had nothing to do with the constitution and history of the Jesuits, that the Jesuits' estates were on the same footing as private property at the conquest, that in a matter within its control the provincial government can even revoke an act of imperial parliament, that the question of the constitutionality of the act was one for the courts and not for the government or parliament, that the Pope's spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Quebec carries with it a certain temporal jurisdiction, that if disallowed the act would be reënacted again and again, with what consequences it would be impossible to predict, and that disallowance might precipitate a war of race and religion which would be the ruin of the country. Members of the Opposition (Liberal) who voted with the government supporters considered the question a *purely provincial* one, and professed to feel themselves bound, as the champions of provincial rights in several instances in which the veto had infringed the rights of the Provinces, to oppose the disallowance of this Act, though clearly recognizing and denouncing its many objectionable features.

The small minority — only thirteen, composed about equally of members of both parties — argued ably for disallowance on the ground that the act was derogatory to the dignity and supremacy of the Crown, as it was based on negotiations with the

Pope and valid only after his approval, that his permission had been sought to sell these estates, which had been in possession of the Crown for more than a century, and was granted only on condition that the funds from such sale should be kept as "a special deposit to be disposed of hereafter with the sanction of the Holy See," that it recognized the incorporation in Quebec of a society under the ban of British law, that it recognized a claim rejected by imperial parliament in 1765, and by the legislature of Quebec in 1873, that it implied a charge of spoliation against the Crown for taking possession of these estates, that it endowed a society which has proved itself a pest wherever it has been tolerated, that it allowed the diversion of the whole proceeds of these estates from the educational fund of the Province to the ordinary revenue, that it wronged the Protestant minority of the Province, that it established a bad precedent in recognizing a claim which is but part of a general and persistent policy of Ultramontane aggression, that while the *interest only* of the \$60,000 offered for Protestant education — a sop to silence protest — can be used, and that only with the approval of the Provincial Governor in Council, \$400,000 is placed at the *absolute disposal* of the Pope. Subsequently an attempt, of one of the minority, to *offer* a motion requesting the government to submit the Act to the Supreme Court for a decision as to its constitutionality was defeated by parliamentary technicalities which were thought to be unworthy of the government.

The subserviency of the government indorsed by parliament alarmed and aroused the slumbering Protestantism of the country, and raised a storm of protest, especially in Ontario, where the Roman Catholics for years have held the balance of power and used it to secure special favors. Indignation meetings were held all over the country, at which strong resolutions of condemnation were passed. Church conferences, synods, and assemblies joined unanimously in the general protest. In Toronto, the capital of Ontario, a Citizens' Committee was formed, which called and organized an Anti-Jesuit Convention for the Province, which was held in Toronto on the 11th and 12th of June. Over 200 municipalities were represented by

nearly 1,000 delegates. The objectionable legislation was thoroughly discussed. The conclusion was unanimous that the time had come when a stand must be made, not against the Jesuits' Estates Act only, but against Romish aggression in general. The proceedings of the convention were characterized by a determination and enthusiasm, an absence of bigotry, intolerance, and partisanship, which augur well for the success of the agitation for equal rights.

The resolutions adopted affirm the necessity of organization for the defense of civil and religious liberty against the aggression of Ultramontaniam, emphatically condemn both the act incorporating the Jesuits and the Jesuits' Estates Act, declare it essential to the peace and welfare of the country that the line between church and state should be clearly defined and strictly respected in all Dominion and provincial legislation and administration, insist that English shall be the language of instruction in all public schools in Ontario, and that an Equal Rights Association for Ontario should be organized to give practical effect to the resolutions of the convention. The members of the convention pledged themselves to oppose the return to parliament of any candidate who will not pledge himself to support the principles of the convention.

Immediately on the adjournment of the convention an Equal Rights Association for Ontario was organized, with a council of fifty representative men from various parts of the Province. The Rev. Dr. Caven, Principal of Knox College, Toronto, was chosen first president. Since the convention the organization has been widely extended throughout the Province, meetings have been held, and petitions for disallowance circulated and largely signed. On the 2d of August a deputation of *sixty-five* leading men of Ontario and Quebec waited on the Governor-General to present petitions for disallowance signed by about 70,000 electors. The petitions set forth that the Act recognizes "a right on the part of the Pope to interfere in the administration of the civil affairs of Canada, which is derogatory to the supremacy of the Queen," that "it places \$400,000 of public funds at the disposal of the Pope for ecclesiastical and sectarian purposes," that it in effect "recognizes the right of the

Jesuits to make further demands, that the Jesuits have been expelled from nearly all Roman Catholic countries, and have been since the days of Queen Elizabeth an illegal association in the British realm, that the Act is one which affects the peace and welfare of the whole Dominion, and that there is good reason to believe that the majority of parliament, in voting against disallowance, did not represent the real views and wishes of their constituents." The prayer of the petition was urged in an able and altogether admirable address by Principal Caven.

The Governor-General declined to go behind the vote of parliament by which the advice of his ministers was sustained, refused positively either to veto the act or exercise his prerogative of dissolving the parliament in order that the country might have an opportunity to pronounce upon the question, declared that there was no evidence that the Jesuits in the nineteenth century or in Canada had not been as loyal citizens as any others, and announced that his government would not refer the question of the constitutionality of the Act to the Supreme Court, — so that the hope of its being set aside in that way is taken away, as there has no way been discovered by which the question of its constitutionality can be brought before the courts except by the Dominion or Quebec government.

The 8th of August was the last day on which the Act could have been vetoed, so that it is now part of the Statutes of Canada, beyond the hope of repeal. The final refusal of the government to veto the Act has given a great impetus to the equal rights movement throughout the Dominion. An association for Quebec Province has been organized, with Dr. L. H. Davidson, Q. C., an eminent lawyer of Montreal, as president, and the agitation is extending to the other Provinces. One thing is now clear, that neither political party will advise the disallowance of legislation favorable to "the church" in Quebec, as neither party is independent of the Quebec vote and both bid for it. It is equally clear that the Governor-General is but the factotum of the government of the day, and in no practical sense the representative of the Crown. It is perhaps fortunate that disallowance was refused. The refusal both widens and strengthens the movement for equal rights. The

result should be that the aims and methods of Ultramontaniam will be more closely looked into and better understood, and its movements more closely watched. In Ontario neither political party will venture to favor the Roman Catholics, as both have done in the past, and an attempt may even be made to secure an amendment of the constitution abolishing separate schools, which as long as they exist will help to perpetuate the evils now complained of. In Manitoba the local government has already informally declared for the revision of the Provincial Constitution by abolishing the provisions for the use of the dual language (English and French) in the legislature and all official documents, and for separate schools, both of which were introduced into the original constitution of Manitoba in 1870 by Quebec influence. The French form only about twelve per cent. of the population of Manitoba, and it seems ridiculous that so small a percentage should be so specially favored, and another Quebec be created on the other side of Ontario. In Quebec the effect of the agitation has been to intensify the already pronounced French nationalism, and to evoke a distinct avowal of the aim to form here in Canada "a nation which shall perform on this continent the part which France so long played in Europe, and which she might still play if she would but return to the relation with the church ruptured by the Revolution of 1789."

The Equal Rights Association has a stupendous task before it — the conversion of the present political parties, so that they will combine to refuse any further favors to Rome, and to secure the amendments of the constitution necessary to resist her persistent policy of aggression, not only in Quebec, but in the other Provinces as well, and notably in Ontario; or the *creation* of an Equal Rights party which shall make such amendments the first plank in its platform, and which shall hold the balance of power in the Dominion parliament. Its present policy is to purge both parties of all members of parliament who will not subscribe to its platform. In an election where both candidates will pledge themselves to its policy it will not interfere; if only one will do so it will work for his election; if neither will do so it will put a third candidate in the field and elect him if

possible. Its work will not be finished till the last vestige of ecclesiastical privilege in the Dominion is swept away, and its return made impossible by some such provision in the constitution as the so-called Massachusetts amendment.

The obstacles in the way of success are many and formidable, chief among which may be mentioned the solidarity of the French Roman Catholics which form more than one fourth of the population of the Dominion, their phenomenally rapid increase and the fact that wherever they go they carry with them their racial and political traditions, the great wealth of the Roman Catholic Church and her exceptional genius and experience in political diplomacy, the hold that separate schools have in Ontario and Manitoba, the entire control of the education of the rising generation of electors in Quebec by the church, and the almost absolute bondage to party of the vast majority of Protestants. The only possible hope of success lies in the subordination of party to patriotism. As long as present parties strive for rule Rome will rule the country. It remains to be seen at the next general election, which may not be before 1892, what the country thinks of the question. The fear is that before then public interest will subside, and attention be diverted by the party leaders *and heelers* to some far less important issue. Many think the case has not yet grown sufficiently desperate to determine the country on a remedy, and some even say that nothing will be done to find one till some overt act on the part of the French Canadians shows how much more loyal they are to the tiara and to the tricolor flag of France than to the crown and the union jack.

The lessons of this latest aggressive movement of the Jesuits should not be lost upon Canada and other countries with representative forms of government. They have, with the consummate craft for which they are notorious, transferred their intrigues from royal courts to the council chambers of governments and the lobbies of parliaments and state legislatures, but divide and conquer is still, as ever, their winning motto.

J. B. FRASER.

Annan, Ontario.

THE AMERICAN CIVIL SABBATH.

AN ADDRESS AT LOS ANGELES, CAL., IN HAZARD'S PAVILION, BY REV.
WILBUR F. CRAFTS, FIELD SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN SABBATH
UNION.

COMING westward, I instructed myself as to the comparative size of Eastern and Western States by cutting up a railroad map. I found that to cover California required ten Atlantic States,—all of New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. As the people of California, like other Western people, are so manifestly deficient in local pride, I suggest that this deficiency be corrected in the next generation by setting the children at this map exercise, feeding the little States of the Atlantic shore to this sea monster of the Pacific.

California, no doubt, will some day equal those ten Eastern States in population and wealth, as well as in territory. Your marvelous climate alone would bring the population. On one of the recent August days, a lady in Oakland said to me that she had just made a trip to San Rafael *to get warm*. You can quickly find refuge from occasional heat at the seaside, or, by waiting a few hours, receive the cool sea air at eventide wherever you are in the State. You need, even in August and in your warmest valleys, an invention with clock attachment to lay an extra blanket on each sleeper at every stroke of the hour from bedtime till midnight.

People of California, I greet you as citizens of one of the three mighties, in extent of territory, of the United States,—which three mighties are Texas, California, and Montana. We used to sing, "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm." California alone is rich enough to give a farm of twelve acres to every family of five in the land. If each man, woman, and child was set in the middle of his or her two acres and a third and the signal was given to sink down into the grass or brush, our whole population would suddenly disappear.

Surely this State will have no lack of wealth. But it will not rise by booms. It is about as safe to rise by bombs. It is dangerous to have either of these in your hands when they "go off." Raising corner lots is not your best crop. Your soil is rich, not only in precious metals, but in the gold of your peaches, your oranges, your wheat; in the silver of your buckwheat and your olive-trees; in the greenbacks of your corn and vines. An Easterner is in danger of mistaking your strawberries for red apples, your peaches for cantaloupes, and your fields of pumpkins for a meteoric shower of fallen planets. (Laughter and applause.)

In the Metropolitan Museum at New York, California is symbolized by

a bare and lonely maiden. If I were a sculptor I would represent her more suitably, in variegated marble,—in a fountain group, to picture your miracles of irrigation,—as a majestic mother, of heroic figure, not bare, but richly clothed, a diadem of your native gold upon her head, her robe of the royal purple of your grapes, her corsage bouquet a sheaf of your golden wheat; surrounded by a great household of sons and daughters.

But extensive territory, numerous population, and immense wealth do not make a State great, only *big*, like Russia. Character is essential to greatness in States as well as in individuals. California will never be one of the three *greatest* States, in the true sense of the word, until she is one of the three *best*. (Applause.) She must learn to yield not only gold, and grapes, and grain, but also, with equal abundance, honesty, morality, and charity; and these can no more be produced without the Sabbath than your fruits without water.

California is the only one of our States without a civil Sabbath. Not New Jersey, but California is the foreign land. The only other spot in the civilized world without a Sunday law is France. If you would not be a "Frenchy" but an American commonwealth, and would draw for permanent residents the best American families, you must cast out the French Sunday and foster

THE AMERICAN SABBATH.

The American Sabbath Union, which I represent, stands for this American Sabbath,—the golden mean between the Puritan Sabbath on the one extreme and the Continental Sunday on the other. The American Sabbath Union is a union of *true* Americans of all sections to sentinel the American Sabbath. By "true Americans" I mean Americans *in spirit*. There are *real* German-Americans, *real* Irish-Americans. In this sense the Irish immigrant, who said he had concluded to take America for his native land, could have done so. On the other hand, some who were born Americans have apostatized by adopting the foreign saloon and its Siamese twin, the foreign holiday Sunday. Apart from all religious considerations, the true patriot should reject the Continental Sunday as the "holiday of despotism." So Hallam, the great philosopher of history, calls it, bidding us note that the despots of Europe have studiously cultivated a love of Sunday pastimes to keep the people quiet under political distresses; that is, the holiday Sunday, which is offered to us by Continentals as the very insignia of "personal liberty," is rather its substitute, the tinsel bauble which shrewd monarchs have given to the adult infants of the Continent in place of the ballot of freemen. There is no instance of a stable, long-continued popular government where the people have kept themselves in perpetual infancy by devoting their God-given Rest Day to Sunday dissipation and its twin, Sunday toil. Who would be surprised to hear to-morrow that France, of the holiday Sunday, had thrown away her republicanism as a spoiled child throws away a toy? The only ism a man needs to make him defend the American Sabbath is patriotism. Those who make the most frantic protest against

any change in the American Constitution are foremost in efforts to overthrow this chief American institution. American institutions are the very roots of the American Constitution, and the American Sabbath is the very tap-root of them all, supplying the people with the physical, mental, and moral vitality necessary to self-government. (Applause.)

No paper that seeks to uproot the American Sabbath has a right to put the word "American" in its name.

A few days ago there appeared in your streets this notice: "Mass Meeting at Hazard's Pavilion, Tuesday Evening, August 27. 'The Principles of a Sunday Rest Law' will be discussed at eight o'clock. Everybody, whether now opposed or in favor of such a law, should be there." Many of you, who have heard all you care to hear from Seventh-day Adventists, were deceived into attending that meeting, supposing it was our long-expected meeting in behalf of such a law. Those who come to a properly announced lecture of an opponent should hear him through, but many of you made a suitable protest against being tricked, by going out as soon as you discovered that your attendance had been obtained under false pretenses. That trick is a fair sample of the Seventh-day Adventist plan of campaign. They beguile people to attend a series of "Bible readings," and only gradually and slyly reveal their purpose, which is not so much the conversion of sinners as the perversion of saints. They go from door to door offering for sale "a book on the Sabbath" or on history, giving no clew that in both cases it is in defense of the Jewish Sabbath. They circulate a petition which gives no hint that it is in the interest of the *Saturday Sabbath*, but is urged as a preventive of a union of church and state and other religious legislation, and so secures the signatures even of Methodists and Presbyterians, but is presented at Washington as chiefly against the civil Sabbath, to which many of its signers are earnestly devoted. While other denominations call their publishing houses by such names as "Methodist Book Concern," "Presbyterian Board of Publication," the Seventh-day Adventists conceal their flag by giving their publication house two aliases, namely, "Pacific Press Publication Company" and "International Tract Society." Instead of giving their chief paper its real name and banner, namely *The Advent Sentinel* for the Defense of Adventism and the Jewish Sabbath, they disguise it under the name of "*The American Sentinel*, devoted to the defense of American institutions." You will not be surprised to know that this paper, which starts out with a false flag in its very name, judged by an issue taken at random, averages *seven mistakes per foot square*. (Applause.)

The so-called "American Sentinel" is as surely un-American as the German "Sentinel" of the liquor traffic, with which it stood in opposition to our American Civil Sabbath at the Senate Committee's hearing in Washington, and with which it opposes even Sunday closing of saloons, except in prohibition towns that close on all days. In the name of a Christian church, this Jewish "Sentinel" of the Saturday Sabbath echoes the very arguments of Ingersoll's "Secular Union," whose representative fought on the same side at that same hearing.

The revived American spirit should refuse, as the worst of immigrants, the Continental Sunday, and hold to the American Sabbath as the very heart of Americanism.

SABBATH LAWS ARE NOT RELIGIOUS LEGISLATION.

The right arm of the American Sabbath Union is the promotion of the religious Sabbath ; its left arm, the preservation of the American civil Sabbath. These two things — the Christian Sabbath on the one hand, and the American Sabbath on the other — are as distinct as my two arms, that resemble and coöperate, and yet are by no means the same. This distinction is itself an answer to most of the objections to Sabbath laws, which rest chiefly on the false assumption that they are enforcements of a duty to God, punishments of a sin against God. We make no dissent from the inference that Christ's words, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's," mean that Christians are thus forbidden by their Master to enforce by civil law anything that is only a duty to God, or to punish by civil law anything that is only a sin against God. It admitted, however, by our opponents that it is the province of civil law to enforce man's duties to man, and especially to punish crime against man. It is exactly on this ground that Sabbath laws forbid Sunday work and Sunday dissipation, namely, as *crimes against man*. It is grand larceny to take away the weekly rest day. Ceaseless toil is slow murder.

Sunday laws are not "religious legislation" because they come from the Bible any more than the laws against adultery, which are as distinctly a part of Biblical morality, in distinction from heathen morality, as Sabbath laws. Both the Bible and the codes of the most advanced governments forbid murder, theft, adultery, false witness, and Sabbath work. Religion renders to God the things that are God's by forbidding these things chiefly as sins against God ; Government renders to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's by forbidding them as crimes against man.

Put, then, into the religious Sabbath as its water-mark the word "sin," relating to wrongs done to God, and into the civil Sabbath as its water-mark the word "crime," referring to wrongs done to man.

There are many who believe that the State is accountable to God, as well as the individual, and should forbid itself to sin, and may therefore forbid Sabbath-breaking on higher grounds than the wrong it brings to man, but there are grounds enough that are purely human to justify him who holds the most secular theory of government in defending the civil Sabbath.

In other countries, where church and state are mixed, and in our own country in other days, the ground of Sabbath laws has not always been clearly perceived ; but in recent years, legislation on this subject has been based, not on God's will, but — to use a constitutional term — on "the general welfare."

A homely illustration or two will make this point clear. A shrewd Iowa farmer put up in his melon patch this sign : "Boys, do not touch these melons, for they are green and God sees you." The church exhorts men against

Sunday work and Sunday dissipation because God sees and will punish ; but the State forbids these things only because they are unhealthy to the body politic, as well as to the individual, physically, mentally, morally, and politically. A college president, having discovered two sophomores lazing, called them into his presence while his wrath was warm, and said : "Gentlemen, such conduct is displeasing to God, and *what's more, I won't stand it.*" The church says of Sabbath desecration : Such conduct is displeasing to God ; but the state says of Sunday work : What is more to us, charged to protect, not divine but human rights, we won't stand it, — the perpetual treadmill of toil, labor without leisure. (Applause.)

The most active opponent of Sabbath laws says incessantly, as if it were a self-evident and incontrovertible axiom : "The state can never properly legislate in relation to anything in the first four commandments of the Decalogue." The chief plank in the Seventh-day Adventist platform rests on the assumption that the first of the two Stone Tables included the first four commandments. This foundation is a sand heap. No one knows where the first table ends, but the full pause nearest to the middle of the Commandments is after the words, "Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy." This is also the natural point of division on the basis of the structure of thought. If the plan of God, as is natural to suppose, was to put the commands that relate chiefly to man's duties to God on the first table, the point where it must have ended is with that sentence about keeping holy the religious Sabbath. The remainder of the Fourth Commandment was given, as Moses says to each employer, "That thy man servant and thy maid servant may rest as well as thou." That part of the Fourth Commandment is as much a civil affair as the succeeding laws about home, and property, and life, and purity, and reputation, and so belongs among the Commandments that relate to man's duties to man. The Fourth Commandment is the transition Commandment that connects our duties to God with our duties to man ; very appropriately so, for, as one has said, it is a Commandment the keeping of which leads to the keeping of all the others, the breaking of which leads to the breaking of all the others.

Professor A. T. Jones, the leader of the Seventh-day Adventists, in his address at the Sunday rest hearing in Washington, after denying the right of government to legislate about anything in the first four commandments, admitted enough to justify the civil Sabbath. He said (*italics ours*) : "If in the exercise of his religious convictions, under the first four commandments, *he invades the rights of his neighbor*, then the civil government says that is unlawful. Why ? Because it is irreligious, or because it is immoral ? Not at all ; but because it is uncivil, and for that reason only."

SABBATH LAWS ARE CONSTITUTIONAL.

The Supreme Courts of the twenty-five States in which the matter has been tested have so declared. This is one of the rare instances in which the final decisions in all the highest courts are all on one side. The lawyer's chief labor, in most cases, is to prove that the ten decisions on his

client's side weigh more than the dozen decisions on the other side. When twenty-five Supreme Courts are on one side, on a purely legal matter, namely, the harmony of one legal document, called a Sunday Law, with another, called the Constitution, he who has only his *ipse dixit* on the other side certainly has a very weak case.

It is well to recall the grounds upon which these decisions have been based. The objectors always quote the first amendment of the United States Constitution, that prohibits Congress to make "an establishment of religion." The word "establishment" is a historic word of no doubtful interpretation. When it was written into the Constitution, there was in the Old World, as there is to-day, the custom of selecting a single religion or a single sect, and supporting it by the state, which also appoints its officers. A Sabbath law in order to come under this prohibition would need to require the building of churches by taxation, the state support of ministers of religion, and their political appointment, which no advocate of Sunday legislation proposes or desires.

I have shown that the reference to "an establishment of religion" in the first amendment to the Constitution has no application whatever to the American Sabbath; but the latter part of this amendment, which requires that Congress shall make no laws prohibiting the free exercise of religion, does have a bearing upon the case in hand. When Congress ordered Sunday work in the mail service, it broke this constitutional provision, for it made it impossible, by this *irreligious* test, for millions devoted to the church and unwilling to give up its services, and conscientious about doing needless Sunday work, to hold positions in this largest department of public service. The most conscientious men, who are best adapted to handle the wealth of the people by mail, are thus distinctly excluded from the post-offices of the country, — a very serious interference with the "free exercise of religion." The petition against Sunday mails is, therefore, not a request that Congress will do something *for* religion, but that it will cease to do something *against* religion. The present status is not neutrality, but hostility. We do not believe in state *and* church, but neither do we believe in state *against* church. Our petition asks Congress to desist from breaking the Constitution. (Applause.)

But the best answer to the objection, that the American civil Sabbath is an unconstitutional institution, is the United States Constitution itself, which already contains a Sunday law. The only objection to it is, that it is an un-American monopoly, "special legislation" for the benefit of one man. In the first article, seventh section, it is provided that the President shall have ten days (Sundays excepted) in which to consider a bill sent to him by Congress, before it can become a law without his signature. Here is a distinct provision for the protection of the President in his right to the day of rest and in his rights of conscience. That parenthesis "(Sundays excepted)" is an acorn which millions of petitioners desire should be allowed to grow into the wide-spreading oak of a Congressional "Sunday rest law," under whose shadow, with the President, the lowliest servants of the gov-

ernment in the mail and military service, and all others who are under the jurisdiction of Congress, may also enjoy the day of rest. (Applause.)

The theory that the present "Sunday Rest Movement" is only a scheme to unite church and state encounters the difficulty that the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and the Knights of Labor, in their international conventions of 1888, approved it; but this difficulty is summarily disposed of by our opponents with the hysterical statement that these bodies only indorsed our petition because I "pleaded with them." The fact is that I began my first address to a labor organization, the Central Labor Union of New York city, by reading the action against Sunday work which the Buffalo Labor Union had taken on its own motion; and so my key-note at the Brotherhood Convention was the bitter cry of four hundred and fifty engineers of the Vanderbilt roads for a Sabbath of rest, written by themselves years before I undertook Sabbath reform; in fact, that flaming appeal was the torch at which I lighted the red lantern I have since been swinging in front of Sunday trains. (Applause.)

SABBATH LAWS ARE CONSISTENT WITH LIBERTY.

When Cambyes invaded Egypt, knowing that they worshiped cats, he had each soldier in the front rank of his army take in his left hand, in the place of a shield, a sacred cat. The Egyptians dared not strike lest they should kill a god, and so the invaders conquered them without a blow. The first part of that history is repeating itself in our land. (God forbid, patriots forbid, that the last part of it should be repeated.) We are being invaded by an army of Continentals who desire to break down our institutions in the interests of their lusts, and who march in upon us with our sacred word "liberty" as their shield.

It is a picture worthy of a comic almanac, these unwashed refugees from despotism, who never saw liberty in their lives, and wouldn't know it if they saw it, offering themselves as teachers of liberty to Americans. As usual, in such cases, we ask these professors of liberty, "Where did you graduate? Who was your teacher?" They answer, "Bismarck." (Laughter and applause.) Now we understand what they mean by "personal liberty," the liberty of Bismarck, the liberty of that one *person* to do what he likes, regardless of the rights of all below him. The reversed "Bismarcks" who come to this country believe, each of them, in the "personal liberty" of one person to do what he likes, regardless of the rights of all above him. We do not believe in any such "*personal* liberty" but in *popular* liberty, the liberty of the whole people, and the liberty of the person only so far as it is consistent with the liberties of the populace. (Applause.)

The circle is a symbol, not of eternity only, but also of "personal liberty." "Personal liberty" is the space within an ample circle, smoothly bounded on all sides by the rights and liberties of others.

The principle that underlies all civil laws, the relation of liberty and law, was well expressed in the card which hung on the steps of a certain

city hall : "Gentlemen *will not* and others *must not* loaf on these steps." In a republic, law is the proclamation of what gentlemen "will not" and others "must not" do. Sabbath laws proclaim that gentlemen will not and others must not deprive the toilers of their natural right to the weekly rest day, either to gratify their greed or lust, or even for amusement.

In many places it has happened that the barbers have circulated among themselves a signed agreement for Sunday closing, knowing that Sunday work, like swearing, is serving Satan without pay ; that the same profit is made by the barbers of a town or city when they work six days as when they work seven. One barber refuses to sign, and so all the others think they must keep up their Sunday work, lest some shiftless customer, on a cold or rainy Saturday, may not come to his usual barber, because he knows that another will be open on the morrow. So the liberty of one man or a few becomes the Sunday slavery of a whole trade. In such a case law comes in, and, by "Sunday closing" of all the barber shops, proclaims what all sensible barbers *will do*, and the one foolish barber *must do*, for his own good and the good of others. (Applause.)

It is sometimes said by opponents of Sabbath laws that "government has no right to dictate how a man shall spend the day." But at quarantine government proves its right to dictate how a man shall spend a fortnight, when the general good requires it.

Sabbath laws are consistent with liberty, in part, because they are health laws ; in part, also, because they are laws for the prevention of crime. In Ireland, partial "Sunday closing" of saloons cut down the Sunday arrests fifty-one per cent. In Scotland, more complete "Sunday closing" cut down the Sunday arrests seven eighths, and the total consumption of liquors one fourth, proving Sunday closing one fourth prohibition, a quarter loaf of unpoisoned bread which prohibitionists should join with less radical men in giving to communities not yet ready for complete prohibition, as an appetizing sample. When saloons were open on Sunday in Cincinnati, I am told, the city prosecutor said that one third of all the crimes of that city were Sunday crimes. When its saloons are closed on Sunday, even "Muratic Halstead" admits that on that day the police have almost nothing to do. (Applause.) Sabbath laws are therefore consistent with liberty in the same way as other less effective laws for the prevention of crime.

These are our answers to the "Personal Liberty Leagues," and to those who are victims of their sophistries.

The case is more difficult when the cry of "religious liberty" is raised by an entirely different class, by good citizens who religiously and regularly observe the Saturday Sabbath. The apostate Jew, who does not keep that Sabbath, but pleads his neglected religion when arrested for opening his shop on the American Sabbath, should have no consideration from either Gentiles or genuine Jews. His case is precisely like that of any other heathen who cares for neither the laws of God nor those of man. But those who regularly and religiously observe the Saturday Sabbath, by abstaining from labor and business, deserve the kindly and generous treat-

ment they have received, with few exceptions, in the laws, and still more in the customs, of the States.

In the State of Arkansas, at one time, the exception in favor of Seventh-day people having been taken advantage of by disreputable Jews to open saloons on the Sabbath, the exception was too hastily repealed. The fact that almost all the instances of alleged persecution of Seventh-day people are brought from that one State, and that one period, shows how generously these people have been dealt with in other times and places. They are usually permitted to do any work on the first day of the week, except such as would destroy the general rest. They have not always reciprocated this generosity, but rather, in many cases, have adopted the dangerous anarchistic principle of keeping only the laws that suit them; but this should not abate our effort to make our Sabbath laws as favorable as possible to the minority.

They agree with us that man has a natural right to rest one day in seven. It is only in the exigencies of debate that they argue that a man should work seven days for a week's wages. We go a step farther, and hold that in this age of corporations and of competition, employees cannot be secure in the enjoyment of this natural right to a day of rest unless the state protects it. Louisiana for many years had ever-increasing Sunday dissipation and Sunday toil because there was no Sabbath law, as the Seventh-day people desire should be the case everywhere. In 1886 the people of Louisiana gave up the Seventh-day Adventist plan of the lawless Sunday, which had been weighed and found wanting. Let California do likewise. (Applause.)

The Sabbatic Eden of the workingmen can only be protected by the angel of law, as one has said, standing at the gate with flaming sword, to keep back the spoiler. The state has nothing to do with the arguments for and against "the change of day,"—only with the wish of the majority, harmonized to the rights of the minority. But I may turn aside to say that in the Fourth Commandment, to which both parties appeal, there is no seventh day of the week, but only a seventh day after six of work. This is a great constitutional provision. The Saturday Sabbath of the Jews and the Lord's day Sabbath of Christians are only by-laws. The Fourth Commandment can be obeyed by keeping either day, but society cannot wisely encourage or protect more than one of them.

With sweet reasonableness we should try to show these Seventh-day people the mistake of their literalness with reference to the seventh day of the week. Chaplain Crawford of the United States Navy recently told me of a voyage to Samoa, during which the ship on which he was serving crossed the "Sunday line," 180°, and as usual corrected its reckoning by adding a day. If he had been going the other way he would have lost a day. Arriving at Samoa he found that the missionaries, in their zeal for Christian work, had forgotten to make this change when they crossed the line, years before, and so were keeping the Christian Sabbath, the Lord's day, on what was Saturday on shipboard. He preached for them on their Sabbath, and

they came on shipboard to hear him again on his Sabbath ; and so for three weeks, during which time, between the ship and the shore, they had two Christmas days, two New Year's days, and six Sundays. (Laughter and applause.) As the Jews, Seventh-day Adventists, and Seventh-day Baptists form together but seven tenths of one per cent. of the population, it might be well to stop their opposition to our American civil Sabbath laws by sending the rabbis and pastors of these literalists to Samoa by the route that would make their Saturday coincide with our Sabbath, as they would surely refuse to throw away any day in their literal devotion to rigid succession, and then they could be celebrating the feast of creation on what they would call the seventh day of the week, on the same general rest day that we should consider a feast both of creation and redemption, and call the first day of the week.

The proposed Congressional "Sunday rest law," at the utmost, would not affect more than one thousand of these Seventh-day people, as they cannot be in the mail or military service or in interstate commerce and yet keep Saturday, and the further jurisdiction of the law is only in the District of Columbia and the Territories, in which very few of them reside.

There is a question of conscience involved in this matter. It is the question of two millions of people, as many as were delivered from the despotism of King George by the Revolution, who are now in a more serious bondage, the Sunday slavery to King Greed, working on the Sabbath with uneasy consciences. At Yorktown, in the very shadow of the monument that celebrates the close of the Revolution, I asked a colored man who was in charge of the adjoining farm, pointing to a hole in a chimney, evidently made by grape or canister : "Was that done in this last war or in the Revolution?" He answered, "I don't know ; how long ago was the resolution?" There was a good deal of *resolution* in the Revolution, otherwise the barefooted soldiers of Valley Forge would never have trod in triumph the fields of Yorktown. Victory came not by such good resolutions as are made on New Year's Day and in religious conventions. It was *resolution* without the "s" that delivered those two millions from King George, and like RESOLUTION will deliver the two millions who are in the worse bondage of Sabbathless toil to-day. (Applause.)

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XIX.

CURFEW had material enough for dreaming that night, and not a thread of it was lost, though the dream-spirit did not put the threads very skillfully together or work out a pattern which could be described in terms of art. Dulsbury, blindness, flight from home, a tempter assailing the ear with honied words, a woman ragged and bruised, flying through the rough wind in search of some kindly refuge ; plunging rivers, steep hills, a funeral shadow darkening the sky of summer ; a deserted father, — all these mixed themselves in completest confusion, and yet so vividly that Curfew had not doubt of the reality of the whole action. It seemed when he awoke that no mere commonplace could satisfy the mood which the dream had created. Only some startling revelation could preserve the fitness of things or save him from an anti-climax.

Did Miss Fairfield know what she had promised when she fixed ten o'clock for the interview with Miss Miller ? In words she had promised that the interview might mark a new period in Miss Miller's life. It was time that some such period should open, for Miss Miller had long been suffering from an internal disease surgically regarded as incurable, which might possibly linger a long while, or might at almost any moment succumb to the cure of all-quieting death. No one had ever heard Miss Miller complain. No engagement relating to rescue work had been allowed to lapse on account of her personal suffering. A new and tender expression investing her face with a kind of sacredness was one outcome of her continual pain. All her fellow-workers were conscious that some action was taking place which farther and farther separated Miss Miller from them, but in no wise diminished her sisterly love. The distance between them was of that intensely spiritual kind which mysteriously brought her nearer to them than ever she had been before, for she knew them better, saw more deeply into their experience, and touched all the line of their want and hope and penitence with a finer delicacy. In spiritual ministry Miss Miller was an angel in the house, the very sight of whom made the day longer and the work lighter. Yet the consuming disease was her own grim but fascinating secret ; a kind of blessing ; a sorrow that seemed to be working out for her that tribute which ought to be paid to avenging conscience and to tormenting memory.

Every pang brought with it some sustaining suggestion ; she was paying something ; she was making up a loss to her father ; she was piecing together some garment she had torn ; somehow she was making up lost ground, — she could not tell just what it was, yet a feeling came with all the pain which turned the pain into a holy and acceptable visitation, and made her joyously solemn as if in the very presence of God.

Midnight was scarcely past when Mr. Young, a neighboring doctor, was called in to see Miss Miller. He knew the case too well to make many inquiries. It was evident to him that the secret battle was nearly over, and that no one was so sure of victory as the sufferer herself.

“Doctor,” said she, “the meeting cannot be long put off.”

The doctor thought the patient’s mind was wandering a little, and that as usual she was thinking of her work among the poor and the ignorant.

“Pray do not think of meetings now,” said he, in that kind tone which made him a favorite in the sick-chambers of the poor. “By and by we may think of meetings, but just now we must see if we can make you well.”

“I shall be well to-night.”

“I hope so,” the doctor replied, “but we must not hasten matters. Be quite still, for if you make any exertion you will weaken yourself and increase your pain.”

“But the meeting will take place this very night.”

“Very likely,” said the doctor, “but you must not be there.”

“Then the meeting cannot take place,” she replied.

“So much the better,” the doctor answered, “it can easily be held some other time.”

“Ah, doctor,” said the sweet sufferer, “you think my mind is wandering ; I see you do. You are always kind, and you do not want to pain me, so you try to put me off with promises that the meeting will take place by and by. For all you have done I thank you. No one could have been gentler. You have been my friend and helper. The dear Lord sent you to me in my pain and weakness, and He will repay you more than I can. Doctor, to-night I will meet my father. I want to meet him. I long to see him.”

“Has he been sent for ?” the doctor tenderly inquired.

“Ah, doctor, doctor,” was the reply, “you do not know my story. My blind father died — died of a broken heart — I myself put the dagger into that poor heart. He is with the dear Lord in heaven, and in heaven I will meet him to-night.” After a pause she continued : “He will not reproach me. He knows all. He knows now that there may be hallucination where there is no sin. Doctor, what a life is this ! How it contradicts itself ! What fools we are in our very wisdom ! But I am tired. I never felt so tired before. I must sleep.”

And Curfew, as I have said, was also slumbering and dreaming, and seeing a thousand miracles in the haze of sleep. He saw a white figure ascending into the starry sky, and heard as it were the voice of singing in the still

night. He saw a clerical figure shadowed on the wall of an old church, and the attitude was that of a man in prayer. He saw a woman's face, of gentleness ineffable, and on it was written, as if in cloud, the letters of his own name. All his life passed before him in dim outline, down to the last interview with Miss Fairfield, and as it passed it left no gloom or sadness behind it. When he awoke, Curfew expected to keep his dream, examine it, and enter more fully into its subtle joy. But the dream receded — paled — vanished, and became an incoherent memory.

When the dream withdrew, the fact of the appointment with Miss Fairfield became more fully realized. The meeting was to be at ten o'clock, but Curfew was in the vicinity of the house at half past nine. He would not show undue haste, as if mere curiosity had overpowered him, so he walked at a short distance from the house but quite within view of it. He took little notice of the men who were going in and coming out, supposing that in such an institution there must be work of all kinds to do. It is a quarter to ten now, and still the window blinds are down. While Curfew wondered, and again looked at his watch to assure himself that he was right as to the time, a hand was laid upon his shoulder.

"Mr. Bell!" he exclaimed.

"Undoubtedly," was the reply; "the very same and no other. I ran up to London yesterday afternoon, and it occurred to me that somehow we might meet here or hereabouts, and right glad I am to be in such company. What is the plan?"

"I have an appointment with Miss Fairfield at ten o'clock," said Curfew.

"Good. What impression has she made upon you?"

"The best in the world. I never met such a woman — such a young woman — before. But somehow her look pains me, because she seems to be suffering so much pain herself. She did not tell me a word about her suffering, but I saw it in her face and heard it in her voice."

"Well," said Mr. Bell, "I will go in with you."

"She recalled you perfectly," said Curfew, "and I judge from her manner that your going with me will not be disagreeable."

"You thought so from her manner?" Mr. Bell eagerly inquired.

"Yes. There is only one difficulty," Curfew continued: "my appointment does not refer so much to Miss Fairfield as to a young woman under her care, a young woman known here as Miss Miller, who came from Dulsbury and got into some sort of trouble and is now all right again. How would it be for you to walk about here until I see how things are likely to go, then I can call you in and Miss Fairfield may talk to you, while I talk to Miss Miller?"

"Perhaps that would be best. So be it. You will find me at the corner window yonder. It wants but a minute of ten."

Before ten struck, Curfew had rung the bell. The door was opened by a young girl whose eyes were red with tears.

"Miss Fairfield at home?" Curfew cheerfully inquired.

The girl was silent.

"I have an appointment with Miss Fairfield at ten o'clock," Curfew continued. "Please tell her that I am here to keep it."

In a tone of wonderful tenderness the girl simply answered: "Miss Fairfield died at two o'clock this morning."

"Can I see Miss Miller?" Curfew inquired, with something of almost reverence in his tone.

"Who?"

"Miss Miller."

"There is no such person in the house."

"Does she never come to the house?"

"No, sir."

"I expected to meet her here this morning, at ten o'clock."

Curfew turned away from the door, bitterly saying to himself, "Fooled again. This comes of your fine institutions; I won't say a word to Mr. Bell about it. There must be some mistake, for how could a dying woman be playing a trick upon me? No, that woman could never deceive me; truth was written all over her face. I suppose the secret, whatever it was, is dead with her."

CHAPTER XX.

WHAT inward battle Mr. Bell had to fight no one knew but himself. He made no attempt to conceal his sighing, though he did not seek the relief of articulate expression. When Curfew and he hurried away from the door, Curfew had no idea as to the direction in which they were walking. In a few minutes they stood opposite a public house, and Mr. Bell looked as if he had decided to go in.

"Not in here, surely," said Curfew.

"No, no," was the hurried reply, "you do not understand; this den is called the Bull and Dog, and it was in a hayloft belonging to this place that she was first heard of by our set. I want to see that hayloft. I want to live in it. We are now close upon holy ground."

How much farther Mr. Bell would have said in the same direction we cannot tell, for his speech was interrupted by the sight of a friend.

"Hoxton!" he exclaimed, "you out so early? Let me thank you for what you gave us last night. I could follow that parable very closely. It was full of human life."

Curfew stared. This was the preacher whom he had heard, but he had no idea that Mr. Bell was a fellow-listener.

"Yes," said Hoxton, in a voice which Curfew immediately identified, "that sort of life is not uncommon down here. But explain your presence, my friend."

"We have been — let me introduce my friend Jessell — down to call upon Miss Fairfield, and we have just been told she is dead."

"So I have been told," said Hoxton; "so we may as well all be dead in

this locality. A wonderful woman. An Israelite indeed. Do you know where I got my parable? I got it from her. Not the words, of course, but the idea, the whole thought of sin and shame and fear and hope. I fancy if we knew all we should find a good deal of herself in that parable. Bell, you looked quite blanched; come round to the vicarage and rest awhile."

"Thanks. Not now. I must get back to work. Is it long since you saw Miss Fairfield?"

"Not a week since. I used to make opportunities for seeing her. I assure you an interview with Miss Fairfield was a means of grace, on account of her spiritual feeling and spiritual insight. Until I knew her way of looking at life and thinking about God, I did not know what Christ had done for the world. Where other people puzzled themselves with long words and hard propositions, Miss Fairfield seemed to go straight into the very innermost sanctuary of truth, and bring back light and strength and peace."

"Will you do me a favor, Hoxton?"

"Certainly."

"Then," said Mr. Bell, "take this money, spend it on the loveliest wreath you can buy, and ask the people to lay it" — Bell stopped — "to lay it on her heart."

Mr. Bell and Curfew had an almost silent journey into the country. Nothing would satisfy Mr. Bell but that Curfew must go with him for the night at least to Buttersfield. He had much to say, and wanted to say it at his leisure. Curfew was nothing loath, for he loved Mr. Bell as a traveler might love a guide who had shown him safe footprints in a wilderness.

"All this," said Curfew, "has done me good."

"All what, my boy?"

"All this suffering and shame and experience of many kinds. I am a new man, and I see all things in a new light. I have played the fool. When I think of all the rude things I have said, and all the vanities I have cultivated, and all the silly people I have encouraged, I burn with shame. I wish I could rub out nearly all my yesterdays."

Mr. Bell let him talk freely, for his own heart was weary and ill at ease.

"What I once thought mysterious I now see to be simple. I never approached religious mysteries in a right way. I thought they were to be conquered by the intellect, now I see they are to be illuminated by the heart. God promises everything to purity, and nothing to genius. He confides his secret to the weak, and tells his counsel to them who fear him."

"Quite right, my boy."

"Then again I went to the Bible for the wrong things, — for history, science, philosophy, and everything but the right thing."

"What is the right thing, Curfew?"

"Christ," was the instant reply. "I put to myself such questions as, What does this Book want me to be and to do? What kind of help does this Book offer me? And after I got the Book's own answer I had no doubt of the Book's inspiration. I must say that inspiration had not been properly

defined to me. I looked for something mechanical, geometrical, measurable ; the truly spiritual function I had not seized properly."

"How does 'Elsmere' affect you now?"

"Not mischievously. Your criticism upon that book helped me through my one difficulty. There are far too many fine gentlemen in that book, talking bathos, and showing themselves off as seers, whereas they are only clever, acute, finical, and mole-eyed. Not a man amongst them takes in a whole horizon. They are not even dramatic infidels ; they are only so much cotton-wool and red paint."

"But remember, Curfew, you thought they did wonders without the supernatural Christ."

"So I did, but I no longer think so. Their Christ is not supernatural but preternatural ; he is not the Christ of reason, he is the Christ of perplexity ; he is not even a dream-birth, he is a hideous conception of nightmare."

"So I think, my boy."

Curfew warmed to his subject. "Such a Christ is useless, as well as intellectually impossible. He is small enough to be patronized. You could let him out for hire. You could change him according to the weather. Such a Christ is not worth stoning, and certainly nobody would go to the trouble of crucifying him. The treatment of Christ by his own contemporaries is the best answer to the 'Elsmere' painting club."

"Miss Fairfield worked under the true inspiration, — the inspiration that lasts longest and takes in the greatest range of service."

"So I should think."

"Yes, Curfew, I know it. Miss Fairfield's Christ was the Saviour of the world. He was not a reformer, an educator, a pioneer, or anything of that sort. He did not found little clubs and savings banks and debating societies ; he died for the world, and rose again, and is to-day the almighty and omnipresent factor in human progress. This was Miss Fairfield's conception, though she might put it in different words. The fact is, in my judgment, you cannot work for time until you have been filled with the very spirit of eternity ; you cannot love your neighbor as yourself until you love God with all your heart. All your fire must come from the sun."

"I feel that to be true, Mr. Bell."

"It is true, my boy, and yet the 'Elsmere' party cannot or will not see it. They do not know that whenever they attempted to do good they were actually indebted for their impulses to the Christ whom they ignored. If I may say so, they had only a church-Christ ; that is, an ecclesiastical figure ; a sort of ideal in porcelain ; — the true Christ, the Child of Eternity, the ineffable Sufferer, the Soul that carried the cross that the world might be saved, they never saw, they never knew, they never loved."

"No," said Curfew, "and even their earnestness is tepid."

"Not even tepid," Mr. Bell quickly added ; "in fact, it was hardly earnestness at all. Largely it was self-consciousness, a sort of intellectual vanity, a very sensitive self-appreciation. The principal religious characters in 'Elsmere' balance themselves on tiptoe, weigh things in Oxford scales, and are wonderfully enamored of all things German and unintelligible."

"I did not notice the German," said Curfew.

"Not German words," said Mr. Bell, "but German thoughts, German skepticisms, German indigestions. The German has a curious way of making the simplest things look grand and deep and mystical. His walking-stick is the stem of creation. His pipe is the centre of the solar system. His consciousness is the birth-sphere of God. Even sincerity itself may get lost in the mazes of the German language. The irritating part of the whole business, if one cared to get irritated about it, is that when England is taking up some new German theory, Germany itself has thrown it away as a mistake, and set up another theory as an idol. England seems to like the cast-off clothes of intellectual Germany. All the 'Elsmere' squad are dressed in German rags."

Mr. Bell and Curfew strolled leisurely towards the church, a retreat to which Mr. Bell always betook himself that he might overcome excitement, and so chasten his feeling as to turn it into an element of discipline. Dulsbury church seemed by its very age to be part of the Dulsbury landscape. It was not something rudely imposed upon the soil, but like some natural growth that had a right to be just where it was. All the trees knew it; all the birds circled round it; all the odors of the wood and field floated round it like offered incense. Mr. Bell was within a few yards of the church door when the rural postman handed him a batch of letters, one of them longer in shape and more important looking than the others.

BOOK NOTICES.

TEN LECTURES ON FOREIGN MISSIONS : Their Place in the Pastorate, in Prayer, and in Conferences. By AUGUSTUS C. THOMPSON, author of "Moravian Missions," "The Mercy Seat," "The Better Land," etc. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a timely volume for the awakened attention now given to missions in all departments of the Christian church. Dr. Thompson has long been a patient researcher into the history of missions in modern times. Nothing that has occurred since the Reformation, bearing upon missions to the heathen, has escaped his attention. His History of Moravian Missions uncovers much that was unknown of the life and efforts of that heroic people, every man and woman of whom seem consecrated to the missionary work. They live for it, suffer for it, and die for it, with the spirit of martyrs. While it rebukes us for our apathy, it is an inspiring record of what humble, devoted men and women can achieve in the cause of Christ.

In this volume of lectures, Dr. Thompson has entered practically into the discussion of the nature and claims of the missionary work, first of all, in the pastorate. His sketch of the indifference and even hostility of great and good and wise men, if we judge by their general reputation, is astounding to us of this day. No minister of any repute in our times will dare to say that "any proposal for the conversion of the heathen is preposterous," or that to take up a collection is "worthy of penal prosecution." We are all beyond that, but pastors cannot fail of being quickened in their duty to the heathen by reading this first lecture.

In the lectures which follow, the grounds of obligation to the heathen are clearly and strongly stated, and the defective ethics of all treatises of moral philosophy and of Christian philosophical writings in general is exposed to view. Hardly one can be found in all the text-books of the past to claim that Christian morality has anything to do with the heathen. A great change is evidently coming over Christian thinkers in this regard.

The lectures on Prayer, on Concerts of Prayer, and on Conferences are of deep interest, rich in valuable suggestions and in historic statements.

While the volume is adapted to all Christian readers, it will be especially useful and interesting to theological students and to pastors. There is no sectarianism in it and no *ism* of any kind. A student or a minister of any evangelical denomination may read it and inhale its inspiration, and be instructed by its facts and reasonings, and be better fitted for a high and holy career, without finding anything but the name in the title-page to indi-

cate the ecclesiastical relations of the author. The widest circulation of this book will give an impulse to the work of missions to the heathen.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

PRISONERS OF POVERTY. *Women Wage-workers, their Trades and their Lives.* By HELEN CAMPBELL. Boston : Roberts Brothers. 1887. 12mo, pp. 257.

PRISONERS OF POVERTY ABROAD. By HELEN CAMPBELL. Boston : Roberts Brothers. 1889. 12mo, pp. 247.

Father Taylor of Boston, whose eloquence was much admired by Emerson, was accustomed to say that there are three kinds of poor people : God's poor, the Devil's poor, and poor devils. It is with the first and second of these three classes, and only incidentally with the third, that Miss Campbell deals. These volumes should be carefully studied by every one who thinks that shiftlessness is the chief or almost the only source of poverty. Miss Campbell deserves to be revered as a modern heroine of reform. She is an acute observer. Her heart gives her eyes extraordinary insight. She has abundant common sense. She has the capacity to win the confidence of the wretched, and withal she is a fascinating writer. A combination of traits like hers is rarely found in the ranks of philanthropists. She knows the women wage-earners of New York, of London, of Paris, and of Berlin, by personal study of their daily lives. These two volumes contain very painful revelations, but their effect is wholesome, and their influence ought to be large and enduring. Miss Harland, in her last volume, favors a very conservative scheme for a coöperative commonwealth, but champions no extreme opinions. As one means of dispersing the poor now congregated in great cities, she thinks that the plan of the national ownership of land is worth trying. Her chief reliance, however, is on the spirit of unadulterated Christianity, diffused among rich and poor, employees and employed.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY ROWLAND B. HOWARD.

70. *What is the present state of international arbitration, and the prospect of a peaceful settlement of national controversies?*

Benevolent men have long been pained at the unspeakable evils which war inflicts, and have earnestly sought remedies. They have organized societies, held public meetings, published books and periodicals, and united in no less than seven world's congresses, within half a century, for the purpose of instructing public opinion and pacifically influencing the policy of governments. The advent of international arbitration has afforded these conscientious but puzzled philanthropists amazing relief on the practical side of the matter in hand.

Since the general peace of 1816, no less than sixty-eight cases, some of them enlisting the bitterest feelings of opponents, have been settled by arbitration. Among these the Geneva Award is easily foremost. That arbitrament between the leading nations of questions involving the honor and interest of each, by which a pecuniary penalty was decreed and paid, not so much as a compensation for loss as an earnest of reconciliation, gave dignity and force to the arbitral policy, which other nations have not been slow to adopt.

So far does arbitration commend itself to the great nations as inexpensive, sensible, and just, that no single government, and indeed no leading statesman, now openly opposes it as a whole. Its limitations are confessed. It is not, perhaps, practicable in every quarrel, or at least will not be accepted. But the cases in which it may prevent war and better secure the ends of justice are found to be multiplied with every year of experiments.

The year 1889 has been marked by the seventh world's peace congress, and by the first parliamentary congress. The former, June 23-27, was attended by the representatives of one hundred societies, and was held by the invitation and under the patronage of the French government in connection with the Paris Exposition.

It was presided over by M. Frederic Passy, member of the Institute and the Parliament of France, a pronounced republican, distinguished through a protracted public life for learning, industry, and philanthropy. Charles Lemonier, the first honorary president, has devoted a long life and remarkable talents chiefly to advocating a more complete union among European nations. M. Frank, the second honorary president, is past fore-score, but mentally alert and vigorous, the president of a leading French peace society, as were also Messrs. Passy and Lemonier. It may indicate the unsectarian character of the congress to notice that these three gentle-

men, who made the three eloquent addresses at its opening, in the hall of the Trocadero, Sunday, June 23, were understood to be, the first a liberal Protestant, the second an agnostic, the third a Jew.

The congress appointed women as members of important committees and welcomed them to participation in its debates. Several ecclesiastics of the Catholic Church were active members. Many delegates from France, Italy, Spain, and Switzerland were, nominally at least, of the same religious communion. The Americans, of whom there were eleven persons, representing three societies, and the English, of whom there were thirty, representing several organizations, were members of all the religious denominations or of none.

Humanity and philanthropy were the watchwords, and in no session was there any sharp controversial spirit, or any apparent conflict of national or religious predilections. The debates in the forenoon, when the congress broke up into voluntary committees, and of the afternoon at the public sessions were conducted in both French and English. The resolutions and some of the papers submitted were printed in both languages. The subjects considered were carefully drawn out and stated in the preliminary call for the congress. Our space will permit a mere general catalogue of those acted upon : —

1. Arbitration in general, — its limits and practicability.
2. Disarmament, — how to be undertaken and effected.
3. Neutralization of states, provinces, gulfs, inland seas, etc.
4. Teaching of peaceful methods of international intercourse in universities, colleges, and schools.
5. Harmonization and codification of international law.
6. International congresses ; the scope, time, and place of future congresses.
7. Special treaties of arbitration between nations, as the United States and France, the United States and Great Britain.
8. Permanent international courts, commissions, or tribunals, with jurisdiction in national disputes, — their constitution, and the sanction for the enforcement of their decrees.
9. A series of recommendations to the parliamentary congress.

Not all these subjects came to the final form of declaration in resolutions. They were all debated more or less, as was the relation of tariffs and free trade to international comity. Disarmament, as desirable as it appeared to all, seemed at present impracticable to most. Indeed, the relations of the congress to the government of France, of which it was in some sense a guest, precluded the discussion of subjects which implied any severe criticism of the conduct of that government. Germany was unrepresented in the congress, as she was in the exposition. Russia and Austria were also absent, for reasons that are obvious. A congress in England, and especially in the United States, would be free from some of the limitations experienced at Paris. It is proposed that one shall be held in London in 1890, and one — the first on the western hemisphere — in New York in

1892. The minister of public works, M. Yvres Guyot, and President Carnot "received" the delegates at their palaces, and extended other courtesies to individuals.

The parliamentary congress consisted of members of legislative bodies from various nations. It met at the Continental Hotel, June 29, and consisted of one hundred members, chiefly from France, Great Britain, and Italy. Hon. Philip Stanhope of Great Britain was made president. A committee of forty from all nations represented was constituted to call future congresses. They appointed London for the congress of 1890, and recommended the raising of £10,000 for expenses. The following resolutions were discussed *seriatim* and adopted :—

I. The members of the inter-parliamentary conference again urgently recommend all civilized governments to conclude treaties by which, without injury to their independence, or without allowing any interference in what concerns their internal constitution, they would engage to submit to arbitration the settlement of all differences which might arise between them.

II. Wherever circumstances shall appear favorable, as in the case of the United States and France, and the United States and Spain, the governments and parliaments are earnestly invited to neglect no efforts to arrive promptly at the conclusion of such treaties : the conference is convinced that when once the example has been set, it will be speedily followed.

III. The conference expresses the desire that, until such time as permanent treaties embracing all cases shall be concluded, a special arbitration clause shall be inserted in all special treaties of commerce, international copyright, or others, providing for their interpretation and execution.

IV. The conduct of governments tending to become more and more the expression of the ideas and sentiments manifested by the citizens at large, it is the duty of the electors to direct, by their suffrages, the policy of their country, so as to base it on justice, right, and the fraternity of nations.

V. Further inter-parliamentary reunions shall take place annually in one of the large cities of the countries represented at the conference, the next meeting to be held in London.

VI. A committee, consisting of members chosen from each nationality represented, is charged with the duty of preparing for the next conference, of issuing all invitations, of raising a fund to meet the necessary expenditure ; and, in the interval, of uniting all its efforts to remove any misunderstanding which may arise, by making, if need be, an appeal to public opinion.

The agitation which resulted in this absolutely new movement originated in the peace societies, and was urged forward and made a success under the leadership of W. R. Cremer, M. P., of London, who was secretary of the "Workingmen's Peace Society," and as such "engineered" the parliamentary peace deputation which visited America in 1887. His society has changed its name to that of "The International Arbitration League," but remains affiliated with the great workingmen's associations of England. One hundred and twenty-six members of the British Parliament have signified their willingness to become officers of this society.

As to the parliamentary congresses of which the one in Paris was first, it seems to me that this movement of men representing large constituencies,

and engaged in the work of legislation for their several countries, ought to command the attention of all thinking men. It deserves notice as an absolutely novel experiment. Diplomats are often in council. Kings meet for consultation on subjects of mutual interest with increasing frequency and significance. Associations and societies unconnected with governments have held six peace congresses. But it was left for 1889 to witness a conference of law-makers — standing for the latest, and many believe the best, device for governing mankind, namely, representation by suffrage — whose avowed object was the peace of the world. It remains to be seen whether this idea, which is really great in its conception and far-reaching in its relations, can be practically developed. If so, it would seem as if the time were at hand when a congress of nations was to become a substantial fact by the voluntary action not of the executive, but the legislative, branches of government. Thus the inspired dream and practical proposition of such philanthropists as William Ladd, half a century ago, seem likely to be realized in a way by them entirely unanticipated.

In the mean time a maritime conference, in which are represented twenty-six maritime nations, is in session at Washington. Its object, of which thirteen are specified in the call, is to recommend such changes as will harmonize the laws that should govern those who navigate the high seas.

A second significant fact cannot be overlooked. The International Conference of American Nations, called by the United States government, is also now in session at Washington. The seventh article of its constitution invites "an agreement upon the recommendation for adoption to their respective governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented."

Simultaneously with these extraordinary activities and developments favorable to international peace, we find no less remarkable preparations for war. (Satan came also.) The successful arbitrations of the century have been paralleled by some of the most expensive and bloody wars ever waged. One need not go far to see experiments with newly invented ordnance, compared with whose death-dealing power the swords and spears or even guns of former times were playthings. Never in the time of peace were armies so numerous and well-trained; never did navies consist of so many ships, steel-clad, steam-propelled, or armed with such destructive weapons. The preparations for war cost more to-day in national debts and taxation than anything but war itself. Great rulers compliment each other with the lips, but tremble at heart as they review each other's war-power. The Emperor of Germany and the Czar of Russia trust to their armies more than they do their subjects. The permanency of their thrones and the safety of their lives appear to be paramount questions to them. They talk as if their enormous armaments were their only guaranty of peace. At the close of a visit of the Czar to the Emperor of Germany, the latter used the following language: "I wish to drink to the glorious traditions

which the Russian and Prussian armies have in common. I offer a toast to those who fought at Borodino ; to those who with us shed blood in the battles of Bar-Sur-Auhe and Brienne ; to those who gallantly defended Sevastopol and fought at Plevna." There seemed to be no memories worthy of mention, or fit to be baptized in strong drink on this occasion, but those of hideous and bloody battles ! Is there not better cement for the friendship of great nations than the recollection of those triumphs or defeats where each displayed his bravery in shedding human blood ?

The Napoleonic names are gradually disappearing from the streets and edifices of Paris. George Peabody is honored in London, and David Livingstone in Edinburgh, by statues, as if they were the peers of British warriors. The monuments to soldiers, known or unknown, erected in the United States should commemorate, not so much the fighting of four years, as the peace of 1865. The heroism of Christopher Columbus was displayed in opening a new continent for the use of mankind. Dr. Talmage has caught the idea enunciated by the American Peace Society, and has eloquently set forth in a widely-read sermon the claims of peace for recognition by the first world's congress in America in 1892.

To have discovered a new and living way by which nations may seek justice amid conflicting interests is a grander thing than to have found a continent. Surely no plant of the four centuries can unfold a grander or more beautiful flower.

There is a touching pathos in the persistent pleading of the voice and eyes of the world turned towards the United States as the cry goes up from some of the wisest of the Old World : "Lead us in the paths of peace ! Providence has set you far off from our traditional bickerings. No seas made bloody by our conflicts wash your distant shores. The popular character of your government debars you from wars kindled by the fears, the ambitions, and the jealousies of royal families. The poverty-stricken millions, who were so long persuaded that to be food for powder was their highest honor, have fled to you in horror from our bloody conscriptions. You have no enemies. You need no great armies to live in consuming idleness on the fruits of your industry. The rot and rust that devours your war-ships exposes you to no attack. Your shores require no great fortifications. Your people are bound by the ties of blood to all other peoples. The essence of the Christianity you profess is to save and not to destroy. You are divinely elected to lead the world in many ways, but in none so evidently as in the paths of peace. The republic of France, the kingdom of Great Britain, wait for your invitation to join you for this purpose. No slanderous hint at cowardice is possible. You have proved your courage in battle : prove it on a field less bloody, but quite as heroic. Lead us !"

I heard the substance of the above from statesmen and senators of France and Italy, from peers, commoners, and workingmen of Great Britain, wherever the subject of a permanent policy of arbitration was proposed, during this peaceful summer abroad. It seemed to me to suggest to the people, especially to the Christian people of our country, a duty which should be a privilege.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE climax of the meeting of the American Board at New York was reached when the Rev. Dr. Storrs, with admirable generalship, accepted a reelection as president, only on the inflexible condition that the corporate members should indorse his letter of acceptance of 1887 as the policy of the Board, and agree to stand and work together on that document as a common platform. The response appeared to be unanimous. It is stated in many secular and religious papers that all the corporate members rose, and so pledged themselves to support the principles of Dr. Storrs's letter. We regret to say that Professor Smyth of Andover and Professor Fisher of New Haven did not rise. They, however, did not oppose the vote. So nearly unanimous was it that votes in the negative were not called for. In their refusal to indorse Dr. Storrs's policy as that of the Board, Professor Smyth and Professor Fisher could not have had half a dozen followers among the corporate members.

Dr. Storrs, in his address on the evening after his election, assured his audience that the American Board was never stronger or more united than now. His letter of acceptance of 1887 was practically indorsed by his reelection at Cleveland in 1888. But neither that reelection nor the last one modifies the now historic resolutions of the Board in opposition to the so-called New Departure. The instructions given to the Prudential Committee, to keep clear of all committal of themselves to the support of the "divisive and perversive" hypothesis of probation after death, remain in full force. Those instructions, originally given by a great majority at Des Moines, and reaffirmed at Springfield by another great majority, and again affirmed at Cleveland, are now once more impressively emphasized. Dr. Storrs's letter was true to those instructions. He is himself now, with Vice-President Blatchford, *ex officio* a mem-

ber of the Prudential Committee. There is every reasonable guarantee that the income of the Board, now amounting to more than \$600,000, and soon, as we hope, to reach a full \$1,000,000 annually, will be expended in entire loyalty to the principles which for eighty years have governed its administration, and which were never crowned with more marked financial and spiritual success than they are now.

The Home Secretary has been greatly misrepresented in various influential quarters. It is hardly too much to say that no faithful man in a highly responsible position has been more abused than he, since George Washington, the Father of his Country, was called its stepfather. But Dr. Alden is reelected. So, too, it will be said, is Mr. Dickinson, who favored the appointment of Mr. Noyes, the New Departure missionary sent out by dissaffected parties in Boston. Mr. Dickinson had only seventy votes, exactly the number required to elect him. One vote more against him would have defeated him. We regard the Prudential Committee as too evenly balanced to represent the Board fairly, but the generosity of the majority, we shall hope, will not have disastrous results. It is certain that no candidate with Mr. Noyes's principles could be approved as a missionary on the basis of Dr. Storrs's letter.

A committee to investigate the methods of administration of the Mission Rooms in Boston has been appointed, and we by no means fear the results of its inquiries. Every possible courtesy has been shown to even the most unreasonable critics of the Prudential Committee. It is difficult to see how the party of discontent can find any substantial support after the facts concerning the New York meeting are once fully understood by the churches.

"Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious by the rising of the sun of York."

It was mentioned in our last number (p. 385) that, although great annual meetings had most deliberately and emphatically approved the policy of the Board, there might possibly be another effort of the minority, the New Departure, to reconstruct the administration so as to secure ruling influence. The anticipated effort was made. The able leaders of the revolt brought

out all their forces. The students of Andover and Yale were there to applaud. The advocates had the floor. They had all the time they wanted for argument, invective, and entreaty. The conservatives exercised a restraint that is without a parallel under the provocation given. The minority fired into the air. It rejected all compromise. It was so determined to sacrifice the faithful and beloved home secretary that it would hear to no modifications of their report to retain Dr. Dickenson, and substitute Dr. Palmer of Bridgeport for Dr. Alden. The public know that Dr. Alden was reëlected, and three years of most persevering, relentless, and unjust attack have failed.

We lately saw some pile-drivers who had sunk a stout pile as far as it would go. Repeated blows did not move it an inch. Finally the ponderous weight was lifted to its highest point to sink or crush the pile. But its tough fibre was so knit together that it restrained the shock, and the pile-driver was removed. It suggested Alden at once. The final consummate blow descended at New York, but he remained unmoved, serene, generous, and magnanimous. We hope the pile-driver is removed.

Dr. Storrs won universal admiration in the very difficult position in which he was placed. He was unanimously reëlected, and he accepted on condition that the Board would take his "letter of acceptance" (of 1887) as the guide of its policy. As this has now become the constitution to guide the Board's administration, we here insert such parts of it as bear more directly upon the points at issue:—

. . . The particular questions which have very largely engrossed attention at our last two meetings appear to me to be practically settled, so far as we are concerned, certainly for a considerable time. The Board has decided, by a majority so large that further opposition to the decision is not likely to be made, that it will intrust hereafter, as heretofore, to its permanent Committee the entire preliminary examination of candidates seeking to be sent under its appointment and at its charges on missionary service; and that this Committee is not to be concluded by the opinions of improvised councils when investigating the theological fitness of such candidates for a remote and protracted service, in small missions or at solitary stations, in the midst of influences foreign to the gospel and commonly fiercely hostile toward it. In other words, the Board recognizes, as I think wisely, its indivisible responsibility to all the churches and all the persons contributing to its funds, for the soundness in the faith of those whom in their name it com-

missions ; while it recognizes also the sharp differences between a ministry pursued amid the searching publicity of Christian communities, with the cordial assistances of experienced believers, and a ministry prosecuted at the distance, amid the resistances, and under the obscuring penumbra, of heathen societies. Therefore it has decisively resolved to continue to do its widely extended and critical work by the methods which long experience has justified ; and it is in the highest degree unlikely to reverse that decision.

Concerning this, accordingly, we need take no further present thought.

The Board has also determined, by a majority of nearly five sevenths, at the largest meeting of its Corporate Members ever convened, and at a meeting happily held in the midst of communities giving an active and eloquent support to the challenging opinion, that the theory of a probation after death, offering opportunities beyond the grave to attain by repentance eternal life, is at any rate not a constituent part of the Gospel of Christ, that it has no authority from the Master to show, and that it therefore ought not to become, directly or indirectly, an element in the message which a society in the past and in the present consecrated to Him sends to mankind. Many, no doubt, go further than this, and believe the theory not only foreign to the gospel, but in its various roots and relations, and in the germinant forces which it holds, inimical to that, and dangerous to the souls of men. To their minds it presents itself as closely intertwined with a recent and confident speculative system which they thoroughly distrust, which seems to contradict fundamental convictions, and to which they are energetically opposed. But all opponents of the theory reach at least the line before indicated ; and it is not needful to go further than that to understand and accept the late action of the Board. After full discussion, against all influences seeking to divert it or to detain it, it has explicitly reaffirmed, with added emphasis, the instructions before given to its Committee, enjoining them to be specially cautious in regard to this theory in their approval of future candidates.

It seems to me, then, too evident for argument that this question also must be regarded as practically retired from further debate at our annual sessions, certainly for years to come. It has been conclusively remitted to that general and legitimate outside debate which never ceases, in books, essays, articles, sermons, in church conferences and local associations ; and only when, through such debate, the convictions and the feelings of men have widely been changed, will it have the just privilege of appearing again upon our platform. At least, this appears the natural course for events to follow ; and I cannot doubt that fair-minded men, whatever may have been their previous preference, will generally assent to it. Nothing could be more conspicuously absurd than to expect the Board in its corporate action to authorize a theory which most of its members thus far believe to be only an attractive but a delusive human speculation, with no basis in the Scriptures, and forming no part of that Divine message which came to our fathers, and has come to us, from the bleeding and kingly hands of Christ. Nothing, either, is likely to be gained, except irritating debate and annoying

defeat, by presenting the theory again and again for an acceptance which has twice been refused, so long as men's minds continue what they have been. Nor will any change be wrought in those minds by a withholding of funds from the common treasury, if that should unhappily come to pass. If the question were one of more or less expedient measures, that might have an effect. Since it is a question of conscientious conviction, on matters of very grave import, any actual or contemplated diminution of gifts can only involve a tightening but a temporary financial perplexity, with perhaps added restrictions on those in the field, and added efforts for their relief in quarters where the friendly spirit remains unaffected. It is obvious, also, that any painful pinching of the treasury of the Board, on account of action which the large majority of its members have felt in duty constrained to take, may easily leave behind it alienation and prejudice which it will take years to remove. The Christian wisdom of all concerned in the recent discussions will certainly discern this practical risk.

. . . The Prudential Committee has been instructed, for the second time, to exercise caution as to the appointment of any candidates holding a doctrine which the Board yet esteems an unacceptable innovation, and whose tendencies it judges, as at present advised, to be perverse and dangerous. But this instruction clearly allows, if it does not suggest, that the Committee is to consider each case by itself and, in the few instances likely to arise where there is any uncertainty on the subject, is to form its judgment with kindness and candor, as to the amount and the spiritual force of any tendency which may appear toward the opinion which it must not indorse. It has already unanimously decided, as I understand it, that when one does not find the new theory sustained by the Bible, and does not hold it as part of an accepted speculative scheme, but leaves the whole momentous matter to which it refers in the hands of Him who as Judge of all the earth will do what is right in wisdom and love, no hindrance is interposed to immediate appointment. This seems to me entirely accordant, in letter and spirit, with the repeated instruction of the Board; and I have no doubt that the same course will hereafter be pursued, and that considerate care will be exercised to discriminate between the want of an opinion and the presence of one which implies or favors the objectionable theory; between even a vague hope, acknowledged to be unsupported by the Scripture, only personal to one's self, held in silent submission to subsequent correction, and a distinct dogmatic tendency or a formulated conviction.

No doubt the shadings of thought at this point will be delicate and intricate in some minds; while in most, the fact that the Master said nothing about any future opportunities, with the intensity of his appeals for immediate repentance, and the solemn urgency of his imperative command for instantaneous missionary effort, will make the theory of such future opportunities appear quite incredible. In the other and smaller class of cases, I am sure that the majority of the Board would wish, as I should, that great pains should be taken to disentangle feeling from conviction, a sympathetic impulse from a controlling theological bias; that constant tenderness should

be shown to those who are treading, with diffident steps, on the high places of inquiry for the truth ; and that due regard should always be had to the probable influence of an earnest missionary zeal, and the educational force of missionary work pursued in a temper of loyalty to Christ, upon the formation of future opinion in those whose impressions are tentative and unfixed. I do not imagine that any material difference of judgment will here arise between the Committee with the Secretaries, on the one hand, and the Board, on the other. The Committee may not pass certain definite lines ; but affectionate sympathy and Christian solicitude toward any whose minds are not set toward conclusions which the Board as a body does not accept will no doubt be the common impulse.

We would like to quote much more from this admirable letter, but the above extracts show clearly where the parties now stand, united after long consideration and very unhappy disunion. The rising vote by which both parties joyfully adopted the letter seemed to be unanimous. It is reported that two or three of the leaders of the revolt did not rise, but if so the number was too insignificant to be noticed. It seemed to the eye looking over the platform that every member rose. The old division is healed. Its errors are abandoned, and the future of the Board is bright with promise.

Cyrus Hamlin.

THE Congress of the Three Americas was formally opened in Washington on Wednesday, October 2d, and Secretary Blaine, whose admirable address of welcome we publish elsewhere, was chosen to preside over its sessions. The choice was regulated by diplomatic custom, the Secretary being head of the department by invitation of which the congress assembled, though, as the originator of the policy that led to it, he would have been entitled to the honor in any event. The plan of an international convention was suggested by Secretary Blaine during his first term as secretary of state, approved by Presidents Garfield and Arthur, and invitations extended for a meeting at Washington in 1882. These invitations were recalled by Secretary Frelinghuysen, but were renewed by Secretary Bayard, under an act of Congress approved in May, 1888, authorizing the President to arrange a conference between the United States of America and the Central and South American governments. As set forth in that act, the conference was called to

consider measures looking to the formation of an American customs union ; the establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations, and of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American states ; the adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, of a common silver coin, and of a definite plan of arbitration ; and to consider such other measures as shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several states represented. As more briefly put in the circular of the State Department to the chambers of commerce, "the object of the meeting is simply the discussion of certain large and important commercial and industrial questions, which are of direct interest to this country in its relations with the other powers of the North and South American continents." Under this call, the conference is not clothed with power to settle anything or bind the governments represented, but its members are only to consider measures and report conclusions to their respective governments, though it is hoped that much of benefit to the development of trade between the United States and its sister powers to the south may result. Last year the Central and South American states imported merchandise to the value of \$450,000,000, only eleven per cent. of which came from this country, the remaining eighty-nine per cent., broadly speaking, having been purchased from England, France, and Germany. Under other and more sensible arrangements, the conditions of trade would be equalized ; and if the possibilities of a working alliance for the development of the natural resources and trade of the countries concerned are presented with moderation and tact, the desired conditions may be brought about. The delegates sent by the southern powers are among the ablest men in their respective countries, occupying the highest social and political positions, most of whom have given close attention to the great questions that will come before the congress. A six weeks' adjournment, to be devoted to a partial tour through the United States, including the most important cities, arrangements for which have been made on a most liberal scale, will be a fitting prelude to the work of a conference which is already exciting apprehensions in various quarters of Europe. In French, German, and Spanish journals the con-

gress is discussed with far more interest than in this country, the consensus of opinion being that existing conditions of trade will be revolutionized as a result of its deliberations. The "*Fremdenblatt*," the official organ of the Austrian foreign office, goes perhaps to the greatest length, urging that the establishment of an American customs union would close American ports to the manufactures of Europe, and affect disastrously the industries and trade of European nations. While such apprehensions are not unnatural, in view of the complete absorption of Americans in the solution of domestic questions since the war, there is no evidence that so large a result is to be expected from the conference; and if a mere beginning is made toward the union of American nations on matters of common interest, the congress will have had abundant reason for its work.

FOUR new States have been added to the republic. By the formal adoption of state constitutions, the election of state officers, judiciary, and members of Congress, October 1, North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana have taken the final steps admitting them into the Union. The number of territories thus entering simultaneously into the larger relations of statehood is unparalleled in the history of the nation, the nearest approach to it having occurred in 1845, when Texas and Florida were added to the roll. No such increase, moreover, is likely to occur again, the obstacles in the way of the simultaneous admission of the five remaining territories, presented by the peculiar conditions existing in Utah and New Mexico, being apparently insurmountable. In the four Northwestern States voting October 1, however, all that remains to place them in line with the oldest commonwealths in the Union is the formal proclamation of the President, the constitutions submitted having been approved by three of the States, that of South Dakota having been previously adopted. It is gratifying to note that, despite the tendency of Western communities to experiment, these constitutions are in the main conservative, the great future lying before them having had the usual sobering effect upon the people. That of South Dakota, prepared by the Sioux Falls convention four years ago and ratified for the second time in

May last, has been pronounced by competent authority to be one of the best in the United States, combining the better features of those of the older States. Those of North Dakota and Washington are also markedly conservative, that of Montana, which embodies legislative propositions in the Constitution itself, being more radical, though all contain some new features worthy of notice. In North Dakota, for example, juries in civil cases may consist of less than twelve members; "log-rolling" in the legislature is punishable as bribery; and the use by the governor of his power of veto, appointment, or removal to coerce members of the legislature shall disqualify him for office. In both the Dakotas the governor has the constitutional right to veto appropriation items, and all four of the States provide for biennial sessions of the legislature, while in three the legislative term is limited to sixty days. All make special provision for public education, the constitution of South Dakota providing for the sale of only one third of the school lands at a time, for an interval of five years between the sale of each portion, and that after fifteen years none can be sold at less than \$10 per acre, having been followed by the other States, thus making provision for a splendid endowment of their school systems. In the Dakotas and Montana, moreover, women are given the right to vote at school elections, and in the latter State they have, in addition, the right to vote upon propositions which require the decision of tax-payers. While in Montana the question of the prohibition of the liquor traffic was not dealt with in any form, in the Dakotas and Washington it was referred to the vote of the people, the question being the only one of general and non-partisan interest to the country at large involved in the elections. The battle was stubbornly contested in the Dakotas, but latest returns indicate that prohibition has carried the day, with the result in Washington still in doubt. Otherwise the outcome of the election for state officers and congressmen is in line with that foreshadowed in the election of constitutional delegates last fall, when, in Washington and the two Dakotas, large majorities were returned for the Republican nominees. In Montana the result is less clear, both parties claiming a victory, though the probabilities now are that the State has gone

Democratic. Public interest in the result is, of course, increased by the narrow margin now existing for the dominant party in the House of Representatives, and the possibility that it may be swept away altogether and the opposition placed in control.

THE Cronin trial advances slowly. It was the evident purpose of the defense to exhaust the one hundred challenges to which the prisoners are in the aggregate entitled. Talesmen manifested a more than usual desire to escape jury service in the case. Owing to the time likely to be consumed in the trial, and the fact that a juror in a capital case is closely mewed up and subjected to humiliating espionage, there is no indication of disapproval in any intelligent quarter. Naturally all this has given rise to disquieting reports, some grotesque, but some serious and bearing the stamp of truth, as that intimating the existence of a powerful conspiracy to secure the acquittal of the prisoners, as well supplied with funds as that which procured the assassination of the victim. Evidence of such a conspiracy is found in the abatement of enthusiasm on the part of Dr. Cronin's alleged friends, in the receipt of threatening letters by those engaged in raising funds for the prosecution, and in social and political boycotting. In brief, the same influence is being brought to bear against the efforts of the prosecution that, for a fortnight after the murder of Dr. Cronin, utterly blocked all attempts of the authorities to investigate the affair. There can, of course, scarcely be stronger moral evidence of guilt than the existence of such a conspiracy, or of the dangers to public welfare of an organization framed to secure the maximum influence of numbers and money, and the minimum circulation of secrets. So far the developments of the case confirm the theory of the prosecution that the murder was the work of Camp 20, Coughlin being in charge and employing the others; that Burke and Cooney did the killing; that Beggs and Coughlin managed the Clan-na-Gael trial; and that O'Sullivan, Woodruff, and Kunze were accessories. The plan covered such a disposition of the body as to prevent discovery, the victim's clothes to be taken abroad, and afterward found in such manner as to give color to the suicide theory.

THE Utah Commission has recently submitted to Secretary Noble a report which affirms that the open practice of polygamy in Utah is a thing of the past, with a possible exception as to certain out-of-the-way localities. Mormons themselves insist that they are obeying the laws, but a strong suspicion exists in the minds of many Gentiles that plural marriages are contracted in secret. With regard to these contradictory claims, the report makes the observation that, if polygamy is practiced, it is with the secrecy with which the burglar guards his house-breaking and the thief his larcenies. Since September 1, 1888, the territorial court records show 357 convictions for offenses against chastity, but only two of these come under the head of bigamy. But however the situation as regards polygamy may stand, the commissioners are strongly opposed to the admission of Utah as a State; the time for such action is not yet. One of the recommendations made in the report is that the penalties for unlawful cohabitation be made more severe; and that it be made a penal offense for a woman to marry a man knowing him to have a wife living. Punishment of the woman for this, it is thought, will lessen materially her alleged zeal for the so-called sacred institution. Another important recommendation relates to the exclusion from the Territory, and also from the entire country, of all would-be immigrants who claim that their religion justifies the crime of polygamy. Great stress is laid upon the need of a law to prohibit the immigration of those aliens who are brought to America as reinforcements for the Mormon band, an organization devoted to the abuse of our government and to an open or secret defiance of its regulations, while at the same time teaching the treasonable doctrine that their silly "revelation" is worthy of more respect than the laws of the land. The dissenting member of the commission particularly objects to any further aggressive or repressive legislation along the present lines. He thinks harsher penalties would savor of persecution, and would provoke more resentment on the part of the Mormons toward the federal government. Further, he would favor an amendment to the federal constitution forever prohibiting polygamy, in any and every guise, in any and all parts of the republic. Such an organic, permanent provision would, in his

opinion, be better than a special local act like that now in force in Utah.

THE strike of the London dock laborers was prolonged temporarily by the refusal of the strikers to follow their leaders. Early in the struggle the dock companies, pressed by the shippers and vessel-owners, conceded the most important of the laborers' demands, with the single exception that the new schedule should not go into effect until January 1. Under the latter stipulation the companies would have had time to complete contracts already made, or to compromise with the middlemen, or sweaters, who furnish laborers at reduced wages and divide the profits with the directors. The leaders were disposed to accept these terms, but the strikers, who had obtained nearly every concession demanded, and were unwilling to wait four months longer for what could be forced at once, refused to ratify the agreement. Fresh effort was made, however, under the lead of Cardinal Manning and the Mansion House Committee, and a compromise finally reached by which the men agreed to return to work on a basis of increased wages from November 1. The victory, which thus rests with the dock laborers, has been a costly one for London, no less than \$6,000,000 having been wasted in the struggle, responsibility for which lies mainly with the dock companies. It is estimated that at least one half the capital invested in their business has become useless for all practical purposes in connection with shipping, but they have insisted upon making a profit upon it, and do so by reducing the expenditure upon labor. Instead of renting special places in their docks to ship-owners and companies, with a privilege of doing their own unloading, they insist on naming the places where vessels shall lie and doing the unloading themselves. The ship-owners complain that the system involves increased expenditure to them, and as the companies have reduced the wages of laborers below the living limit, they have failed to satisfy either of the parties upon which their business depends. There is little reason to doubt that, if they would only consent to the loss of dividends upon capital that has become obsolete through changes in shipping methods, the more important of the laborers'

demands could easily be granted and the satisfaction of their customers materially advanced. Happily the strike has been marked by unusual self-restraint on the part of the dock laborers, and no violence has occurred, though the leaders as well as the companies were taking great risks in continuing the struggle. The spectacle of 150,000 idle men, not under any efficient legal control, confining themselves to a simple exhibition of moral force, is one seldom witnessed in the history of strikes. Nevertheless, that the strike will have an unsettling effect upon the working classes in England is probable, in that it will deepen the conviction, generally entertained by them, that, while strikes by a single organization can be successfully resisted, those by a combination of trades, unaccompanied by violence, cannot. American workingmen, of course, need no proof of the fallacy of this argument, the experiment having been repeatedly made with disastrous results, but English laborers will have to learn the lesson by actual experience.

MR. STANLEY is returning to the eastern African coast. Dispatches by way of Zanzibar early in the year indicated his arrival at the Albert Nyanza on his return from the lower Aruwimi, presumably in November last, by a short route through the forest region, discovered during his outward march. It is fairly certain that he again met Emin on the lake, and that the latter, forced to decide upon remaining at Wadelai or retreating to the coast with the expedition, returned the same answer to Mr. Stanley's arguments that he had given before. His position at Wadelai had become stronger by the failure of the Mahdist campaigns against him in the early spring; the rescuers offered nothing that he could not do for himself at any time, and to abandon his province would be to leave it to certain anarchy and desolation. He wisely refused to retire from his post, though assisting the expedition in every way, enabling it to obtain supplies and reinforcements, and starting it well on its journey to the coast. Attempt was first made apparently to march southward along the west shore of Victoria Nyanza, and, rounding the southernmost bend of the lake, to pass thence by the caravan route running from Ujiji, on Lake Tanganyika, to

Zanzibar. The route was presumably chosen with a view to geographical discovery, the untraced lake, Muta Nzige, lying in that direction, as well as the great unnamed mountain, mentioned by Stanley as having been seen on his first march to the Albert Nyanza. A march along the western shore of Victoria Lake might disclose the connection of the Muta Nzige with the Congo or Nile systems, and would at least extend knowledge of the mountain range to the west of Victoria Nyanza. The hostility of the natives and other difficulties, however, thwarted his attempt, and the explorer then turned northward, and with the assistance of Emin established a base on the eastern shore of the lake. Supplies had been left for him on the southern shore of Lake Victoria more than a year and a half ago, but for some reason unknown these were abandoned, and parties sent as far as Msalala and Tabora, on the Ujiji route, for provisions and ammunition. After a long stay on the borders of the lake, awaiting their return, the expedition left the protection of Emin, and set out through Masailand for Mombassa, the headquarters of the British East Africa Company. That this route was taken in an endeavor to extend the influence of the company by diplomatic means to Uganda and the Lake region, and as the result of a direct understanding with the directors, seems probable, the president of the company, Sir William Mackinnon, being a heavy contributor to the expenses of the expedition. Moreover, the hostility of the natives between the Victoria district and Zanzibar could not have been greater than that of the Masai, notoriously warlike, unless, indeed, a safe passage had been negotiated with the latter before the expedition left the Nyanza. However it may be, Mr. Stanley is confidently expected to reach Mombassa about the beginning of November, and if his passage through Masailand extends in any measure the influence of the British company in the African interior, his expedition, otherwise ill-starred, will have served some useful purpose. As an attempt at rescue it has been a signal failure, not alone in the fact that it accomplished nothing that Emin could not have done for himself, but in the appalling hardships and loss which miscalculation of the chances of reaching him entailed. The eastern route to Wadelai was rejected because Mr. Stanley was

convinced that he could not lead a column through the hostile districts of the Victoria region without bloodshed and massacre, but he has been forced in the end to take the route through Masailand, and to fight his way through the Unyoro and Uganda tribes. Nevertheless, if he has opened trade routes to the Lake region and the old Egyptian Soudan, African civilization will be a decided gainer, and in any event admiration for the indomitable courage and purpose which have animated the explorer in his wanderings is not likely to be withheld.

ENGLAND marches rapidly in Africa, and the line of her authority seems well-nigh certain ultimately to stretch through east Central Africa from the Cape of Good Hope to the Mediterranean. The assertion of her claim, last year, to the whole interior lying between British Bechuanaland and the Transvaal on the south, German Damaraland on the west, and the Zambesi on the north, was one of the boldest and most important yet made, rounding out for Britain in South Africa a vast colonial possession. Bechuanaland and the region of the west Orange Free State had already been occupied; the absorption of Zululand had pushed British settlement on the east coast to the borders of Louvenco Marques, and the new annexation extended British sovereignty a dozen degrees of latitude north to the line of the Zambesi. North of that great stream lies the valley of the Shire and the great lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, reaching nearly to the equator, and the territory east of Victoria Nyanza, occupied by the British East Africa Company. The upper portion of this region, between the Zambesi and Lake Nyassa, was the scene of Livingstone's discoveries, and has long been the field of labor of the Scotch missions, and of the enterprise of the African Lakes Company, a private trading corporation, working in harmony with the missionaries. To the latter is largely due the material progress made in the civilization of the region, the construction of trade roads between Nyassa and Tanganyika and around the falls of the Shire, and the establishment of steamers on Lake Nyassa. England thus has a clear right of preëmption and occupation of the territory; but as Portugal claims the whole of the vast area lying between its possessions of Mozambique on the

east and Angola on the west coast, it is deemed wise to reinforce the right by actual occupation. It is proposed, therefore, to extend the British frontier from the northern border of Matabeleland, south of the Zambesi, its present limit, to the southern end of Lake Tanganyika, thus practically annexing the Livingstone region, a territory as large as Spain. It is held that the African Lakes Company can no longer hold the region; that the existing situation cannot be maintained, and that unless Britain occupies the territory, occupation by some other power will run a dividing wedge between the British spheres of influence in South and Central Africa. The main difficulty in the way — the lack of a suitable government for the new tropical domain — is bridged by the enlargement of the African Lakes Company into a new corporation, on the plan of the British Royal Niger Company, which shall be intrusted with administrative authority over it. By this plan, British sovereignty will extend from the Cape to Tanganyika, over a region equal to seven times the area of France, and destined in the future to form a powerful kingdom of itself. Immediately to the north the line of extension is cut by the territory of the German East African Company, stretching inward from the coast to the southern end of Lake Victoria; but north of that, British influence is again furthered by the Imperial British East Africa Company, under a charter granted last year. The original concessions to this company began at the Wauga River and extended 150 miles north along the coast, including the harbor of Mombassa, and stretched inward in the form of a great wedge to the eastern shore of Lake Victoria. By a recent cession, however, the coast line has been extended a long distance to the north, giving the company sway over a great stretch of territory, and control of important routes into the interior. Under competent direction, the company has made most satisfactory progress during the eleven months of its existence, — a substantial settlement made at Mombassa and the harbor improved, extensive surveys run, and the administration of the territory placed on a permanent and business-like basis. Most important of all, a caravan has been sent into the remote interior, and is believed ere this to have joined Mr. Stanley and Emin Pasha, in which event it is fair to presume that the route be-

tween Mombassa and the Victoria region has been secured against German intrigue. The importance of this route to African civilization cannot be overestimated, giving not only access to Uganda and the Lake region, but to the old Egyptian and central Soudan provinces. With this connection, the line of British control from the Nile estuary to the Cape of Good Hope, through East Central Africa, will be broken only by Germany at Zanzibar, and there are not wanting indications that, by amicable arrangement, it may yet be made whole.

It is unfortunate that the decree issued by the Chinese Emperor directing the construction of a trunk railway through the most populous part of his immense dominions has been reversed. If carried out, this enterprise would atone for the failure of the Woosung line of some years ago and of the Tientsin line of the present year, and prove of material importance both to Europe and China. The decree ordered the construction at once of a road over 700 miles in length, from Peking southward to Hankow, a treaty port on the Yangtze, the foreign trade of which last year amounted to about \$55,000,000. The road would thus lie wholly within the interior of the empire, presumably passing through Tientsin after leaving Peking, and then traversing the vast plain of the Hoangho, a region which is practically *terra incognita* to Europeans. How long the line will be in building cannot, of course, be known, the "at once" of the Chinese being an indefinite term, though, if the assent and interest of the authorities were secured, no great period should be consumed in construction. The credit of China is excellent, she can command any number of laborers at low wages, right of way can be had at the government's own valuation, and the certain profit of the enterprise should stimulate the speedy completion of the work. As to the most important consideration, the sanctioning of the policy by the authorities, that seems to have been done in so decided a way that there appears no plausible reason why it should now be reversed. The liberals of China have long been in favor of railways as the best means of strengthening the empire, but though they have found little difficulty in securing the introduction of modern rifles and tele-

graphs, means to the same end, there has been an unconquerable hostility to railroads. The conservatives regard railways as a Western device for the opening of China and the extension of European influence, and urge in opposition to it the existing industries menaced by it and the ancestral graves it will violate. During the reign of the late empress-regent these ideas prevailed to such an extent that the official support necessary to carry the innovation could not be obtained, and one of the first acts of the present Emperor was to countermand the extension of the Tientsin line and forbid railway enterprise altogether. But the liberals at once set about strengthening themselves by securing the assent of so many high officials that the demand should be irresistible, and the decree of the Emperor thus obtained, sanctioning one great experiment, would, it was believed, be sufficient to overawe all opposition. The line will ultimately be built, and will, as in India, as doubtless prove profitable, even at very low rates; and the government, finding that it furthers its great aim, the centralization of authority, will gradually construct new lines to bind together its loosely connected provinces. As matters now stand, its authority is weakened by the vastness of the empire, the difficulty of controlling provincial governors, and the lack of speedy transportation for troops; and the mere ability to concentrate the latter quickly will add enormously to its revenue and lessen the chances of insurrection. Beside, the ability to move food supplies and the increased development of trade will be a decided gain for China, while Europe must profit by the demand for material and the many openings created for skilled mechanics and engineers. That railways will do much to remove superstition or break down the old barriers in China may, however, be doubted, no effect of the kind having followed the creation of a railway system in India, and the Chinese returning from this country to their own being more hostile than ever to foreign civilization. Indeed, the very fact that railroads will strengthen the authority of Pekin will make Western influence less, for it will have the power to carry out its will, and it is not its will that foreigners should control China, nor change its social system or political organization.

THE Lake Mohonk Conference adopted at its session in the first week of October the following resolutions as to the present needs of the Indians : —

First — We, the members of the Lake Mohonk Conference, in this our seventh annual meeting, reiterate the principles laid down in our former platforms concerning justice, equal rights, and education, both by government and by religious societies, for the Indian races on this continent. We maintain that the nation ought to treat the Indian as a man, amenable to all the obligations and entitled to all the rights of manhood under a free republican government. We congratulate the country on the progress made in the opening of reservations to colonization, the allotment of land in severalty, and on the assent of Indians in increasing numbers freely given to this policy. We emphasize the importance of the Christian and missionary work of the churches as fundamental to the education and civilization of the Indians, and the necessity for the vigorous and unimpaired prosecution of such work. We welcome heartily the presence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at this session, and indorse heartily the general principles embodied in the paper presented by him, outlining a proposed policy for the organization of a comprehensive system of Indian education by the Federal Government. We urge upon the administration the organization of such a plan, and upon Congress the necessary appropriations for its execution ; and the chairman of this conference is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee of seven, of whom he shall be one, to render to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs such coöperation as he may desire in preparing such a system as shall best promote the universal and compulsory education of all Indian children in harmony with the principles of our government and with the concurrent work of the churches, missionary boards and societies, and philanthropic organizations, and to urge upon Congress such increased appropriations as may be necessary to carry this into effect.

Second — As the efficiency of every plan for the care and education of the Indians depends upon the intellectual and moral character of the agents, superintendents, teachers, matrons, and in a greater or less degree of all the employees of the Indian bureau, and upon the cumulative influence dependent on continuance of service and resultant experience, the conference emphasizes its conviction of the fitness and necessity of separating absolutely the appointments to office from the mutations of parties. To remove agents and teachers who are faithful and efficient merely because of a change in the party in power is not only a direct assault upon the work and the morals of the workers, but intrinsically capricious and absurd. And to make such positions a reward for party services, the incumbents to be named by those whom they have served, is to make it improbable, if not impossible, that either the interests of the Indians or the National Government will be adequately cared for. When it is considered that there are between 800 and 900 Indian agents and teachers employed in the field, and that their functions are chiefly either military, judicial, or educational, it is

apparent that removals on other grounds than that of demerits, or the filling of vacancies, independent of merit, cannot but constitute an almost insuperable obstacle to effective work.

Third — While we hail with satisfaction the progress that has already been made in the execution of the act for the allotment of Indian lands in severalty, we recognize that the operations of this act are met by difficulties which make further legislation necessary, and we call upon Congress to take such steps, before the Indians to whom allotments are made shall become citizens of any State, as will secure to their children the sure inheritance of those lands upon the death of the parents, without risk of disinheritance because of their not being legal heirs under the laws of such States : to provide for the expenditure of the income of the funds for education derived from the sale of surplus lands, under such restrictions as will compel its use for the purposes intended, and in such a manner in reference to state taxation as will be alike just to the Indians and to their fellow-citizens in their respective States and Territories ; and to enact such other measures, while the Indians are still the wards of the nation, as will secure to them the fullest benefits of their allotted lands, and will encourage to the utmost habits of thrift, enterprise, and progressive industry ; and in order to correct these and other difficulties which may be discovered, the chairman of this conference is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a committee not exceeding five to examine the scope of existing legislation on this subject, and to suggest to Congress such amendments as shall be found necessary to accomplish the beneficent purposes of the act.

Fourth — The condition of affairs in the Indian Territory demonstrates the futility of all efforts to secure adequately the civilization and development of the Indians under their tribal relations, against which we have so earnestly protested. The complex questions arising from the relations of Indian, negro, and white man, the fact that the non-citizen whites already outnumber the Indian population in the proportion of two to one, and that this large white population is without schools and to a large extent uncontrolled by law, render the question of the Indian Territory one of the gravest importance. The wonderful progress of the five civilized tribes in the face of many difficulties and under the most unfavorable conditions, demonstrates the capacity of the Indians for a larger life and a better civilization ; and the time has come when they are ready for the duties, responsibilities, and privileges of American citizenship. The conference rejoices that there is a growing sentiment among these people in this direction. As the beginning of better things, the establishment of a United States court, with partial jurisdiction, has had a beneficent influence, and it is urgently recommended that the same jurisdiction be given to this court as is possessed by any United States district court.

Fifth — The conference is deeply impressed with a sense of the injuries done to the Mission Indians of California by the repeated delays in settling their lawful claims, and urges upon Congress the passage of a bill at the next session which shall settle their claims justly, and give the Indians a legal right to their lands.

Sixth — The condition of the Indian Reservations in the State of New York, with some notable exceptions, continues to be not only unsatisfactory but positively bad ; degrading to the Indians themselves, demoralizing to their neighbors, and humiliating to those who have brought so imperfectly to them the appliances of Christianity and civilization. While there are many among them who have accepted, so far as their circumstances allow, our Christian and English civilization, yet the controlling influence on many of the reservations is still that of a pagan superstition, which fosters ignorance and vice and degrades or denies the family life. We owe gratitude to those who have called attention to their condition and have tried to correct it ; and especially do we rejoice that the legislature of the State has been considering the subject ; and we trust that such legislation will be perfected as shall supply these Indians with facilities for higher education, similar to those provided for other tribes by the general government, and shall, in a way just and right, substitute the full operation of the laws of the State for the present laws of their tribal organizations, and thus secure all the rights and all the duties of citizenship.

Seventh — The conference renews its earnest request that Congress will consider the bill proposed by the Law Committee still pending in the United States Senate, intended to provide needed facilities for the administration of law on the reservations.

OUR DAY:

A RECORD AND REVIEW OF CURRENT REFORM.

VOL. IV. — DECEMBER, 1889. — No. 24.

A SYMPOSIUM ON RELIGIOUS READING.

THOMAS CARLYLE was accustomed to say that the most important question that can be asked concerning any man is, What does he believe? How came he to believe it? is another question of at least coördinate suggestiveness. No one biographical detail contains so much of the inner life as the reply to this inquiry.

The editors of OUR DAY are convinced that the religious reading of even highly educated circles might often be improved most advantageously in both quality and quantity. With a view of stimulating effort for such improvement, the following letter and questions were sent out, with the result of securing a large number of highly interesting biographical replies.

28 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, *September 30, 1889.*

DEAR SIR, — The undersigned, editors of OUR DAY, desirous of effecting improvement in the religious reading of educated circles, respectfully request brief answers from yourself to the questions printed below.

A list of five or six books under each of these heads, with or without added remarks, as you may choose, is particularly desired, and it is hoped a reply may be received as early as October 15, or at latest by November 1.

The results of this correspondence will be published as a symposium in OUR DAY.

JOSEPH COOK,
MISS F. E. WILLARD,
PROF. E. J. JAMES, PH. D.,
PROF. L. T. TOWNSEND, D. D.,
ANTHONY COMSTOCK,
EX-PRES. CYRUS HAMLIN, D. D.,
REV. WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

What volumes, aside from the Holy Scriptures, have been the most serviceable to yourself in

- I. Christian Evidences ?
- II. Church History ?
- III. Religious Biography ?
- IV. Devotional Literature ?

The numerals contained in most of the replies refer to the four classes of books specified in the questions.

*Prof. Philip Schaff, D. D., LL. D., Union Theological Seminary,
New York.*

- I. Ullmann's Sinless Perfection of Christ; but The New Testament first and last, and above all other books combined.
- II. Neander's.
- III. Augustine's Confessions.
- IV. Thomas à Kempis' Imitation of Christ.

Rev. Prof. Austin Phelps, D. D., Andover, Mass.

I. The Scriptures appear to me such conclusive evidence of their own origin that I cannot say that the books on "Christian Evidences," technically so called, have been of great value to me. The strongest confirmatory proofs of the claims of the Bible to my acceptance are found in the history of Christian missions, from the Book of Acts to the Missionary Herald and its contemporaries.

II. The works of Neander, histories of the work of reformers before the reformation, histories of the Church of England, history of the founding of New England, and of the Reformation in Scotland.

III. John Tauler, John Knox, John Foster, Madame Guyon, Dr. Chalmers, Dr. Arnold, Geike's Life of Christ.

IV. The Book of Common Prayer, Religious Diaries of the Last Century, The Sabbath Hymn Book.

Ex-Pres. Thomas Hill, D. D., LL. D., Portland, Me.

I. Norton's Genuineness and Internal Evidences; Mark Hopkins's Lowell Lectures; Huidekoper's Indirect Testimony; Miles's Gospel Narratives, Bulfinch's Manual of Evidences, Whateley's Evidences, for brief condensed statements.

II. I have read too little — Mosheim, and passages only in Neander, etc., etc. — to give any books.

III. Never read any.

IV. Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Bunyan's Holy War, Paradise Regained, Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, as suggesting and stimulating devotion.

PORTLAND, ME., *October 14, 1889.*

MY DEAR MR. COOK, — You ask very hard questions, when you ask a man to recall, out of extensive reading, stretching over more than sixty years, the books that have been most serviceable to him. Even if the question be made easier by asking for those which *he thinks* have been most serviceable to him, he will shrink from answering, lest he be understood as recommending such books as likely to be of most service to others.

The books which come under your first head are those which have been my especial delight. I remember listening to my father's defense of Christianity with deistical friends, and his defense of Unitarian interpretations with Trinitarian friends; yet my father died in April, 1828. I began reading, even then, books on all sides, — and found Paine's Age of Reason and Volney's Ruins of Empires really strengthened me, through the weakness of their positions, in my Christian belief. As I attempt to recall the books which I have read, beginning with those early days and coming down, I find it very difficult to estimate their relative value. I still continue to look at, and even to read, arguments on all sides; and find that, even to the present hour, the logical weakness and want of judicial fairness in those who reject historical Christianity really confirms me in

my adherence to it. The names which most readily recur to me are: Joseph Priestley, his letters to a philosophical unbeliever, and his discourses in Philadelphia in 1796; Watson's Apology; Leslie's Short Method; Paley's Evidences; Whately's Historic Doubts; Norton's Genuineness of the Gospels, and his Internal Evidences; John G. Palfrey's lectures; William H. Furness's books on the Gospels; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*; Ichabod Nichols's Hours with the Evangelists; Locke's Reasonableness of Christianity; Conybeare and Howson's St. Paul; E. H. Sears's Fourth Gospel; Tischendorf's "When were our Gospels written?" Ezra Abbot on the Fourth Gospel; Farrar's Early Days of Christianity; G. P. Fisher's Beginnings of Christianity; and so on.

Of brief compendiums, I have taken great satisfaction in H. A. Miles's little volume on the narratives of the Gospels; and in Stephen G. Bulfinch's Epitome of the Evidences. I once found an English tract, anonymous, which I liked so well that I Americanized and Unitarianized it and republished it, with a confession in the preface that I had altered it. The Rev. Mr. (now Bishop) F. D. Huntington afterward republished my Unitarianized and Americanized edition, putting Archbishop Whately's name on the title-page, but omitting my confession of having tampered with it!

Indirectly, J. F. Clarke's Ten Great Religions and C. C. Everett's Religions before Christianity show the incomparable superiority of Christianity, and thus imply its authority.

With regard to your classes II. and III., I must confess with shame that I am singularly ill-read in Church History; and I have always shrunk from religious biography, especially if it was autobiographic, or quoted from journals and diaries. I cannot get over the feeling that such writing is not in accordance with our Lord's teaching (Matt. vi. 1-6).

Your fourth class is attractive to me, and yet I can recall but few books in it that I feel have deeply influenced me: Doddridge's Rise and Progress, Bunyan's Holy War, and Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Dying, share with the Book of Common Prayer the highest places in my memory. Milton's Paradise Regained and Orville Dewey's Sermons are the only other

books that seem to stand out in my recollection prominent among the numerous admirable volumes of sermons, prayers, and religious meditations which I have read, and from which I have trusted that I received some profit.

With great respect and the best wishes for your usefulness and happiness,

Yours,

THOMAS HILL.

Principal John Cairns, D. D., LL. D., Edinburgh.

I. Origen against Celsus; Pascal's *Pensées*; Butler's *Analogy*; Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*; Chalmers's *Evidences*.

II. Eusebius's *Church History*; Athanasius; *Autobiographical Works of Luther*; Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*; M. Cries's *Life of John Knox*; Neander's *Church History*.

III. Augustine's *Confessions*; Orme's *Life of Baxter*; Edwards's *Life of Brainerd*; *Life of Henry Martyn*; Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*.

IV. *Pilgrim's Progress*; Rouse's *Psalms*; *Scottish Paraphrases*; *Wesleyan Hymns*; *German Hymns*; *Latin Hymns*; *Cowper's Works*.

Rev. Prof. Marcus Dods, D. D., Edinburgh.

I. Bruce's *Gesta Christi*; Bruce's *Miraculous Element in the Gospels*; Herbert's *Modern Realism*; Stanton's *Messiah*; Browning's *Poems*.

II. Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*; Dorner's *History of Doctrine of Person of Christ*; Robertson's *Rise of the Papacy*; Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*; Lindsay's *Handbook of Reformation*; Gibbon, Neander, Milman (*Latin Christianity*).

III. *Life of Henry Martyn*; *Life of John Foster*; *Life of John Wesley*; Augustine's *Confessions*; *Life of Kingsley*; Stephens's *Ecclesiastical Essays*.

IV. Temple's *Sermons*; Baxter's *Saints' Rest*; Manning's *Sermons*; Faber's (*Roman Catholic*) *Growth in Holiness and Spiritual Conferences*.

George Smith, C. I. E., LL. D., Edinburgh.

I. 1. Bishop Porteous's *Evidences of Christianity*, a shilling manual, was successfully taught for years by Dr. L. Schuntz, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh. For the young it is still good, and a new edition should be brought up to date. 2. Dr. Chalmers's *Evidences*, also, did me good, except the imperfect chapter on the Canon, but it is all now out of date. 3. Canon Liddon's "*Some Elements of Religion*" (3d and cheaper ed. 1881, Rivingtons) meets modern difficulties, and I have found it of use with educated skeptics. 4. Some of the *Present Day Tracts* (London Tract Society) are very well done for the same class. Oriental research and the historical method, and missionary experience in dealing with non-christian races, render a *new* manual of apologetics a crying want.

II. 1. Neander's, translated by Torrey of Vermont, and published by Bohn (London, 1850), is still the best. I have used it and all Neander's works for nearly half a century in teaching and in study for writing. His faith and scholarship combine to make a great book. His translations of the Fathers, in passages, and of mediæval writers, give the book unique value. 2. Dr. E. de Pressensé's *Early Years of Christianity*, 4 vols., comes next in value. 3. Robertson's next, for teaching purposes. 4. *My Little Manual* (T. & T. Clark). *Short History of Modern Missions*, 2d edition, is indebted especially to Neander. 5. Milner's is a readable, popular, evangelical book, made valuable by translations from the Fathers, but is not for scholars. It might be condensed. 6. Schaff is not so well known as his work ought to be in Great Britain.

III. Augustine's *Confessions*; Bunyan's *Grace Abounding*; John Eliot's *Life*; Henry Martyn's *Journals and Letters*; William Carey's *Life*; Adoniram Judson's *Life*; Alexander Duff's *Life*.

IV. 1. Robert Leighton's whole works, especially his *Counsels of Perfection*, or *Rules and Instructions for Spiritual Exercises*, and his commentary on 1st Peter. The most complete edition of his whole works is William West's, in six vol-

umes, published by Longmans, London, 1870. William Blair, D. D., United Presbyterian minister of Dumblane, edited a little gem of selections from his writings published by Macniven & Wallace, Edinburgh, 1883, with memoir, which might be condensed. R. Leighton comes nearest to the Bible of all human writers, in the opinion of many men of affairs, who in India, as I know, carried his *Peter* about with them, even into battle. Coleridge placed Leighton first. 2. *De Imitatione Christi*, with omissions from the fourth book. 3. *The Devotions of Bishop Andrewes*, translated from the Greek, and arranged anew by John Henry Newman (Parker, Oxford, 1856). For all, but especially scholarly persons and divines, no published Manual of Devotions comes near this (not even the *Sacra Purata* of Wilson, good though that is) in rich scripturalness, in comprehensiveness, in beauty, in adoring, wrapt fervor. 4. Richard Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, especially on the doctrine and ritual of the sacraments, chapters li.-lviii., lxvii. 5. Bowen's (Rev. G.) *Love Revealed, Daily Meditations*, and, indeed, all his writings as republished by Dr. Hanna from the Bombay newspaper of this American saint. 6. R. S. Candlish, D. D., on the First Epistle of John (Edinburgh, 1877). 7. Rev. H. G. Moule's (Principal of Ridley Hall, third edition, Cambridge). *Notes on the Epistles in the Cambridge Bible for Schools*, and all his writings on Personal Sanctity and Service. He is *facile princeps* the first Evangelical of the present generation in any country. 8. Also Dean Plumptre's *Commentary for Schools on the Acts of the Apostles* (Cassell & Co.), the only short and satisfactory commentary which does justice to the Foreign Missionary question and results.

Prof. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D., Berlin, Prussia.

I. I have found of especial value works written in answer to Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, and articles on the same subject in *Studien und Kritiken*; Neander's *Planting and Training*; and *Life of Christ*; *The Person of Christ*, by Schaff; and the *Sinlessness of Jesus*, by Ullmann. Most helpful of all was my personal intercourse with Tholuck.

II. Neander, Kurtz, Hagenbach, Schaff.

III. Augustine, Luther, McCheyne, Tholuck, J. T. Beck.

IV. The Imitation of Christ, and the Mystics.

Miss Lucy Larcom, Beverly, Mass.

I do not find it very easy to answer the questions propounded, because so few books have been very serviceable to me, — books, I mean, prepared, on the subjects suggested.

I studied Alexander's *Evidences of Christianity*, with larger works for reference, many years ago, while a seminary student, and with the study my doubts of the authenticity of some of the sacred writings began. The Bible itself has ever since been to me its own witness. Its divine origin is revealed to me from within entirely. Renan's *Life of Christ* is the most convincing book of Christian evidences that I have ever read. It would be impossible for me to take his view of Jesus, which makes him a sort of philanthropic charlatan, in place of the single, straightforward, New Testament record.

Church history generally has been to me a most perplexing and often saddening study. The true history of the church, I think, is yet to be lived. Then, perhaps, we shall understand better what has been written.

Two religious biographies have been more valuable to me than all others that I now recall, — the *Life of Rev. Frederick W. Robertson*, and that of *Rev. F. W. Maurice*. These two lives seem to me to furnish just the stimulus that our age needs, in their spirituality, their sincerity, their courage, and their breadth of outlook. I think they might well be considered as apostles of our time.

Hymns have been more to me in a devotional way than any other kind of writing. But I cannot specify any one hymn-book that I entirely prefer.

Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer, Cambridge, Mass.

The most serviceable religious books, without special classification in my case, have been, *Imitation of Christ*; *Augustine's Confessions*; *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress*; *Rutherford's Life and Letters*; *Robertson's Sermons*; *Maurice's and Kingsley's Sermons and Lives*; *George Herbert's Poems*; *Keble's Chris-*

tian Year; Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying; Faber's Hymns.

Miss S. F. Whiting, Professor of Physics, Wellesley College, Mass.

I. Religions before Christ, De Pressensé; Supernatural Origin of Christianity, Fisher; Divine Origin of Christianity indicated by Historical Effects, Storrs; the Great Argument, Christ in the Old Testament, Thomson; Conversion of St. Paul a Proof of Divine Origin of Christianity, Lord Littleton; Logic of Christian Evidences, Wright.

II. History of the Christian Church, Schaff; Beginnings of Christianity, Fisher; Christian Institutions, Stanley.

III. Life of Maurice; Life of Charles Kingsley; Life of Adoniram Judson and Ann Judson; Life of Clerk Maxwell; Life of Frances Havergal; Autobiography of Frances Willard.

IV. Christian Hymns of Faber and others; Weekday Religion, J. R. Miller; Melody of the 23d Psalm and Fourth Watch, Anna Whitney; Thoughts on Personal Religion, Goulburn; Sermons of Dr. Bushnell, Phillips Brooks.

Prof. F. W. Fisk, D. D., Chicago Theological Seminary.

From several works those have been named that have been recalled to memory as having left deepest impression: —

I. Natural Theology (Dr. Paley); The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature (Bishop Butler); Biblical Researches in Palestine, and in the Adjacent Regions (Dr. Robinson); Moral Government of God (Dr. N. W. Taylor); Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity (Professor Fisher).

II. General History of the Christian Religion and Church (Dr. Neander); History of the Christian Church (Dr. Schaff); Church History (Dr. Kurtz); History of the Jewish Church (Dean Stanley); History of the Eastern Church (Dean Stanley); Life and Epistles of St. Paul (Conybeare and Howson).

III. Life of David Brainard (President Edwards); Life of Edward Payson (Cummings); Memoir of Nathaniel Emmons (Professor Park); Life and Correspondence of John Foster

(Ryland); also his Essays, especially that on Decision of Character; Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher (Charles Beecher).

IV. The Pilgrim's Progress (Bunyan); Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (Dr. Doddridge); The Saint's Everlasting Rest (Baxter); Daily Strength for Daily Needs (Selected by the editor of "Quiet Hours"); Sacred Hymns (many authors, especially Watts and Wesley).

Rev. Prof. G. N. Boardman, D. D., Chicago Theological Seminary.

I. Paley's Evidences; Butler's Analogy; Abbot's Authorship of Fourth Gospel; Professor Fisher's works on Early Christianity; Row's Bampton Lectures, specially his remarks concerning the Apostle Paul.

II. Hase and Smith's tables for items; Neander for discussions; Kurtz and Schaff.

III. Jonathan Edwards; Edward Payson; C. L. Goodell.

IV. Sacred Hymns.

Rev. G. P. Goodwin, D. D., Chicago, Ill.

I. McIlvaine; Hopkins; Chalmers's Christian Revelation; Christlieb's Modern Doubt, etc.; Fisher's Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity; Bushnell's Nature and Supernatural; Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation; Rawlinson's Historical Evidences; Rawlinson's Origin of Nations; Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.

There should be added, on specific points, such books as Taylor Lewis's Six Days of Creation, Dawson's volumes in the same line; also the various lives of Christ,—Farrar, Ellicott, Andrews, Geikie,—all discussing certain phases of the Evidences.

II. Neander; Schaff; Stanley; Milman; Fisher; Trench on Mediæval Church History; D'Aubigné on the Reformation both of Luther and Calvin.

III. Whitefield; McCheyne; Finney; Payson; Lyman Beecher; Kirke; Guthrie.

IV. Imitation of Christ; Augustine's Confessions; Hymns of the Ages; Prayers of the Ages; Madame Guyon's Life and

Letters ; Pascal's Thoughts ; Fenélon ; Christian Secret of a Happy Life ; Phelps's Still Hour ; Miss Havergal's Hymns ; Charlotte Elliott's Hymns.

I have only aimed to give the books which have particularly helped me. I do not suppose you desire the names of all books consulted or read.

Rev. James M. Gray, D. D., Boston.

I. Butler's Analogy ; Modern Doubt and Christian Belief, by Christlieb ; The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief, by Professor Fisher ; Evidences of Christianity, by Bishop McIlvaine. The tone of piety in the latter, added to its delightful literary style, made a very early and deep impression, which has never worn away.

II. While other histories have been studied, as for example Kurtz, and others again scanned, like Neander's and Clement Butler's, the palm must be given to Joseph Milner's, much for the same reason as in the case of McIlvaine on the Evidences. Milner says less about wars and heresies, and in a sweet, evangelical spirit pursues the course of the true church from the foundation to the thirteenth century. His brother continues the thread after his decease down to the period of the Reformation. For the history of the latter period nothing is preferred to the recent work of Professor Fisher.

III. Memoirs of Robert and James Haldane ; Brainerd ; Chalmers ; Lyman Beecher.

IV. Arnot's Laws from Heaven for Life on Earth ; Pre-millennial Essays ; Bridges on the Christian Ministry ; Goode's Better Covenant ; Frederick Whitfield's Sermons ; The Two-fold Life, by Rev. A. J. Gordon, D. D.

Rev. E. K. Alden, D. D., Boston.

I. Erskine and Henry Rogers.

II. Neander and Schaff.

III. Thomas Chalmers, John Foster, F. W. Robertson, John Foster, Adoniram Judson.

IV. Religion of the Bible, by Dr. S. Reedner ; Bushnell's Sermons for the New Life ; Isaac Taylor's Saturday Evening ; Phelps's Still Hour ; Grace for Grace, by William James.

Rev. A. T. Pierson, D. D., Philadelphia.

I. McIlvaine's Evidences; Keith on Prophecy; Bernhard's Development of Doctrine in New Testament; Bishop Alexander, Witness of Psalms to Christ; Typical Forms in Creation, McCosh.

II. Neander, Mosheim, Schaff; Turning Points of Church History; Lives of the Popes; D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation.

III. Hodder's Life of Earl of Shaftesbury; Stanley; Dr. Arnold of Rugby; McGilvray; John of Golden Mouth; Fidelity Fiske; Life of Dr. Goodell; Constantinople; Life of William Carey; Life of David Brainerd.

IV. Christian School of Prayer, Murray; Devotional Guides, Phillips; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; James Inglis on our Lord's Intercessory Prayer.

Rev. Levi L. Paine, D. D., Bangor Theological Seminary.

I. Bishop Butler's Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; Thomas Erskine's Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion; Professor Fisher's Manual of Christian Evidences; Jackson's Early Christian Literature Primers, edited by Professor Fisher.

II. Neander, Schaff, Fisher (especially the first two volumes of Neander; Schaff's volume on the German Reformation, and Fisher's History of the Christian Church); Bryce's Holy Roman Empire; Palfrey's History of New England.

III. The Fathers for English Readers (new, 13 small vols.); Farrar's Lives of the Fathers (2 vols). Among modern biographies, Thomas Arnold, Maurice, Kingsley, Bushnell, Livingstone.

IV. Augustine's Confessions; The Imitation of Christ, by Thomas à Kempis; Pascal's Thoughts; Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress; English Book of Common Prayer; Newman's Parochial and Plain Sermons; Bushnell's Sermons.

In this brief selection I have had in mind, not only myself, but also the class for whose sake these answers are given. It is to be noted that the four divisions overlap at several points. Several of the books I have suggested might be placed under

two or three of the heads mentioned. Were I to draw up a shorter list of books, that would directly or indirectly cover the whole ground, it would be about as follows:—

Selections from the series of Fathers for English Readers; the Early Christian Literature Primers; Fisher's History of the Christian Church; Bryce's Holy Roman Empire; Augustine's Confessions.

I would highly commend the Fathers for English Readers. They cover almost the whole ground; history and biography are combined. In these days the most satisfactory way of approaching the whole subject of Christian Evidences is by an intelligent acquaintance with the *origins* of Christianity, and with the earliest Christian confessors. The Early Christian Literature Primers would be very helpful in connection with the Lives. Professor Fisher's Church History is on the whole the best I know of for the purpose now in view.

Rev. D. Driver, D. D., Portland, Oregon.

I. Butler's Analogy, Plan of Salvation, and scientific works.

II. Apostolical fathers, Mosheim, and others.

III. Luther, Calvin, Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke.

IV. My devotion has been helped mostly by reading the works of such men as Luther, Knox, Wesley, Fletcher, Cranmer, Edwards, and kindred authors. My mental constitution has always required a reason for everything, and such works and authors alone have had access to my emotional nature.

Rev. C. F. Thwing, Minneapolis, Minn.

I. Schaff's Person of Christ (most books are useless).

II. Schaff's Creeds; Uhlhorn's Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism; Neander's History.

III. Stanley's Arnold; Life of Bushnell; Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua.

IV. So little of worth. A fine hymn, as Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light," is the best devotional literature. Next to this stands a noble biography of a noble man.

Rev. S. L. B. Speare, Minneapolis, Minn.

I. Paley and McIlvaine.

II. Stanley, Kurtz, and Schaff.

II. Bela B. Edwards ; William B. Homer ; John Todd ; David Livingstone ; Thomas Arnold, by Dean Stanley ; Dean Alford ; Horace Bushnell ; Thomas Guthrie.

IV. Still Hour, by Professor Phelps ; Bushnell's, Robertson's, and McLaren's Sermons ; Remarkable Answers to Prayer, by W. W. Patton, D. D.

Rev. George F. Pentecost, D. D., Glasgow.

I. Horne, Introduction ; Paley's Evidences ; Butler's Analogy ; Canon Row's various works ; Principal Cairns's works, etc.

II. Mosheim ; Neander ; Neil's Puritans ; Millman's Latin Christianity ; Farrar ; Pressensé ; Early Days, etc.

III. Grace Abounding, John Bunyan ; John Newton ; Baxter ; Huntington ; The Puritans of the Seventeenth Century ; Luther's Life ; Wesley ; John Tauler.

IV. Theologica Germanica ; à Kempis ; Bengel ; John Tauler ; Madame Guyon ; Fenélon, etc.

Rev. Wm. Hayes Ward, D. D., LL. D., Managing Editor of the "Independent," New York.

I. Didaché ; Tatian's Diatessaron ; Asa Gray's Papers ; George Smith's Assyrian Canon.

III. Jonathan Edwards's Autobiographic Sketch.

IV. Phelps's Still Hour ; Goulburn's Thoughts ; especially Edwards on the Affections.

Rev. William M. Taylor, D. D., LL. D., New York.

I. Whately's Easy Lessons in Christian Evidences ; W. L. Alexander's Christ and Christianity ; Rogers's Eclipse of Faith.

II. I have received great benefit in this department from Neander and Gieseler, also from Schaff, but to a busy man like me the Student's Ecclesiastical History, by Philip Smith, has been invaluable, although Dr. Fisher's recent work has become to it a formidable rival.

III. The Life of Hugh Hengle, D. D., by H. M. Macgill (not well known in this country), was full of stimulus and direction to me forty years ago. The Memoirs of James Hamilton, Thomas Chalmers, Horace Bushnell, were quickening and helpful. But my reading in this department has been so extended that I cannot particularize. I read all the best as they come out, and get some good from each. The last, namely, the Autobiography of J. G. Paton, is one of the most stimulating of all.

IV. In devotional literature, Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Dying; Tholuck's Hours of Christian Devotion; Phelps's Still Hour; Augustine's Confessions; Leighton's Works, but especially his Lectures on 1st Peter and the Lord's Prayer; Matthew Henry's Commentary; Matheson's Moments on the Mount, and My Aspirations. And for poetry, Keble, Faber, Bonar, and one or two collections of choice hymns, like Schaff's Christ in Song, etc.

Rev. Herrick Johnson, D. D., Chicago.

I. On special lines, Bushnell's Nature and the Supernatural; Young's Christ of History; Rogers's Eclipse of Faith. No book on *general* evidences has been specially serviceable.

II. Difficult to determine. No *one* history has been "most serviceable." Kurtz, Hase, Schaff, I would name as helpful.

III. Guthrie, Norman Macleod, F. W. Robertson, Lyman Beecher, Charles Finney.

IV. Rutherford's Letters; Bunyan's Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners; Leighton's Commentary on the Epistles of Peter; Baxter's Reformed Pastor, and Saints' Rest; Phelps's Still Hour; Bowen's Daily Meditations; and wonderful dips in Confessions of Augustine.

Rev. J. H. Barrows, D. D., Chicago.

I. The well-known Aids to Faith was immensely helpful in college days; Paley's Evidences of Christianity is still a solid fortification, behind which I have found security in recent years; Fisher's Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief is quite the best compend of evidences which I know; his Supernatural Origin and Beginnings of Christianity have also been exceedingly

serviceable; the tenth chapter of Bushnell's *Nature and the Supernatural* I regard as weightier than all the attacks made by modern unbelief on the citadel of our faith; Harris's *Philosophic Basis of Theism* is a book of great lucidity and strength which I greatly value.

II. I prefer Schaff and Fisher among the church historians. Among the best books to awaken interest in ecclesiastical history are Dean Stanley's various volumes of *Lectures*. Gibbon and Lecky, Guizot and Green, have been, in different degrees and different lines, helpful; Dr. Storrs's splendid volume on the *Divine Origin of Christianity* throws strong light on the early centuries.

III. Neander's and Edersheim's *Lives of our Lord*; Farrar's *St. Paul*; Henry's *Life of Calvin*; Masson's *Milton*; the *Memoirs of Baron Bunsen*; the *Life of Charles Kingsley*; Stanley's *Life of Thomas Arnold*; Lyman Beecher's and President Finney's *Autobiographies*, are the chief treasures in this form of literature to which I have been indebted.

IV. *The Imitation of Christ*; Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*; Phelps's *Still Hour*; Milton's and Wordsworth's *Poetry*; Tennyson's *In Memoriam*; Keble's *Christian Year*; Robertson's, Professor Park's, and Ker's *Sermons*: I mention these with reverent gratitude.

Rev. A. J. Gordon, D. D., Boston.

I. Works of Vinet; Pascal's *Pensées*.

II. Uhlhorn's *Conflict of Christianity with Paganism*; Presensé's *Early Days of Christianity*.

III. *Life of David Brainerd*; *Biography of John Woolman*; *Life of Stephen Grellet*.

IV. Dora Greenwell's *Patience of Hope*; Works of the Mystics; *Theologia Germanica*; Molino's *St. Francis de Sales*.

Rev. A. P. Foster, D. D., Boston.

I. Dr. Mark Hopkins's *Evidence of Christianity*, which was the one volume beside the Bible which E. P. Roe carried with him when chaplain in the army; also Professor Wright's admirable little volume.

II. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* I found

suggestive as a church history; Stanley's histories have been very helpful, also Kurtz.

III. Especially the biography of missionaries, like Wayland's Life of Dr. Judson; Dr. Grant; and The Mountain Nestorians; Life of Dr. Goodell of Constantinople.

IV. Faber's Hymns, which I have read and re-read with great delight.

Rev. Professor Daniel Steele, D. D., Boston University.

I. Bushnell's Nature and the Supernatural; Dr. Hopkins's Evidences of Christianity.

II. Neander's History of Christianity; Milman's Latin Christianity.

III. Tyerman's John Wesley; Horace Bushnell; Lyman Beecher; F. W. Robertson; F. D. Maurice.

IV. Zschokke's Meditations; Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying; Fuller's Holy and Profane States.

Rev. Asa S. Fiske, Ithaca, N. Y.

I. Butler's Analogy and Paley, for early start; Bushnell's Nature and Supernatural; the whole literature of modern explorations in ancient lands, and of accord between first chapters of Genesis and modern science.

II. Those of the period of the Reformation in the sixteenth century; especially D'Aubigné's.

III. Harlan, Henry Martyn, Madame Guyon, Bunyan.

IV. Bushnell, Havergal, Professor Phelps.

Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Melrose, Mass.

I. Paley's Evidences of Christianity were invaluable to me in my early life. I was rooted and grounded in the book by study and teaching, and have never got away from its influence. Later, I have been much helped by Dr. Palfrey's lectures on the same theme. They were delivered in the Lowell Institute course. In later years, some points in these volumes do not seem as well sustained by logical argument as they appeared when I was younger. But I have been greatly indebted to them.

II. Neander, Mosheim, and D'Aubigné have rendered me

great help. Later I have been much instructed and stimulated by Canon Farrar's *Lives of Christ and St. Paul*. Mosheim's *History of Christianity* I have found only in Harvard College Library. That is invaluable, for it asserts that "the early church had ever belonging to it, from its very first rise, *ministers of each sex*." It has greatly fortified me in my demand that women be admitted to the public ministry.

III. I have not been much helped by religious biography, and rarely read it nowadays. The one book of religious biography that has been beneficial to me was *The Life of Ann Hazeltine Judson*. I read and re-read it, until I had nearly memorized it. It gave a determining bias to my whole future life; its influence abides with me yet. I thrill to-day with its memories, and in some respects am other than I should have been had it never been written.

IV. *The Great Teacher*, by Rev. Dr. John Harris, though not coming strictly under this head, has been a blessing to me all through my life. *A Book of Prayers* by Theodore Parker voices my petitions and aspirations, habitually, to the present hour. Both Robertson and Charles Kingsley have been helpful to me, as has Dr. James Martineau and Dr. A. A. Livermore, by the devotional spirit running through volumes of their sermons.

Miss F. E. Willard, Evanston, Ill.

I. Butler's *Analogy*; Joseph Cook's *Lectures*; Professor Drummond's, etc.

II. D'Aubigné.

III. Madame Guyon; Mary Lyon; Dr. Arnold of Rugby.

IV. Epictetus; *The Faith that makes Faithful*; Havergal's *Kept for the Master's Use*.

Rev. C. A. Bartol, D. D., Boston.

I. More than Paley or Butler, the great poems of Dante, Milton, Shakespeare, and Goethe, with the painting and portfolios of Italy, Germany, Holland, and Spain, have drawn the furrows of the world's faith.

II. Gibbon and Hume, with pages like negative plates in photography, producing the best picture-book of our religion.

III. The Lives of all the saints, Catholic, Protestant, and Greek.

IV. Augustine, Spinoza, Thomas à Kempis, Fenélon, Edwards, and Channing.

Edward Everett Hale, D. D., LL. D., Boston.

ROXBURY, MASS., *October 9, 1889.*

GENTLEMEN, AND MISS WILLARD, — I have your favor of the 30th.

I. With regard to Christian evidences, I am much of Dr. Wayland's mind, and of King George the Third's. Dr. Wayland said, "Christianity has no defensive armor; the moment it places itself on the defensive it is lost."

If, on the other hand, the church is aggressive, and does its work, it will be judged by the fruits, as everything else is judged. George the Third, I suppose, meant to say the same thing when some one praised Bishop Watson's Apology to him. He said he did not know Christianity needed to be apologized for.

I have never, therefore, found that what are called the "evidences of religion," in technical language, did any great good to anybody. I do find, however, that persons who are ill at ease about historical Christianity — that is to say, about the place which Jesus Christ really holds as the Saviour of the world — receive strength and courage if they read fairly and truly the Fathers of the first three centuries. They learn there that, while these men were often very foolish men and very ignorant men, they believed in God, in heaven, and in humanity. They were willing to die for their belief, and generally did die for their belief. And they said that they gained their belief from a direct relationship with Jesus Christ. They said that He was the Son of God, and the Saviour of the world.

I find that young people in particular, who have loyally read some of these simple records, are never troubled afterward with the impression that eighteen hundred and fifty years ago, in the centre of the world and of history, nothing happened.

These Christian evidences are easily read in The Ante-Nicene Fathers, which have recently been printed in a cheap form in New York.

II. To a certain extent, what I have said answers your second question. For practical purposes, Dean Stanley's books are of great value. Rev. Joseph Henry Allen of Cambridge has published one or two handbooks of great use for the older classes in Sunday-schools, or for anybody else. Mr. Brooke Herford has published an excellent book on the history of the English Church. Southey's Church History interests young people; so do the first three volumes of D'Aubigné, — the fourth volume, which should have been the best, is the worst. All the Schonberg-Cotta books are good for your purpose. In American church history, Dr. Dexter's books, Dr. Bacon's Genesis of New England, Young's Pilgrim Chronicles and Chronicles of Massachusetts will strengthen the library of any intelligent person.

III. Some of the best people who have ever lived have been worst treated by biographers. And, alas! the value of a biography for your purpose depends much more on the writer than on the hero. The lives which I should most wish a pupil of mine to know and to value are those of St. Paul (and here Conybeare and Howson may be spoken of as accurate and dull, Renan as interesting, and on the whole fair); of Anschar, the apostle to the Scandinavians; Francis of Assisi; Bernard of Clairvaux; George Fox, Fénelon, the Wesleys, Swedenborg, Channing, and some of the most distinguished modern missionaries, as Bishop Patterson and Henry. But in most cases the lives of these men are badly written, or not written at all; and you may bring the most willing horse to the river and he will not drink. In practice, as at this moment I look hastily back on my experience, I have found that young people were interested in Kingsley's Hypatia, with the reference to Cyril there; in a very few of the Lives of the Saints, the Life of Mrs. Frye, the Life of Mary Ware; in Channing's Life of Channing, of which the first volume is legible; in the Life of Bishop Patterson, alluded to above; in Mrs. Hare's Life; in Memories of a Quiet Life, and the Life of Charles Kingsley; and, in our own time, in Cabot's Life of Emerson. But it is a most melancholy reflection that this line of literature, which should be the highest and noblest, is the most neglected, or shows the

least success. I consider the sub-department to be the most important but one of the four which you have named.

IV. Indeed, it belongs to your fourth department, which, if one must discriminate, would be the most important of all. Not to name too many, I should wish that a friend of mine owned and had as handbooks St. Augustine's Confessions, and his Meditations, the latter of which is a rarer book than the first; Thomas à Kempis's Imitation of Christ, which should be read in Latin, if one can read Latin; Jeremy Taylor's Holy Living and Holy Dying; Owen Feltham's Resolves; John Sterling's Hymns; and Miss Winkworth's Life and Writings of John Tauler. There are two or three good volumes of the Prayers of the Ages, collected by Miss Whitmarsh; and the *Lyra Germanica* will be of great advantage.

I would not have ventured to write on so large a subject in this off-hand way, but that I suppose that this is what is meant when you speak of a "symposium." I suppose that a "symposium" means to reflect the immediate thought of a person surprised by the question, and that you do not exact a careful study on the important topics which you bring forward. If such a study is asked for, I should require some years before my answer.

Truly yours,

EDWARD E. HALE.

THE EXCITING SITUATION IN UTAH.

THE general situation here at the capital of Utah is more interesting and exciting at the present time than it has been for many years. This is due to two causes: *first*, the permanent addition to the city's population, during the past twelve months, of a large number of intelligent, enterprising, and patriotic Americans from Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, Iowa, and other States, drawn here by the fine climate and the encouraging prospects for the building up of one of the largest and most attractive inland cities on the continent within the next few years. Several thousand people have been added to the population within the past year, making the total not far from forty thousand.

But the *second* and main cause for the present exciting situation is the lively political campaign now going on between the People's or Mormon party and the Liberal or American party for the control of the city government at the municipal election on February 10. There are many things to make this municipal campaign unusually exciting:—

1. The fact that, at the territorial election for the legislature on August 5, for the first time since the city was settled by the Mormons forty-two years ago, it gave an American majority. Although this majority was only forty-one, it illustrated what the Liberals can do by thorough organization, and, what is far more important, it illustrated that a strong minority of the more intelligent Mormons are getting heartily sick of priesthood rule, and are ready to vote with the Americans, under the regulation of the Utah Commission providing for a strictly private ballot, since no one but the officers and the voter is allowed within a hundred feet of the polls.

2. Another element of interest is the thorough way in which the Liberals are organized. The chairman of the Liberal Committee is Judge O. W. Powers, formerly of Michigan, who was one of the United States district judges here for about a year,

and is now one of the leading lawyers of the city. He has a perfect genius for organization, and is one of the best speakers in the Territory. Under his lead, each of the twenty-one wards in the city has its Liberal Club, all uniformed with caps, capes, and torches. These clubs are officered and drilled like soldiers, and grouped in regiments and brigades, all under the command of that patriotic old army veteran, General P. E. Connor, who located Camp Douglas here in 1863. Meetings are constantly held in the wards, and addressed by representative men.

All this has compelled the Mormons to depart from their usual course, and, for the first time in a municipal election, they have been compelled to hold public meetings in the various wards for the general discussion of public questions pressed upon them by the Americans. So that a thorough campaign of political discussion and instruction is going on, and the whole city is boiling with political excitement and enthusiasm as no one ever saw it before.

3. To add to the interest of the situation, the Mormons are badly frightened over the prospective loss of the city, and are driven to adopt desperate measures. Since the entire city government, with the exception of four men, is in Mormon hands, they have control of the men employed on the public works. Although for years the Americans have been urging them to begin the construction of a general system of sewerage, the Mormons were never able to see the importance of this sanitary measure until this fall. Then it suddenly became so important that the Mormon authorities found it necessary to import many hundred voters from other counties to help forward this improvement, with the view of keeping them in the city until after the city election in February. There is ample reason for believing that more than 1,200 of these colonized voters have been brought into the city since the first of September from the surrounding counties; and since the law requires one to be in the precinct only thirty days before voting, it will be very difficult to prevent all of these colonists from voting, since they are ready to swear that they are permanent residents. But the Liberal Committee has the names, descrip-

tion, and real homes of all of them, and they may have more difficulty than they anticipated in getting on the registration lists. But it would be too bad to have this high-handed robbery perpetrated upon the Americans, since a thorough canvass shows that they have a decided majority of several hundred. It is probable, however, that both sides will be surprised at the large number of Mormon votes that will be cast on the American side in behalf of progress.

4. But the *crowning element* of interest is what has been going on in the Third District court-room the past three days. Driven to desperation, the Mormons are hunting up all the foreigners connected with their organization, and bringing them before the court for naturalization, so that they can vote the Mormon ticket. One of the examiners appointed by the Liberal Committee raised the point that those who go through the Mormon Endowment House are not eligible to citizenship, because in the Endowment ceremonies they are compelled to swear terrible oaths of hostility to the United States government, and therefore cannot be good American citizens. The examiner for the Liberal Committee offered to prove this, and the Mormon attorneys challenged him to do it. Judge Anderson said, if there is any evidence of that kind, the court ought to know it. So on Thursday, November 14, the hearing of evidence on this point began in the Third District Court in this city, and has been going on for three days. The court-room has been crowded to overflowing, and the whole city has been excited over the startling disclosures of the treasonable and horrible secrets of the Endowment House.

Thus far seven witnesses have been examined, — men who are now honorable and respected citizens, but in former years were connected with the Mormon Church, having withdrawn from it after they found out its wickedness. On the American side are two of the best lawyers in the Territory, Messrs. Dickson and Baskin, both of them formerly United States district attorneys. All of these witnesses had been through the Endowment House, and the substance of their testimony was this: They all took a threefold oath — (1) that they would use all the means in their power to avenge the blood of Joseph and Hiram Smith on the American nation, from the President

down, and would teach this duty to their children and their children's children; (2) that they would acknowledge the authority of the priesthood supreme in all things, both temporal and spiritual, over the government of the United States and every other government; (3) that they would never divulge any of these secrets of the Endowment House. In addition, they all testified that the penalties attached to these oaths, if they should ever become disobedient to the priesthood, or violate either of the other obligations, were that they should have their throats cut, should be disemboweled, and have their tongues and hearts cut out! Then the court-room was thrilled when one of the witnesses, a gray-headed man of sixty-seven, considered to be a thoroughly honest and reliable man, with whom the writer of this is well acquainted, upon being asked if he had ever seen these penalties inflicted upon any man, replied with serious tone, "I have." He then went on to detail how in 1862, when near Green River, while crossing the plains with a large Mormon emigrant train in charge of Mormon officials, a man who owned and drove two of the wagons loaded with merchandise was put to death by these officials. He was accused of disloyalty to the priesthood, and for this offense he was taken from his wagon one evening by order of these officials, and had his throat cut in the presence of the witness and six or eight others; and when some of them protested, they were told that if they did not keep still they would be treated in the same way, and their bodies thrown to the wolves. The witness gave the circumstances, and the names of a number who were present. As soon as the witness dared after this, he left the church.

Others testified that one reason why they left the church was because of the bitter hostility of the teachings of the Mormon officials against the United States. They were constantly teaching that the Mormon Church is the only true kingdom on earth, and the only kingdom whose laws and authority are binding, and that it was the duty of the members of the church to pray and labor for the overthrow of the United States government, that on its ruins this Mormon kingdom might be established.

The Americans living here have known all these facts for

years, but this is the first time they have ever been established in a legal way in a United States court, and as a result the whole community is stirred up by it. In the face of this evidence, it would seem that no judge could feel free hereafter to grant citizenship to any foreigner who has been through the Endowment House, and still remains a good Mormon.

To offset this most damaging testimony, the Mormon attorneys put upon the stand one of the twelve apostles, Mr. John Henry Smith, who testified that the church now makes use of no such oaths, and that the Mormon officials and people are good friends of the Constitution and Government of the United States.

But what a pitiable spectacle this apostle made of himself when he passed into the hands of Mr. Dickson for cross-examination! Notwithstanding his professed friendship for the United States government, he was obliged to confess that he had violated its laws by practicing polygamy. Like a frightened rabbit, he took shelter under the sage-brush plea that when he went into polygamy the law of Congress against it had not been declared constitutional. But Mr. Dickson beat that bush in such a lively way that the squirming apostle had to leap forth and confess that he continued to practice polygamy after the United States Supreme Court had declared the law constitutional. He was obliged also to confess that he still believed, in accordance with the pretended revelation on polygamy, that those who did not accept that doctrine would be damned.

In connection with the above, it may be added that the Mormons are driven to such desperation over their prospective defeat in the February municipal election, there is ground for believing they have sent representatives to Washington to ask the President for general amnesty on condition of their pretended abandonment of polygamy. If they can secure this general amnesty, they hope to secure enough votes from the present disfranchised polygamists, in connection with the colonized Scandinavians from the surrounding counties, to carry the election next February. So there would seem to be ground for saying that the situation in Utah at present is an exciting one.

R. G. McNiece.

REPORT OF THE UTAH COMMISSION, 1889.

THE Report of the Utah Commission, issued September 23, has been received with high commendation by the loyal population of the Territory as an able and patriotic document, and an unanswerable exposure of Mormon lawlessness and treason. The concluding portion of this important state paper contains the following recommendations:—

The commission, in previous reports, has made certain recommendations which were, in its opinion, necessary and proper to give force and effect to the provisions of the law under which it was created, and which had not yet been enacted into law.

These may be summarized as follows:—

1. In regard to the courts.

The conferring upon the district courts jurisdiction of all polygamous and sexual offenses, without regard to the place in the Territory where committed; investing them with power coextensive with that possessed by the United States circuit and district courts in the States, in the matter of contempt and the punishment thereof; authorizing the process of subpoena to run from the territorial courts into any other district of the United States; authorizing the selection of jurors by open venire; providing that when continuance is granted on motion of defendant, depositions of witnesses on the part of the prosecution may be taken on notice, and used in case the witness be dead, absent from the Territory, or so concealed as to elude the service of subpoena; and that a sufficient fund to enable the prosecuting officers to efficiently perform their duties and enforce the laws be furnished by the Department of Justice to the proper law officers of the Territory.

2. That prosecutions for polygamy and bigamy be exempted from the operation of the general statute of limitations.

3. That the term of imprisonment for unlawful cohabitation fixed by section 2 of the Act of 1882 be extended to at least two years for the first and three years for the second offense. The commission adds to this the recommendation that the term of imprisonment for polygamy, bigamy, and unlawful cohabitation be extended, and that hard labor be added to the punishment.

4. That it be made a penal offense for any woman to enter into the marriage relation with any man knowing him to have a wife living undivorced, coupled, however, with a provision that in cases where a polygamous wife is called as a witness against the husband her testimony could not

be used in any future prosecution against her, and a like provision as to the husband.

5. The appointment of the territorial auditor, treasurer, commissioners to locate university lands, probate judges, county clerks, selectmen, assessors and collectors, recorders and superintendents of district schools by the governor, subject to confirmation by the commission.

6. That all persons be excluded by law from making a location and settlement upon any of the public lands who shall refuse, on demand, to take and subscribe an oath, before the proper officer of the Land Office in which his or her application is made, that he or she does not cohabit with more than one man or one woman, as the case may be, in the marriage relation, and that he or she will obey the laws of the United States in relation to polygamy and bigamy.

7. That the laws with reference to immigration of Chinese, and the importation of contract laborers, paupers, and criminals, be so amended as to prevent the immigration of persons claiming that their religion justifies the crime of polygamy.

8. A constitutional amendment forever prohibiting polygamy.

9. The enactment of a law creating a board, to consist of the governor, Utah Commission, and the secretary of the Territory, to apportion Salt Lake City into aldermanic and councilmanic districts.

The commission respectfully recommends all these propositions to the attention of Congress, and in addition makes the following recommendations:—

10. Authorizing this commission, in its discretion, to cause to be made annually a new registration instead of revisions of former lists, and to make and enforce rules and regulations not inconsistent with the laws of the United States for the conduct of registrations and elections.

11. That Congress pass laws for the government and conduct of public schools in the Territory of Utah.

12. That as soon as the result of the census of 1890 is known, there be created a board consisting of the governor, Utah Commission, and secretary of the Territory, with power to redistrict the Territory for legislative purposes.

Some of these propositions are of grave importance, and may provoke much discussion and adverse criticism. Those relating to the practice in the courts will be at once understood by our law-makers, and need no explanation.

The commission asks power to make a new registration, and to enforce rules and regulations regarding the conduct of registrations and elections, not from any desire to increase its duties and responsibilities, but because it believes new registrations to be simpler and better than revisions, and that better results would come from a judicious exercise of such powers if conferred. Under the present laws of Congress it can only recommend a course of action to its registration officers and judges of election, and has a dual set of laws to govern its own actions, the laws of Congress and the laws

of the Territory, and the latter are not always free from questions of doubtful construction, and sometimes stand in the way of beneficial reforms, neither provided for nor inhibited by Congress, but within the spirit and purport of its expressed or known intentions.

In regard to a law establishing and regulating the management of free schools, the commission is not of the opinion that the Legislature of Utah, as likely to be constituted for some time to come, can be expected or trusted to establish a system of free schools in sympathy with the enlightenment of the age, or free from the teachings of polygamy and so-called revelations, and therefore recommend that Congress assume the duty of providing for the education and enlightenment of the youth of the Territory.

The commission believes the limitation on prosecutions for polygamy and bigamy should be extended, among other reasons, because, under the peculiar missionary service of the church, it is easy for one to enter polygamy, go on a mission for three years, and return to assume his polygamous relations, defying the authorities to punish him for the main offense, and be in danger only of prosecution for the lesser offense of unlawful cohabitation. The term of imprisonment for this offense should be increased to meet this state of affairs, and sentence of hard labor should be added, that their confinement may not be spent in idleness and glorification of their supposed martyrdom.

The commission has no doubt that punishment of the women for voluntarily entering the polygamous relation would do much to lessen her zeal for the peculiar institution, and thus tend to remove one of its strongest bulwarks.

It recommends the granting to the governor the power to appoint the officers named, because, —

1. He is more nearly than any other the representative of the power and majesty of the government among the people of the Territory, and granting powers to him which will bring him more and more into direct contact with them would tend to increase their respect for the national government, an element almost unknown among them.

2. Because, residing among them, he can better judge of the necessities of the case, and of the qualifications of the officers to be appointed, than would be possible if the appointing power should be vested in the President.

3. Because such power would take the control of Utah affairs out of the hands of officers who are chosen, not by a free selection of the people, but whose nomination is made by "counsel" from the priesthood, and whose election is a mere form, and place it in the hands of men who represent civilized ideas, are in sympathy with the efforts of Congress to suppress polygamy, and will assist the officers of the government in the work of enforcing the laws, instead of using all the influence and moral support of their positions to nullify the laws, prevent their execution, and shield offenders, as is now the rule and practice.

In regard to the proposed amendment of the immigration laws and the restriction upon the location of public lands, the commission respectfully

submits that, while we forbid the immigration of the non-proselyting, peace-loving, docile Chinaman, because we fear a future danger from his coming; while we forbid the landing on our shores of contract laborers, because they cheapen wages of American-born citizens; and paupers, because they may become a burden, — there is far greater reasons for closing our doors as a nation, and forbidding citizenship, to the hordes who are brought here to swell the ranks of an organized body which teaches them in advance to hate the government of the United States, denominates its executive, law-makers, judges, and prosecutors as persecutors, and instills into every mind the constant teaching that their pretended revelations are more binding than the highest and best laws of the land, and that resistance to such laws is a virtue, and a rendering of obedience to God. How far short of treason these teachings are we leave those who can to answer. By cutting off this importation of generally ignorant and fanatical classes, many of whom neither speak nor care to learn our language, and, to say the least, are not in sympathy with the institutions or the laws of our country, the principal source of the growth of this conspiracy against what we hold as best and dearest in American civilization would be materially diminished, and the spread of this relic of Oriental barbarism to that extent averted.

The commission would further suggest for the careful consideration of Congress, the propriety and expediency of enacting laws providing for the disfranchisement of such persons, who may not themselves be guilty of crimes forbidden by law, but who are, or may become, members of organizations or societies whose tenets and principles are inimical to the Constitution and laws of the country, and teach that the practice of certain criminal acts are virtues, and throw about its members, who do practice such crimes, the shield of the whole power of such organizations, morally, socially, and otherwise, and to debar them from the privileges of the homestead laws. The commission does not strenuously urge such legislation at this time, partially because the Supreme Court has not yet passed upon the constitutionality and legality of such enactments.

The commission yields to none in reverence for, and earnest desire to protect from violation, every provision of that instrument sacred to every true American citizen as the "palladium of his liberties and the great safeguard of the republic;" but it is not of the opinion that laws made to prevent crime, to prevent combinations and conspiracy against the state, and to punish persons who combine and conspire to commit crime, can be called laws which interfere with religion, whether the persons who so combine and conspire call themselves by the name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints or by any other name, whether they pretend that their conspiracy is a religion or openly declare their object to be to commit crime.

Religious fanaticism even cannot be allowed to commit crimes against the laws or to teach others to do so, either by the acts of the individual or an organization composed of many individuals, whether they avow that they act voluntarily or under a pretended spiritual revelation.

The law aims at the crime against society, no matter by what name it is

called or in what guise it is perpetrated. The man who robs you in the guise of a Samaritan is no less a robber because of his disguise.

It may not be considered out of place to mention the fact that similar views to those above expressed have received the sanction and approval of the Supreme Court of Idaho, in deciding the appeal in the case of *Woolley v. Watkins et al.*, a case in which the principles involved in the suggestion of the commission are ably discussed.

The commission desires to commend the governor, the judges and district attorneys of the territorial district courts, and the officers of the United States generally for Utah, for the intelligent, zealous, and faithful manner in which they have performed their difficult and sometimes arduous and distasteful duties in enforcing the laws of Congress, and for the willing and efficient aid they have given the commission upon all occasions. The utmost harmony exists among all the government officials in the Territory, so far as is known to the commission.

In concluding, the commission is of the opinion that in this matter the government and Congress should take no backward or even wavering step, but should continue the active and vigorous enforcement of the laws, and the improvement of them by the amendment of such as would be made more effective thereby, and by enacting such other laws as experience may show to be wise and more efficacious to accomplish the desired end, until not only the practice but the inculcation of crimes of this nature shall, as far as possible, be stamped out, and until a majority of the people shall abandon a pretended belief in doctrines which incite to treason against the state, which sap the foundations of society and retard the growth of nineteenth century civilization, and until they show that they can be trusted to make and enforce laws which forbid the practices elsewhere universally condemned.

Very respectfully submitted,

G. L. GODFREY, *Chairman.*

A. B. WILLIAMS,

R. S. ROBINSON,

ALVIN SAUNDERS.

NATIONAL W. C. T. U. CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

ON the 8th of November there convened in Chicago nearly five hundred women gifted with ideas which fifteen years of unselfish effort to pick up the fallen and keep up the erect have moulded into exact weapons against existing evils, and into pathfinders towards unexplored good. They had, too, that gift of tongues which sends forth ideas as missionaries, and that sincerity of manner which makes intelligent prejudice ashamed, and makes ignorance adopt what it does not clearly understand. They came up from every State and Territory of this country ; they came officially commissioned by the will of many thousand small bodies of like mind to continue the bringing-in of better times "for God and home and native land." Many of them already had plucked brands from the burning, and shrank not from the low fire of a press hostile to the messengers of peace through war ; lion hearts were there by hundreds, — heroines that love their enemies.

These assembled as the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union. They sat together simply in a large place styled "Battery D," and underneath thousands of little loyal flags, and in the midst of the colors of all nations, and the gilded silken banners of forty state societies, and inspired by inscriptions such as "No sectionalism in politics, no sex in citizenship, no sectarianism in religion, but all for God and home and native land ;" "Woman's cause is man's cause," quoting Tennyson ; and "God's curse upon high license." And behind and about them sat a friendly multitude of six thousand men and women, while often another thousand stood and were filled. Many of them had traveled a thousand miles merely to drink of those waters of reform.

Four days and as many nights they sat, and I sat at their feet ; invited to the platform and presented, I looked out over

the host, and felt somewhat how small in God's great family is the individual member. And looking into the faces within the reservation for delegates, it seemed to me that, if not all such as the surface world calls "good-looking," yet all looked good; and the woman who looks good is the best-looking woman in the world. Day unto day uttered speech before me in revelation of the magnificent present achievements and further possibilities of the cultivated and consecrated American woman. Utterances of farthest insight, of the most all-sided human wisdom, of humor that mellowed every face into good-nature, of logic that cut the knot and scored a victory, flowed as some magic had tapped the artesian fount of heart and brain. I enlarged even my former admiration for womanhood at its best, and I said, Such shall come to the kingdom of practical politics, and they shall lift up the sisters that are lower; then the "filthy pool" shall become as dry ground, and society and government no longer drink of its offensiveness.

General Clinton B. Fisk, on the closing day, stepped from the New York train to the platform and exclaimed: "Madam President, the world's fair *are* here, and the eyes of the world are upon their doings. All travelers from New York and Washington westward have been eager for the dailies to watch 'what these women are doing,' while the homes that love home are watchful as never before for the battle tidings from your camp; and the political hosts that fight not with you and me are agitated as never before lest the record of this convention prove to be God's handwriting upon the wall of their habitation. You have astonished my high official friend in Washington, who hitherto has hardly realized your existence. To-day he is the most thoughtful man of the capital, and I am of large hope that he will turn toward social reform in political circles by spilling the 'cold tea' that stains the atmosphere of the Senate chamber. And the conspicuous German brewer on the train yesterday manifested the deep mental stimulus you have administered unto his kind when he threw down his Chicago paper and said to me, 'Dem vimens does peat ter very tuyval!' I responded, 'That's what they're trying to do; let us help them!' and he was silent, but thoughtful. Sisters, weary not

in well-doing ; fast the time approaches when the thousands of wealthy *and* amiable, cultivated people like Mr. Morton and family will stand in line with this organization of social and Christian advance."

General Neal Dow spoke the voice of the past to the future with the confidence of prophecy that the harvest shall follow the sowing in morals as in material things, and with no more certain reapers than these women in convention. "Your great success and promise, ladies," he added, "has come only through great ability, tact, and wisdom. Your great purpose now, as from the beginning, is to deliver the homes of the people from the infinite curse of the saloon. This can never be accomplished except by a radical change in the laws which deal with this matter ; never come except by votes in Congress and legislatures, and these can never be had except from members elected expressly to cast them ; and right votes there depend on right votes first in the ballot-box. It is inevitable, therefore, that your great body must sympathize deeply with every influence running that way, and to the utmost of its power antagonize every influence which seeks to give legal protection and perpetuation to this sum of all villainies, — the liquor traffic. This is not a question of policy with you, but of honesty and honor. It is not possible for you, without dishonor, and treachery to all your professions and principles, to sympathize with any influence or any party which antagonizes your just demand for protection to the homes of the people. And suppression of the traffic can come into legislation only by previous incorporation into the platform of a party. There are three prominent political parties, two of them so intimate with the liquor traffic that neither can withdraw from it and live. Hence you can do no other than walk arm in arm with the only party walking your way. The word 'partisan,' therefore, does not belong to the W. C. T. U., and is so applied only by those who are themselves intensely partisan in their coöperation and close affiliation with liquor, and committed to the party irrevocably committed to license as an eternal policy. May your present greatness multiply !"

Senator Blair of New Hampshire also faced the wave of

white cambric, and, returning it with "Fellow-citizens," awoke warm applause, then added :—

Such welcome could come from no higher earthly source. I have known your organization almost from its birth, and, having stood by it every minute, I trust such conduct may hide a multitude of sins. I measure my words to say that there is no other organization on earth to-day with so much of good in it as the W. C. T. U. Its work, its blessing, is everywhere, in every land, on every continent, ever expanding, every day becoming more powerful for the regeneration of mankind. But women, like men, would be unfit for the work of this world, which is so largely a conflict, if they did perpetually agree upon all things. The victory of good implies warfare, contention, strife. God himself, in human form, said He came, not to bring peace, but a sword; and the weapon is not yet sheathed. I look upon it as a healthy symptom when women fail to absolutely agree; when they do agree upon everything, they cease to be of much consequence in anything.

Many look upon this as an era of discouragement in reform; we are told that prohibition is "turned down." I don't look upon it in that light. I think the recent amendment elections afford us great encouragement. Why, we have to-day in these States five twelfths of all who voted pledged to the strongest form of constitutional prohibition; and who can doubt that this five twelfths constitutes a vast majority of the intelligence and actual ability of the inhabitants? Now, it is but a little way from five twelfths to seven twelfths, and then we shall have them. And what is true in those States I believe to be true of nearly every State in the Union.

I pause upon the words I see there: "God's curse upon high license." God's curse *is* on high license, and there it will remain. Some very honest people do not believe that; but the time will soon come when that law will demonstrate to all honest beholders that it is worse than low license, and that there is no remedy against the perpetuation and extension of the liquor crime but in laws which look to its extirpation, as to the laws against murder, and robbery, and every other form of crime. I bid you, now and forever, Godspeed.

Such was the character, fellowship, purpose, and opportunity outlined unto the convention by men broad in observation and reflection; and throughout all the sittings, no words of like

noble import died without the echo of wide applause. Little waves of conflict rolled over the body, yet none were drowned save the unhappy handful from Iowa, — the three per cent. who committed suicide because the ninety-seven per cent. declined to. The home-like air of kindness, forbearance, and gentleness of speech clothed both the platform and the floor ; not a frown marred the face of the chair, not a turbulent tone or rude epithet mocked the womanhood of the house. Even the most intensely partisan of the local press noted the fairness of President Willard, and the womanly good manners of all. Once or twice a lonesome hiss was heard, but clearly its mother goose was a man in the gallery. Miss Frances E. Willard, and all other general officers, were almost unanimously reëlected for the dozenth time, lacking but twelve of the four hundred and forty-six votes.

True, Mrs. Foster of Iowa, with her nine associates, withdrew from the convention, because the Union by its convention continued stoutly to award "our approval to that party only which declares in its platform for prohibition in state and nation, and stands in action for its application to law." But neither these ten matrons who had failed to put oil in their lamps, nor the four hundred and fifty-five who had in each heart the independent liberty lamp that flashed the way they long have trod, uttered any word of taunt or hatred to cloud the upper air of perfect womanliness ; but each called the other honest, and, at the call of the presiding officer, thirty-three Iowa ladies stepped forward to fill Iowa's vacant seats. So the "split," the "quarrel," the "division," prophesied without charge by the daily press, turned out to be only the whittling of a small penknife.

Perhaps some would call the pointed satire of Ohio unkind ; but it had such pith of logic as put a quietus on counter argument. Mrs. Foster, in opposing the resolution of "approval" just quoted, had said : "If I to-day had the writing of the Republican platform, I would not have it declare for prohibition. I am a prohibitionist, but also a Republican." And the retort of Mrs. Hammond of Ohio was this : "I have long been puzzled for a definition of 'non-partisan ;' now I see it means to

declare for prohibition, and work with a high-license party." And the seven thousand plaudits it awoke seemed a sort of *vox Dei* that pardoned the satire.

But in point of fact the great grand army of organized temperance women has awarded its "approval" to any party in any State, or in the form of any man, that has approved prohibition of the liquor traffic. Senator Blair and Congressman Pickler of South Dakota had the same greeting from the convention with Generals Fisk and Dow, and Miss Willard wished Governor Colquitt present, that they might so greet him for his prohibitory stand in Democratic quarters. And the Republicans of Iowa and Kansas have had many formal thanks from the Union for their prohibitory attitudes. Moreover, every speech by prohibition friends in the Dakota campaign was in aid and "approval" of the Republican party, since speaker and party were going one way. On the other hand, is there not rejoicing in the saloons of the country over the trifling episode of the hour wherein the ten of Iowa have dramatically gone astray? And in this day after the convention we are told that the ten have gathered several other spirits of like mind, and are about to arrange a Union that shall be "non-partisan" by being Republican. One thing, however, is clear as cut glass, — the National Union is now, after the self-taking off of the little faction, a solid unit, approving all men and bodies going its way, disapproving all whose face is to the rear.

Other convention resolves than that of "approval," and all without a negative vote apparent, were these: Recognition of God in the prosperity of the Union; for enlarged work along all evangelistic lines; for the acknowledgment of God in government; for the enforcement of Sunday laws, and for new laws of Sunday rest; for placing Sunday-school temperance instruction on other than review Sabbath; for industrial schools for girls; for prohibition by Congress in all territory subject to it, and no liquor shipped into prohibition States under interstate commerce law; against Christian rum for heathen Africa; in favor of an educational test for citizenship; for "the full franchise for woman;" commending the admission of women into ecclesiastical bodies; and, "having what seems to us amply

sufficient proof that the Vice-President of the United States has permitted a bar in his new apartment house at Washington, D. C., we hereby express our amazement, grief, and condemnation that, at this advanced stage of the temperance reform, the second official of the government should thus openly ally himself with the liquor dealers of the nation." And as part of the proof, seven original telegrams were read, and the printed wine-list of the house displayed.

The forty working departments of the Union reported most satisfactory growth the past year. Dr. Anna Shaw especially announced a marvelous growth in the suffrage sentiment of the country; and I think she was correct. And no other sentiment in the convention drew so frequent and general applause.

The report on scientific temperance instruction in the public schools, as given by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt of Boston, the superintendent who never has lost a legislative bill committed to her care, attracted much attention by both its matter and by her good voice and winning manner.

"The Union Signal," organ of the National Union, reported circulation at 65,000, and the distribution of 120,000,000 pages of matter the past year; and the corner-stone of the million-dollar temple will be laid the coming spring.

It would demand volumes to present all the good and vital points of this last greatest convention of the National Union; and I want to close with the strong and beautiful address which helped to welcome the convention to the best of Chicago. The eminence of the speaker also seems to call for special recognition, and I trust the eloquent ladies who shared honors with him will forgive me, since not all can be given. The speaker was Rev. Herrick Johnson, president of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Chicago, and he spoke as follows:—

Honored President, and White-ribboned Host of Christian Temperance Women, welcome home! This city is your headquarters. Here you have become a fixture, with local habitation. Here you have flung to the breeze your "Union Signal." I know your president is a good deal "on the wing;" and that wherever she is, there, in a distinct and emphatic sense, is *headquarters*. But this city is your centre of operations, and the chief base of supplies. And here,

ere long, you will rear your splendid and enduring Temperance Temple, upon some chaste marble slab of which, I trust, will be inscribed these words: *In honor of the indefatigable zeal, and tireless energy, and dauntless courage, and heroic faith of Mrs. Matilda B. Carse.*

I wish I could say this city welcomes you ; but Chicago, in the bulk of her voting population, and in her representative political chiefs, is not greatly enamored of you, fair ladies of the Temperance Union. If Chicago likes you, she likes you at a distance — very far off. And especially in the heat of a Presidential campaign, she likes you at a greater distance, and very much farther off. But the best of Chicago — the Chicago that is represented by the great body of her clergy, the Chicago that believes in outreach and uplift along all “the grooves of change,” the Chicago that would heal the sore hurts of this struggling, suffering mass, surging and moaning and bleeding and dying in this huge metropolis, and that believes nothing but the gospel of the blessed God can do the healing, the Chicago represented by chaste and loving womanhood and motherhood and Christian hearth-stones, the Chicago that is “for God and home and native land” royally greets you, and in the name of the good angels of temperance and purity bids you welcome.

And I am to say to you to-night that this best of Chicago is leading no forlorn hope, but is coming steadily and surely to the front. The abysses of iniquity are still deep enough, God knows. But the waters of the River of Life will prove, and in many instances are proving, more than a match for the moral cesspools. Chicago has been lifted out of the ashes of her great fire, and she will yet be lifted out of the polluting morass of Intemperance and Uncleaness. She will no more inevitably run Lake Michigan’s purifying waters southward through her great sewage-way, making it clean and sweet, than she will yet purge the arteries of her social and industrial life of their foul and poisonous currents.

For proof, I point you to her multiform charities ; to her constantly organizing agencies for the amelioration of the condition of the poor and unfortunate ; to her increasingly beautiful system of parks ; to her compulsory education, and the swift effort of charitable men and women to provide for the children of the abject poor, that they may come decently through the gateway of compulsory education into the temple of knowledge, out of the rags and filth of the ignorant street ; to her spacious public city library and her magnificently endowed Newberry library, destined to be of commanding and almost matchless utility ; to her three universities, one of which is already rich in its ability ; the

second of which had a half-million dollars generously laid in its lap last summer by Chicago's leading citizens ; the third of which is forging ahead with the sure prospect of a million endowment, and the hope of a million more ; and all three of which, the Methodist, the Presbyterian, and the Baptist, are, and are to be, pervaded by a positively Christian atmosphere, consecrated to a sanctified scholarship, with Christianity enthroned in their chief place of instruction as Queen Regent over all their studies.

For still further proof I point you to the city's Manual Training School, to her Art Institute, to her roomy and well-equipped hospitals, rivaling the best of other civic centres of intelligence and wealth, and to her five crowded Theological Seminaries, — the five bright particular stars in her crown of rejoicing, whose five faculties and six hundred students gave Canon Farrar, when he was here two years ago, such an audience, he himself confessed, as could not be given him in any other city of the globe.

These, and much more that I cannot stop even to name, are the proofs of Chicago's moral and spiritual uplift. They tell you that her merchant princes are not simply bent upon the loaves and fishes of a material traffic. They tell you that her rich men and women are not simply content to be lapped in the folds of a silken and easy life. They are the evidence of lofty ideals and exemplars. The stock-yards are going to the rear. Ideas, embodied in art and architecture, in churches and charities, in institutional agencies of education and reform, are coming to the front. Trade will indeed continue to have its magnificent enterprises ; the whirr of the wheels of our mighty commerce will still be as the roar of the restless sea ; Chicago will go on casting her net eastward and westward and northward and southward, and gathering to herself a giant's spoil ; but nevermore again will the stock-yard and the crib and the wheat-pit be the conspicuous and chief things to which the best citizen will " point with pride." And I verily believe the time is coming, and is not far so away as some may think, when this best of Chicago will become the most of Chicago, and then this city will fling her million and a half of license revenue into the hot blast of God's fiery furnace and let it burn to ashes, rather than accept it as the price of the four thousand saloon vipers that are now sucking at the life-blood of the body politic.

You are here to help us kill these leeches. Outside the church of God, you are the foremost agency of the world in the battle for temperance and a chaste life. I marvel at your wide and beneficent doing. I marvel more that good men stand aloof, and look askance, and let their lips condemn you, even when you are on missions of mercy an-

gels might covet. When Mayor Hewitt welcomed you to New York last year, he said: "I look forward to the time when in the providence of God all will agree that that which injure the moral nature is bad, and should be put down, and that which lifts, elevates, and refines and purifies, should be cultivated and *put into legal action*." A goodly forelook and prophecy, O goodly mayor of New York! But why should not Mayor Hewitt, and men like him, there and here and everywhere, put their hand in *while the fight is on*, instead of waiting for the peace of victory? Why should not the best of us, and all that is manly in us, spring to "help those women" who are struggling to put down the bad and lift up the good, and get "into legal action" that which elevates and purifies?

I know there may be that in the method and the movement of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union which does not commend itself to every judgment and conscience. I have had my own views crossed by the tramp of these eager feet. And in welcoming you to-night, it is well understood I have not surrendered my individual conviction. I deprecate and cannot indorse the action by which you have sought to tie the female suffrage plank to the Prohibition platform. With my own beloved church putting the ballot in the hand of woman, and giving her the right to help elect the officers of our communion, I could not well oppose equal suffrage on the ground of principle. But as a matter of expediency, it has seemed to me ill-judged to load a struggling ship with this millstone, — to bind this added prejudice to the back of a maligned and misjudged cause.

But what a paltry thing is this, beside the good you are doing! I think of all your varied, multiplied, manifold, pervading, ubiquitous work wrought out by patient hands, and made sacred and sweet savor to God by the prayers and tears of worshipping hearts, and then I turn to the little section of a single department of this mighty movement, where the ballot for women is pleaded for as a weapon of protection for the home; and, because I do not believe in the franchise for woman, shall I, forsooth, turn my back upon the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and upon all its heaven-sealed work, and have my flout and slant at it as an unsexing agency, making women more ambitious to vote than to be? God forbid! I say to the manhood that would do such a thing, For shame! for shame!

Go on, then, with your beneficent and magnificent enterprise. Keep true to your sacred traditions. Consecrate yourselves anew to the supreme issue.

Dear friends, again I welcome you to Chicago. The city needs you. The city will be the cleaner for your coming. In behalf of a goodly

host of loyal and sympathetic hearts, I welcome you. For the homes you have purified, for the tempted and the fallen you have succored, for the hearts you have won, and "for the enemies you have made," I welcome you. May God give you, in the discussions and the decisions of this convention, "not the spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind!"

From the queenly top of Mount Righi in Switzerland I once witnessed a summer sunset. Far away to the west, the monarch of day wrapped the drapery of his couch about him and lay down as if he were a god confessed. He flung his splendors on that unequaled landscape with royal munificence. He kissed the waters that lay embosomed among the hills till they all blushed. The bald peaks to the right and the left bared their storm-beaten brows and bathed in the sunlight. And higher up and farther away the snow-capped monarchs of the Alps tossed back the sun's last rays from their icy sides, as if in proud disdain. But more beautiful than all, the gem of that wonderful picture, was the bridge of golden sheen that stretched over hills and valleys and lakes and dells from the far distant horizon to our very feet. It seemed as if heaven's gates had been opened, and bars of glory had been flung down there for angel feet.

So I have stood, in imagination, in the places where your work was going on, in the alleys and the garrets, in prisons and hospitals, amongst the tempted and the outcast, the burdened and the heavy-laden, and many a place of your toil and tears has seemed a mount of spiritual vision, on whose top God had let down from heaven a bridge of golden sheen, — a highway for his ransomed ones. And often and often that shining way has taken on an intenser glow, as if trodden by angels come to bear some poor waif and wreck, child of earthly sin and shame, to God and home at last, — rescued through your loving gospel ministry. These are the unfading stars set in the diadem of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

May you be guided by the Holy Spirit of wisdom and love to wiser planning and far greater victories this year than ever, dear, faithful hearts! May God help you to pluck multitudes more of bruised but immortal forget-me-nots for Heaven to wear upon her bosom! And the God of peace, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will!

This address was uttered with a grandeur of tone and bearing equal to the greatness of the hour, and awoke the most inspiring responses.

JAMES CLEMENT AMBROSE.

Evanston, Ill.

AN INTERVIEW WITH EDWARD BELLAMY.

OF good old New England stock ; son of a Baptist pastor who for years went in and out before the church at Chicopee Falls, a few miles from Springfield, Mass. ; a student of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. ; a graduate in law, but not working at it much ; a journalist and author both born and made, — such, in a word, is Edward Bellamy. In figure of medium height, harmonious proportions, and agile movement ; in forehead full and broad, with thoughtful dark-blue eyes, radiating good will ; with mobile lips, parenthesized by a dark-brown moustache, the cheeks covered by a stubby beard ; and the dress a little careless, — this he is to look upon. In manner quiet, yet observant, modest but perfectly self-poised, with mild and gentle tones, yet full of personality, and vibrating with purposes, — thus did he impress me on the occasion of a recent interview, asked for by me, in the home of my friends, Mr. and Mrs. O. M. Baker, of Springfield, Mass. About two years ago I had read his book, misleadingly entitled “Looking Backward,” when it really looks forward and predicts the status of humanity a hundred years from now. The views presented were so novel, optimistic, and, as I thought, conceivable, that, in spite of my great regret that he should in those halcyon days still represent wine and cigars as luxuries, I wrote to his publishers asking who, where, and what this Edward Bellamy might be.

“We do not know,” they said, “except that his letters are mailed from Chicopee Falls, Mass.”

So then I wrote him, saying that his central thought that government should in a future age take the same relation to industry that it now holds to war, namely, afford to every one all of life's comforts in exchange for every one's industrial service, seemed to one most interesting, and not by any means chimerical. A life-long student of the New Testament, I had long since believed that competition was not the higher law, hence

not the holy and immutable principle that old-school Presbyterians among political economists claim it to be. The author of the far-famed book had replied to me that he held altogether different views from mine; believing that, the labor question once settled on the gospel basis, strong drink and other vices would speedily loosen their hold upon the working class, now their most unresisting victims. While I did not accept his solution of these difficulties, I waived the question, intent upon gaining his point of view upon his specialty, and only sorry that he declined my own upon my specialty. From then to now, we had corresponded at infrequent intervals; I had urged my friends to read his book, and was long ago, as I believe, the means of introducing it into a noble group of students at Oxford University, where it has been studied by them with all the enthusiasm of youth and hope. And now he was to tell me some whys and wherefores of his theory. Omitting my many frank questions, let me give some of the points that made his ready utterance so full of interest. "I am a married man with a boy four and a girl three years old. I believe a man must have a daughter of his own before he really learns how to sympathize with women in their difficult relations to life. Now I do not propose that my boy shall get ahead of his little sister in opportunity, so far as I can influence the forms of society. I would make women absolutely independent of men to the extent that material values are concerned, — thus sweeping away at one stroke the greatest temptation the physically weaker has to go wrong, and the most potent weapon of the physically stronger in putting her at disadvantage and himself to shame. I would leave a woman as free in her choice of a life-companion as man has always been. Not to do so is a tyranny that has only been maintained in this age of intelligence by force of the poverty among women as a class. Under my system men will be chosen on their individual merit, and not because they can 'support a wife.' The present misunderstandings and jealousies of the sexes toward each other will be largely eliminated by this perfect independence each of the other in financial matters. This vast change, by which the government sets about utilizing the brain and brawn of its constituents in their own interest, must come by evolution rather than revolution. Little by little changes

will be wrought out, as for instance the nationalization of railways, not by confiscating stocks, as some have ignorantly supposed, but by the United States becoming the great receiver alike of solvent and insolvent, and paying dividends on a reasonable valuation. In like manner, coal mines would be turned over, paying a suitable interest to the present owners and doing away with artificial rates. They now have artificial rates because they shut down in order to raise the price of coal; we would open the mines to lower it. The telegraph and telephone naturally belong to the national service, and we would make them part and parcel of it. Municipalities are now lighted, heated, and the means of transportation furnished, by great corporations. But why not let the municipality be itself that corporation? We want more humane conditions for the employee; corporations don't furnish those conditions, and they will not. We want children kept in school, instead of being sent out to earn money; and we say, here in Massachusetts, "You *shall* send your child to school," but the fact is, the families of the poor can't afford, under the present system, to lose their children's work. Hence you can't enforce your truancy law, and Chicago proves it as well as Massachusetts. Our mills are full of children, twelve to fourteen years old, stunted in body and mind. They are required by law to be in school twenty weeks in the year, while well-to-do children have thirty-five; and then these poor creatures stop at fourteen! What chance is that for intellectual development? It is a travesty of education. But the working people are confederating: Knights of Labor, Locomotive Engineers, Trainmen, etc., are going to work together after a little, and thus condense their power. We who believe in nationalism are forming clubs in all the centres, and we have two papers: 'The Dawn,' edited by Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, an Episcopal clergyman of Boston, and 'The Nationalist' at Hamilton Place, in the same city. Both are already self-supporting, and both spread our propaganda far and wide. Women are very friendly to our movement. Miss Anne Whitney, the famous sculptor, opened her parlors on Beacon Street to us; Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Abby Morton Diaz, and many other leaders, are our friends. Edward Everett Hale and Colonel T. W.

Higginson are with us. Howells is strongly sympathetic, as his recent story of 'Annie Kilburn' proves. Mark Twain is looking our way with great interest. The clergy is sympathetic, too. Rev. Dr. Gifford, one of the ablest young men in America, is on our side; also Rev. Albert Lawson, Philip Moxom, and eleven others in Boston alone. This movement will bring the common people back to the church; they always heard Christ gladly. Substantially, his sermons were on the unity and brotherhood of man. A *résumé* of the Ten Commandments contains all we are working for,—that and the socialism of the early church, as stated in the accounts of Pentecost. Christians form the best class in society, but they have lacked a practical working plan, and our movement supplies that lack. The partnership principle is the backbone of our philosophy. Our methods are moderate and are twofold,—educational and political. We have as large a stake in the community, where our families are located, as anybody. We do not mean revolution, but evolution, as I said before. Some say we need a new religion. I think we need the old sort, only we might well talk about it less and live it out more." In reply to other queries Mr. Bellamy, who is one of the most genial and communicative of men, told me that it took up most of his time, these days, to answer the letters that crowd in upon him from all quarters, and to write articles explanatory of these new plans. He also speaks considerably, and as his book (now published by Houghton & Mifflin of Boston) is selling at the rate of a thousand per week (one hundred and thirty-three thousand being already sold), he will doubtless be more and more in demand upon the platform. His book was written in 1887, and published the spring of 1888. As he started to go I said, "It seems to me you are your mother's boy: is that the case?" "I was always thought to be like her in mental and spiritual constitution," was his smiling answer. I learned that his wife is from a W. C. T. U. family, her mother being one of the active workers in Springfield, Mass. It was inevitable that the development of monopolies should develop a movement of this kind. Classes can only be offset by masses. A Jay Gould demands an Edward Bellamy.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

En route in Mass., October 10, 1889.

IMPRESSIONS OF A TRANSCONTINENTAL TOUR.

“THE white man must rule,” “The only good Indian is a dead Indian,” “The Chinese must go,” “America for Americans,” are four sons of the same father that have divided the land between them. The Western brother is loud in denunciation of the Southern brother, but if the Indians should attempt to control politics in the Rocky Mountains, the shot-gun would go into politics there, I believe, more vigorously than it ever did in the South. The Atlantic brother denounces the Pacific brother, but if it be right to exclude all foreigners it is right to exclude one nationality.

Intelligence must rule. The only good prejudice is a dead prejudice. Race persecution must go. America for American *institutions*.

The best Sabbath-keeping section of the United States lies along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, between Delaware and Mississippi. This is due to the fact that Castle Garden sends few of its noxious weeds to the South. Politicians there have no German vote to fear. Southern mechanics are mostly Americans, and the negro laborers are friends, not foes, of the Sabbath. The Southern churches do not hesitate to unite officially with those of the North in the American Sabbath Union, though its avowed purpose is, in part, to seek “legislation” in defense of the Rest Day. This is because the Sabbath question is not there a “divisive question,” like the negro problem. The real obstacle to speedy union of the Northern and Southern churches is their objection to ecclesiastical action in favor of legislation *on this particular problem*, not objection to legislation in general. On the Sabbath question the churches of the two sections have already accomplished “organic union” without difficulty, because there is a “solid South” for the Sabbath. By this I mean that a very large majority in every State of the older South, which I have defined, are in favor of the American Sabbath, rather than the

Continental Sunday. Rum and railroads, however, with the aid of the United States mails, are making ugly breaches in the wall of Sabbath rest, and the "new South's" manufacturing attractions bring new perils with new gains, which make it important for the friends of the Sabbath there to organize for its defense.

The Southwest is more Western than Southern in its Sabbaths. The French-Catholic planters of Louisiana, finding that open saloons on Sunday kept their employees from work, not only through the sulphurously "blue Monday," but at length through Tuesday also, — two whole days being required to bring them back from their Sunday "recreation," so leaving but four days a week for work, — enacted a Sunday law in 1886, from purely commercial motives. Thus they unconsciously illustrated the great fact that, as a car-wheel fits a rail, "the Sabbath was made for man;" and that as a car that jumps the track brings discomfort, if not disaster, in its jumping over the cobble-stones or ties, so those who jump the track of God's laws find "the way of transgressors is rugged." Louisiana has also refuted, without religious argument, the fallacy of the Seventh-day Adventists, who would have the weekly rest to be arranged by voluntary agreement between dealers and customers, between employers and employees. This plan Louisiana weighed and found wanting. The new law, however, is very defective in permitting most of those who have useless or harmful things to sell to have a whole day's start in the race for the Saturday night wages over those who give "money's worth" for what they receive. The law needs amendment, but probably will have to fight even for life. The liquor dealers and their only peer in robbery, the Louisiana Lottery, — the latter being near the end of its charter, — will probably join their financial and political forces in a very "offensive alliance" to destroy the Sunday law and renew the Satanic charter. The friends of law and honesty in Louisiana will need reinforcements from Washington in the shape of a law that shuts out of the mails every newspaper that is *particeps criminis* in the Louisiana robbery of the whole country, and further reinforcements from state capitals making it a penal offense to publish lottery advertisements. The unconstitutional Sunday work of United States soldiers and carriers, and the inhuman Sunday

work of interstate commerce, should also be stopped by Congress, to remove obstacles to Sabbath reform in all the States. This law is also needed to help good citizens of Texas particularly to change their so-called "State" from a "town-heap" into a real State, with state sovereignty," not town sovereignty or saloon sovereignty, over trade and toil and turmoil. Dallas, for instance, is given by the State the power to close or open saloons and other places of labor and business on Sunday by city ordinance, and so the city Solons have decided that a sacred seven hours is long enough for the Sabbath, and close saloons only from nine to four o'clock. Even during those seven hours I counted twenty-nine kinds of business (not twenty-nine places) in operation. Organizations have been formed in Dallas, Fort Worth, and Gainesville (and one or two state Sabbath Associations are talked of) to lift the Sundays of Texas out of "Botany Bay," from which the rest of the week in Texas has been lifted by the better grade of settlers who have thronged into it in recent years.

Where is the "Wild West"? The central West, from Ohio to Kansas, is, in moral power as well as in location, the heart of the nation. More influential than New England, not only in evangelism but also in reforms, New England has but one out-and-out Prohibition State, while this central West has four, and a great area of local option besides. In Sabbath reform New England is retreating, while the central West is charging the foe. The "Wild West," then, must be sought in the Rocky Mountains, or beyond. His vanishing skirts I saw in Denver on Sunday, in wide-open liquor shops, defying the law, but Denver needed only to be pointed to this evidence that the "Wild West" had not yet fully removed, to give him an effective parting kick. Looking for the "Wild West" in Cheyenne one Saturday, I found only the poster of a "*New York Wild West Show*." Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana tolerate gambling, the latter by a high-license law that puts up the sign, "Licensed Gambling," over the door of the chief saloons; but if a high license on gambling is the token by which to recognize the "Wild West," then New York State is "the West," as our Revolutionary fathers thought. In New York the high license

of gambling has the added infamy of being the legal monopoly of a few rich men in jockey clubs.

I saw but one pistol in a tour of all the Rocky Mountain and Pacific States and Territories, except on a policeman's hip and in the trunk of a railroad news-agent. Every railroad man and stage-driver should be not only armed, but trained to protect the train or stage against the epidemic of train and stage robbery. The only other pistol I saw, outside of sales-rooms, was in Idaho, where a drunken youth threatened to punish a stranger for laughing — at him, as he falsely supposed — only to be quickly suppressed. Terry's assault upon Judge Field has been falsely spoken of as a representative act of the California of to-day. It is no more so than the murder of Haddock is representative of Iowa. The harlots of Montana are licensed under the disguise of fines, and put their names on their doors on the chief streets of the cities; but Omaha and St. Louis have, or had recently, the same infamous licenses; and the capitol of Cincinnati's harlotry was recently, if it is not still, in the centre of its chief business street. Tobacconists and saloonists in the Rocky Mountain States solicit for harlots by putting up their pictures to inflame the passions of youth, but I have seen yet fouler pictures displayed without protest in St. Paul and Chicago and New York city, in which last city most of them are made. Sabbath observance, indeed, grows worse as one goes west. In Portland, Oregon, the "heathen Chinees" sell all kinds of provisions on the Rest Day, but the parallel American street is more heathen still in opening all its saloons. In Sacramento five sixths of the shopkeepers on the principal street do seven days' work for six days' profits. San Francisco (in this respect like New York) allows even its ten-cent shows to corrupt the youth on Sunday. But not only Sunday work and dissipation, but fidelity in fighting them also, is greater in the West than in the East. California has the dishonor of being at the foot of the list of States, indeed out of the list, in having no Sunday law, but it is at the head of the list in contributions for Sabbath reform, if one individual gift, that of Colonel Shepard of New York, be left out of account.

The East has at least the varioloid of the vices found in the

West. Neither the East nor the West has any reason to be content with its righteousness. In every one of our cities where there is not already a Law and Order League, there is need of one, and every such League should fight not one but all four heads of the hydra that is devouring our youth by gambling, lust, and intemperance, and Sabbath-breaking. All who are against either of these evils are against them all, and in cities should unite in one organization to assail them on the simple platform of saving the young by enforcing existing laws against this complex dragon. Give the boys a chance by enacting and applying laws that shall make it "as easy as possible to do right, and as hard as possible to do wrong."

Pennsylvania is the banner State in Sabbath observance. In spite of recent efforts to repeal it, she still retains her ancient and generally excellent law on this subject, and — what is more — enforces it. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh are the best Sabbath-keepers among cities of the first grade. But even in Pennsylvania the largest of all rooms is "room for improvement."

WILBUR F. CRAFTS.

ADVERSE CRITICISMS ON MISSIONS.

THERE have recently appeared, more in England than in this country, very severe criticisms upon Protestant missions. They come from sources that command respect. We need mention only three of these critics as specimens of a class that is numerous. If we take the Rev. Canon Taylor, Mr. W. S. Caine, M. P., and the Rev. Mr. Knapp, the Unitarian missionary to Japan, we shall have good representatives of a very large number of men and women.

We propose to notice only the *characteristics* of these criticisms.

The first characteristic that will be noticed, and it is common to them all, is that the authors are very *earnest friends* of the cause. They would appear as the champions of missions. We shall see if they make good their claim.

Another very noticeable characteristic is their free and original use of statistics.

Mr. Caine, in making out his case against the English Baptist missions, overstates their number of missionaries by 47 per cent., and understates the converts by 67 per cent. He did this deliberately while he had every facility for ascertaining the exact truth. It is easy to pronounce the results of any enterprise "poor and miserable," if one may take such liberties with the facts. This same misstatement of easily known facts runs through the "friendly" criticisms of all these critics, and inevitably suggests the substitution of some other word for friendly. We cannot accuse them of such mental obtuseness as would free them from moral responsibility for false statements. Canon Taylor has made himself notorious by the free use of numbers. This writer has also placed himself before the public as an exceedingly weak and silly reasoner in his use of admitted facts, or as a man so blinded by prejudice that he is blind to the true meaning of facts. Such criticisms fall to the ground as worthless, and make us pity the critics.

It is admitted that the natural increase of the heathen population far exceeds the number of conversions to Christianity. The canon says in the "Fortnightly Review" that for every Christian convert added to the church 180 heathen are added to heathendom! Hence he infers that missionary effort to convert the world is just as absurd as the race of a tortoise with a railroad train. The longer it continues the farther apart they become. Now we have here to consider not his numbers but only the absurdity of his view, which a decent regard to his reputation should have made him ashamed to utter. Suppose two brothers begin business, one with \$100,000 capital and the other with \$1,000. The elder with his \$100,000 engages in a business which yields him 6 per cent. annually on his capital. The younger begins a business which yields him 50 per cent. At the end of the first year one has gained \$6,000 and the other only \$500. Now the Rev. Canon Taylor contends that it will take the younger brother twelve years to reach the first year's interest of the elder brother's business. If he had only a schoolboy's knowledge of arithmetic, he would easily find that in twelve years the younger would have greatly exceeded the capital with which the elder started, and in twelve more, having passed up into the millions, would leave the elder so comparatively poor that he would not be able to invite him to his table to dinner, as the world goes.

But if we suppose that the learned canon had forgotten his arithmetic and knew nothing of the laws of compound interest which govern populations, still he had the facts before him in the published statistics of his subject. He knew, or should have known, that Christianity is increasing at a much higher per cent. than heathenism, and that makes the canon's reasoning ridiculous. He knew, or should have known, that native Protestant Christians in India increased from 91,000 in 1851 to 492,882 in 1881, more than fivefold, and the number of communicants increased in the same time nearly tenfold, the native ministers twenty-seven fold, and the number of lay preachers sixfold. If only this rate is kept up, India will be Christianized in less time than it took to Christianize the Roman Empire. Canon Taylor claims that it can never be done, that missions are a miserable failure. He ridicules this work.

What shall we think of this critic? We cannot avoid having some theory with regard to his moral and mental condition. Is he mentally deficient, so that he cannot think and reason straight? Or is he morally perverse, a hater of missions, and bent upon doing them all the mischief he can, with no scruples as to the means? The other two critics seem to have the same inability to use numbers correctly. Mr. Knapp, the unique missionary to Japan, professing a very careful use of statistics, takes the excess of the conversions of the last year over those of the former as the whole number of conversions for the year. A man must work very hard to make such a mistake. Mr. Caine visits the least successful portions of the Baptist missions in India, ignores entirely the more successful fields, and although he admits that some societies can "show districts in which success of a marked kind has gladdened the hearts of all Christians, *yet in the main the results are miserable, inadequate, and surely discouraging.*" It is difficult to discern friendliness or fairness, or even truthfulness, in a judgment passed upon such principles.

There is another general characteristic of these critics. It is to magnify excellences and ignore defects in the systems, heathen or Mohammedan or Papal, which are antagonistic to Protestant missions.

Canon Taylor has made himself famous by his eulogy of Islam. He magnifies its missionary character, especially in Africa, and conceals all the atrocities of the most inhuman slave trade and slave capture and slaughter of the aged that accompany it. He defends the Koran against the charge of sanctioning slavery and concubinage. He must know that these already existed, and that the Koran refers to them as existing and sanctioned. But the great fact passed over by him without mention is that Islamic law, under which all Islam lives and works and dies, is derived in very small part from the Koran. He ought to know that he can no more understand Islam from the Koran than he can understand the whole Roman Catholic Church from the epistles of St. Paul. He must go to the "Traditions," and especially to the "Multika" (the "Confluence"), that is, of all laws and traditions. This he has not done, and has exhibited the most deplorable ignorance of his subject.

This makes his comparison of Islam with Christian missions absolutely worthless except to those as ignorant as himself. That may be the condition of many readers, and it makes the responsibility of a man of reputation for learning very great when he plunges haphazard into a subject of which he knows little, and from his high position pours forth his own ignorance as authoritative truth.

This disposition to make positive assertion take the place of inquiry and ascertainment of fact is quite common to these unfriendly critics. Mr. Knapp, the liberal or Unitarian missionary to Japan, who has evidently joined the heathen Japanese against the missionaries, has asserted positively that Orthodox missions have gained no proselyte from the higher classes of Japan. He presents himself as in loving union with them. He declares that no one of that class has been proselyted by the missionaries, and that all their gains were from the very lowest classes and were persons of no influence.

Now every one who has followed the history of Japanese missions the past ten years knows this representation to be notoriously false. The declarations of Japanese writers, of travelers, the journals of missionaries, reports of public meetings in Japan, the history of the "Doshisha" University, all prove the statement to be utterly without foundation in fact. Mr. Cary, the returned missionary from Japan, admirably refuted the assertion, and quoted from a Japanese Christian newspaper a complaint, or regret, that while many of the learned, the students, the scholars, the intelligent of the Japanese, had embraced the truth, comparatively few of the common people had been reached, and now the question is, How shall we reach them? Such a course as Mr. Knapp has taken discredits any statement which he may make, if it depends upon his testimony. How many similar statements in tone and spirit have been put forth to the public which were equally destitute of truth!

Canon Taylor shows a marvelous readiness to be deceived, and utterly misled by any story that makes against Protestant missions. He narrates that in one of their Christian villages a quarrel arose in which a number were killed. The victors then cooked and feasted on the bodies of their neighbors whom

they had killed. For this offense the native pastor suspended them from church privileges for a season !

Cannibalism, and temporary suspension from Holy Communion ! This in his view seems to be an exponent of the success of Protestant missions ! Canon Taylor was not ashamed to publish this deliberately in the "Fortnightly Review." If he supposed it would injure the missionary cause so much as his own reputation, he must be a victim of that blinding prejudice that leaves no place for common sense.

There is a large crop of such stories always ripe on foreign fields. The guides and commissaries of hotels furnish them according to the gullibility of their subject. Canon Taylor seems to have rendered himself a willing subject to such an operator, and probably rewarded him with a gratuity for his interesting statement. There can be nothing too monstrous to be believed and circulated by this class of "friendly" critics.

Canon Taylor, and with him others, while exalting the character and success of hostile missions, Moslem, Papal, or Buddhist, pass over lightly or silently the real obstacles which Christian missions have to struggle with—the character of foreign commerce and of foreign residents, and the measures of Christian governments. In the antagonistic missions, everything works with them and for them and they have had a long career. Papal missions have been in the field nearly four times as long as Protestant, and Islamitic ten times as long. This is an important fact which none but the special pleader would pass over.

Christian governments and Christian commerce have united in certain things which form the chief barrier to Protestant missions, and our "friendly" critics were bound in honor to give them full weight.

The English opium trade with the Chinese is destroying tenfold more men than all the Christian missions to China are saving. The enormity of the trade is rightly estimated by the Chinese government, and many thousands of lives and untold millions of property have been sacrificed to prevent Christian England from perpetrating this unparalleled atrocity. This more than heathenism blocks the way to the entrance of Christianity into China.

Another great and more widely spread enormity is the trade in alcoholic drinks. In this our own country has a most disgraceful share. No sooner do Protestant Christian societies begin missionary operations in Central Africa than millions of gallons of Medford rum follow them, with most destructive effects upon the natives. The nations of Europe, too, vie with each other in this work of destruction and demoralization. There are many Christian merchants who have been and are noble and generous friends of missions, but they are not rum-sellers.

As a whole the so-called Christian commerce with heathen and Mohammedan lands is a huge barrier to Protestant missions.

Coöperating with all these obstacles are the licentious and infamous lives of foreigners from Europe and America, who, bearing before the heathen and Moslems the Christian name, run riot in all the sinful indulgences which Christianity condemns. Heathen and Moslems arm themselves from this abominable treasury of scandals against Christianity.

Our critics, before proffering their advice, were under obligation to survey the field and know something of the real work. Their ignorance or dishonesty is marvelous, and is equaled only by their cool effrontery and the hypocrisy of their friendship. Still the advice given should be carefully and dispassionately considered by all missionaries and their societies.

It may be summed up in "Asceticism the true law of Protestant missions." This is old advice and it has been often tried. It has always brought forth some sublime and noble characters. But take its history as a whole and it has been a sink of corruption, "a habitation of devils, the hold of every foul spirit and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird." As a system, Protestantism has rejected it with overwhelming abhorrence and scorn. The Papal Church and the Jesuits have consecrated it to themselves.

It is noticeable that these critics are generally men who are living in all the enjoyments of modern civilization, and their luxurious lives are the only qualification they possess for becoming the teachers of missionary asceticism.

That the general effect of these criticisms has been a greater confidence in the missionary work, there are significant facts to prove.

They have called forth abundant and crushing replies from the Christian press. The criticisms were poured out chiefly upon England, and the depleted treasuries of missionary societies have been filled. The common sense of the Christian public has condemned the attacks as unjust and untruthful, and consequently there has been a decided reaction in favor of the institutions thus assailed, as exhibited in largely increased contributions.

It is important that all the friends of missions should understand the real origin, the true motives, of these calumnious attacks. In character they strike one as hypocritical. They profess to result from a friendly interest and a desire to remedy defects. This is flatly contradicted by exaggerating the virtues and hiding the defects of hostile systems, giving credence and circulation to monstrous libels upon the missions, and concealing the difficulties under which they labor. There is no element of friendship in all this. The wounds they give are not the wounds of a friend.

These critics minify the results of Protestant missions and try to make them appear ridiculous.

Such friendship is hypocrisy. It is assumed in order to make the shaft strike deep.

The church of Christ on earth is not pure. It has never been. In apostolic days there were many deceivers "and many antichrists" in the church. The apostle John declares it to be a characteristic of "the last days," the days of the gospel scheme, that there should be antichrists from within the church who should show that they were not of the church.

Such men as Canon Taylor are very numerous in the church. They may hold high positions, but they are enemies of the cross of Christ. Their hostile attacks, with whatever hypocrisy they may be masked, can influence only those who wish to be thus influenced.

Their effect upon missions and missionaries should be to make them more watchful, more devoted, more Christlike, more con-

secrated to Him who has called them to the work, and who will not allow the gates of hell to prevail against them.

That the kingdom of darkness should be greatly disturbed at the progress of missions is not in the least disheartening. It is the indifference of the great mass of professed disciples that is disheartening. There is no giving in proportion to the increase of wealth. The apostolic rule, "as God hath prospered him," is evidently not to any great extent the present rule of Christian giving. If Canon Taylor would direct his batteries upon this unchristian indifference, we should be very far from wishing to spike his guns.

CYRUS HAMLIN.

ROBERT ELSMERE'S SUCCESSOR.

CURFEW JESSELL: THE HISTORY OF A SOUL.

BY DR. JOSEPH PARKER, CITY TEMPLE, LONDON.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE important-looking letter was in the handwriting of Miss Fairfield, and was internally marked as having been written for Mr. Bell's confidential perusal, yet ending, as will be seen, with permission to make further use of it. The following is an unabridged transcript of the interesting communication:—

"SIR, — The dear Lord hath showed me that I must shortly put off this tabernacle, and as I think I know you well enough to write freely without being misunderstood, I will let my heart use my pen just as it pleases. When you read this my heart will have ceased to beat, and my spirit will be with God who made it. Blessed be the dear Lord's name, I have no fear of death, for I have given myself to Him wholly, that He may do with me what may seem good in his sight. Even my pain makes my prayer richer, and brings me much nearer to my sweet Jesus. It does not seem right not to have pain, for the dear Lord had much, and the cross laid a great darkness upon all his days. When I feel the pain I think Jesus sent it to me, and when it is sharpest I think it is the Lord calling away my mind to rest more completely upon Him. But this pain means death. Yet what is death? It has no sting. It can kill the body only. It is a kind of door-keeper to the soul, opening the door to let the blood-bought soul fly away to the home we call heaven. Oh, sir, I know what it is to triumph over death, and to bid it welcome in the Lord's name. But I want to tell you one or two things which may make you doubt whether I do really know the Lord. My name is Miller" [Curfew sprang to his feet as if fire had suddenly touched him, but presently resumed his position; Mr. Bell's absorption saving him from the need of explanation], "not Fairfield. I have done no sin in the particular course which led me away from home, after the manner which men call sin. A sinner, indeed, I am, for by my unpardonable folly I have broken my father's heart. My poor father! He was blind. The young man who was his companion led me away, not by sin, but by vain imaginings, and so perverted my feeling that I could not return. I was wrong. I was basely wrong. Yet there is the black and unpardonable fact that I did not go back to my father, fall on his neck, and tell him all. It is easy to be wise at the end of things, and to see what we might have done; but the dear Lord does not let us begin at the end, and no doubt

his wisdom is better than our ignorance. I have sinned against Heaven. Yet but for my sin I never should have known Jesus. You can only know Jesus by crawling to Him out of the very pit of sin. If you come to Him in any other way, you will always be finding fault with Him. But as a clergyman, you know all this better than I do, so I will say no more about it.

"I know more about you than you suppose. I have taken my own way of finding out things. You cannot ask me any questions, so you must trust my word that in writing to you I know well to whom I am writing. My work here brings me into contact with girls from various parts of the country, and if I tell you that one of these girls was from the parish of Buttersfield you will be able to guess a good deal. If I tell you that the girl was once a servant in the house of the Rev. Walter Bruce, of Overton, you will probably guess still more. If I tell you that I have had interviews with that good, simple-hearted, but pharisaical man in this very house, you will be able to see a little farther in some directions. Oh, sir, how little that poor man knows about the dear Lord's cross! He has taken up the church as a profession, or as a livelihood, and the sweet Saviour has not handed to him the keys of the bright kingdom.

"My dear father, a name I kiss as I write it, left me all his money. I have made you and Mr. Curfew Jessell (you see I know some of your local names) my executors, free of all responsibility, and the property will in due time come into your hands for distribution. Great care has been taken to make everything right in the eye of the law, so you need have no fear. You will have pleasure in helping the poor and lightening the load of the overburdened, for this is the very work of Him who bore the cross for us. Oh, to work for Jesus, this is bliss! Now this is about all I have to say. All the rest will be made clear to you when I have been taken away. Not a penny of my dear father's money have I touched, for I was not worthy to lay a finger upon it. The money was the reward of honesty, now let it be the servant of the poor. By and by you may make some use of this letter. If in any way you can use it so as to bring glory to the Lord who saved me when I was beyond the reach of every other hand, pray do what you think is best. I am weary, yet I am glad. God bless you!"

The two men sat under an old yew-tree in Dulsbury churchyard as they read the letter with absorbing interest. If tears fell upon the paper, there was no reason to be ashamed of the noble weakness. Of course they would accept the trust. They would do so for her sake, for Christ's sake, for the sake of the poor. Here was the very office that would balance their sentiment and dignify their speculation. How small the world seemed to them to be! Here was little, secluded Dulsbury, away among the green hills, palpitating with the tragic, tumultuous life of London! The very churchyard in which they were sitting lost its antiquity and mossy quietude under such unexpected revelations.

"There is one sentence in this letter," said Mr. Bell, "which puts to flight all the 'Elsmere' brood."

"The whole letter does that," said Curfew.

"True ; but one sentence is an answer to all the whining and refining and high canting of the snobs."

"Which is it, Mr. Bell ?"

"This : 'You can only know Jesus by crawling to Him out of the very pit of sin.' That is it. There will, of course, be modifications of the term, but the substantial truth is there. Why, there is not a single 'sinner' in 'Elsmere' ! They are literary exquisites ; they are dainty critics ; they are well-dressed visitors at a flower show ; they are persons who give opinions about the Saviour of the world ! It is along the other line we must come to Christ, — along the line of sin and need and helplessness and shame ; then we see how wonderful is his character, and still more wonderful his salvation. Yes, Curfew, Miss Fairfield has hit it."

"And that mad old squire," said Curfew, "with his fine library and his so-called 'History of Testimony ;' certainly his fine scholarship did not do much for him, or make him a model citizen."

"Besides," Mr. Bell added, "what is testimony ? Even there the squire knew only one kind of testimony. The whole of the men saw only one side of life. There is an external testimony which may be called history, and there is an internal testimony which may be called experience. Only a few can touch the former, but the whole world can enjoy the latter. The testimony of experience will finally rule the world."

After this little burst of argument the two men fell into silence. In their eyes was the far-away look of wonder, broken by sudden kindlings of expectancy, as if presently the letter might be supplemented, or read to them, by the very voice of the writer.

"Her own handwriting," said Mr. Bell, looking upon the letter, and turning it over and over with significant tenderness.

"What wonderful self-control she had !" Curfew added.

"You mean in conversation ?"

"I mean in everything. I can never forget her look, her voice, and the thrilling touch of her hand. But there is something I never told you."

"What is that, Curfew ?"

"I thought she had deceived me, or made a fool of me."

"Of you ?"

"Yes, sir. I had not the heart to tell you about it, but I can do so now, for everything has been made clear."

"Well ?"

"In the interview I had with her the night before she died, she told me all Miss Miller's story, and promised that I should see Miss Miller herself at ten o'clock the next morning. You know what happened. When the girl told me that Miss Fairfield was dead I asked to see Miss Miller, and the girl said she knew no such person. My heart sank within me, but I decided to say nothing. Now the whole thing is explained."

"And now," said Mr. Bell, "we must work for her."

"Forever !" Curfew exclaimed, with sudden energy ; "it will be like working for my mother, it will be like working for Christ."

“Now, my dear Curfew, we want to ask a thousand questions, but the only lips that could answer them are closed forever. The world is full of unanswered questions. I want to know — Ah, well, it is useless, — we must wait.”

Yes, we must wait. Our noisy, incoherent, bewildering time must be rounded and glorified by God's eternity. We know it, yet we forget it. We know that our school-period is Eternity, yet our impatient vanity wants to anticipate at least an outline of all that is to come, and the Lord — be that Lord infinite life or infinite space — will not have it so. We should have less skepticism if we had more patience.

[*Conclusion.*]

BOOK NOTICES.

DEACONESSSES ANCIENT AND MODERN. By Rev. HENRY WHEELER, author of "The Memory of the Just," "Methodism and the Temperance Reformation," "Rays of Light in the Valley of Sorrow," etc. 12mo, pp. 315. New York : Hunt & Eaton ; Cincinnati : Cranston & Stowe. 1889.

DEACONESSSES IN EUROPE AND THEIR LESSONS FOR AMERICA. By JANE M. BANCROFT, Ph. D. With an Introduction by EDWARD G. ANDREWS, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 12mo, pp. 258. New York : Hunt & Eaton ; Cincinnati : Cranston & Stowe. 1889.

These are highly valuable works. They are an important contribution to the freshest record of current reform in methods of philanthropic and religious activity. They suggest new chiefly by recalling ancient methods. There is no doubt that there was an order of deaconesses in the early Christian church, that it was lost in the Middle Ages, and that it has been revived with most excellent results in portions of the church of modern times. Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, speaks of maid-servants who were called ministers (*ancillæ quæ ministræ dicebantur*). Jerome says: "Each in his own sex, they ministered in baptism and in the ministry of the Word." (On Romans xvi. 1.) Professor Philip Schaff, in his "Church History" (vol. i. page 262), says: "The office of deaconess in the apostolic age and in the ancient church was a regular standing office in every Christian congregation, corresponding to the office of deacon; and has never since the twelfth century been revived, though the local work of charity has never ceased."

In proof that they were ordained, and in illustration of the mode, we will here give the form of prayer used at their ordination. The *Apostolical Constitutions* gives the following directions to the bishop for the ordination of the deaconess. It is assumed to have been written by the Apostle Bartholomew.

"Concerning a deaconess, I, Bartholomew, make this constitution: O bishop, thou shalt lay thy hands upon her in the presence of the presbytery, and of the deacons and deaconesses, and shalt say: O Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Creator of man and of woman, who didst replenish with the Spirit Miriam, and Deborah, and Anna, and Huldah; who didst not disdain that thy only begotten Son should be born of a woman; who also in the tabernacle of the testimony, and in the temple, didst ordain women to be keepers of thy holy gates—do thou now also look down upon this thy servant, who is to be ordained to the office of a deaconess, and grant her thy Holy Spirit, and cleanse her from

all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, that she may worthily discharge the work which is committed to her to thy glory, and the praise of thy Christ, with whom glory and adoration be to thee and the Holy Spirit forever. Amen."

This places beyond all dispute the ordination of women to the order and office of deaconess in the early church. While the scholarship of the present day does not in any sense accept the above as the work of the apostles, still it must have reflected the customs of the church at, and prior to, the time when it was written, and, as we have before stated, its date is placed from the second to the fourth century. In addition to what is given above we present the following from an early source of information. Dean Howson says: "In the collection of the ordination services of the Nestorian Christians as published by the younger Assemani, I find a distinct '*Ordo Chirotoniæ Mulierum Diaconissarum*,' parallel for the most part to the similar service for the appointment of deacons. Here, among other suitable prayers, which are quite in harmony with the spirit of that which is quoted from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, the following occurs:

"Lord God Omnipotent, who hast made all things by the word of thy power, and in thy command holding the universe which thou didst create at thy pleasure; who hast taken pleasure likewise in men and women that thou shouldst give unto them the gift of the Holy Spirit; thou, Lord, even now, through thy pity, choose this thy poor handmaid to the good work of the diaconate, and give unto her grace, that without blemish she may finish before thee this great and sublime ministry, and that she may be guarded without hurt in all works of virtue; and that she may instruct the assembly of women, and teach purity and just and good works; and justly to obtain from thee the reward of (her) good works in the great and glorious day of the revelation of thine Only Begotten. Wherefore to thee and to him, and to the Holy Spirit, pertain glory, honor, thanksgiving, and adoration. Amen!"—(Wheeler's *Deaconesses*, pp. 82, 83.)

Rev. Henry Wheeler's book brings before the reader a brief historical account of the ancient order of Deaconesses; its disappearance in the Middle Ages, and its revival in modern times. The learning of the work is ample but not pedantic, and the style of its presentation is attractive and popular, without being unscholarly. Among the more suggestive topics discussed are Deaconesses in Germany, England, and the United States, and Deaconesses and sisterhoods fundamentally different.

Miss Bancroft's work is suggestively introduced by the following questions of Bishop Andrews:—

How far, and in what form, ought woman's work in the church to be organized? What was the deaconess of St. Paul's epistles? What light on this subject do the primitive and the mediæval churches yield us? Can "sisterhoods" be established without weakening the sense of personal responsibility in those Christian women who are not thus wholly set apart to charitable and spiritual work? Can they be multiplied without danger of introducing into Protestant communions the evils of the conventual life? Are there modern instances of safe and successful organizations? What good have they achieved, and what further good do they promise? In what relation should such organizations stand to the authority and fostering care of the church? What should be their scope, spirit, methods? What regulations are fundamental and indispensable? What perils are real and possibly imminent?

To answer these, and other questions associated with them, this book is writ-

ten. Its authoress is a gifted daughter of the church, well known in literary and educational circles. During a protracted sojourn in Europe she enjoyed unusual facilities for studying the deaconess work as carried on in many places, and particularly in the institutions founded by Pastor Fliedner at Kaiserswerth in Prussia, and in those at Mildmay in England. She has also made a thorough and discriminating study of the subject as developed in the early centuries of the church and in the Middle Ages.

The book itself will amply reveal these facts, and cannot but contribute largely to the guidance of the newly revived interest of the American churches in the far-reaching question how Christian women may best serve their Lord in serving the humanity which he has redeemed.

It appears at an opportune time. The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at its session in May, 1888, inserted in the law of the church a chapter on deaconesses, defining their duties and providing for the appointment and oversight of them through the annual conferences. This action was the natural outcome of a wide and increasing appreciation of the service of Christian women in many departments of church work; and it was greatly furthered by the advocacy of Dr. J. M. Thoburn, now the devoted and honored missionary bishop of India and Malaysia. But it had not been the subject of any considerable previous discussion in the periodicals of the church, and there was not in the church a widely diffused or an accurate knowledge of the history, scope, possibilities, or perils of such an organization. The promptness, however, with which the provision thus made by the General Conference has been seized upon by the church in several of our large cities, indicates that the time was ripe for the movement. But information is still scanty; ideas concerning the aim and place of the deaconess work are crude; methods have been very little digested; the foundations of local homes evidently may come to be very imperfectly laid; and the movement may easily come to naught.

This book is admirably arranged: it is full of fresh and important information, its style is graceful and winning, and on the whole we regard it as the best book on this topic that has yet appeared in the United States.

We have great pleasure in making a portion of our Record of Reform the already celebrated new chapter in the Methodist Book of Discipline, adopted in 1888, at the General Conference held in New York. Bishop Thoburn, who was the chief mover of this new enterprise, has been our host in Calcutta, and the facts which he there brought to our attention give us abundant reason to believe that the order of Deaconesses has a future of vast usefulness in India and other mission fields, as well as in the crowded great cities of the most enlightened lands.

The Rock River Conference, Illinois, within whose boundaries the Chicago Home for Deaconesses is situated, had from the beginning an earnest sympathy and confidence in the work as it was developing in its midst. A memorial was prepared, and was presented to the General Conference in May, 1888, by the Rock River Conference, through its conference delegates, asking for church legislation with reference to deaconesses. At the same time the Bengal Annual Conference, through Dr. J. M. Thoburn, also presented a memorial asking for the institution of an order of deaconesses who should have authority to administer the sacrament to the women of India. Our missionaries in India have long felt the need of some

way of ministering to the converted women who are closely secluded in zenana life, and who, though sick and dying, are precluded by the customs of the country from any religious service of comfort or consolation that male missionaries can render. If it had been possible for our women missionaries to administer the sacrament, many Indian women could have been received into the church. All of the papers and memorials on this subject were put into the hands of a committee, of which Dr. J. M. Thoburn (afterward made missionary bishop to India and Malaysia) was chairman; and the report of the committee was as follows:

THE NEW OFFICE OF DEACONESSSES IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

For some years past our people in Germany have employed this class of workers with the most blessed results, and we rejoice to learn that a successful beginning has recently been made in the same direction in this country. A home for deaconesses has been established in Chicago, and others of a similar character are proposed in other cities. There are also a goodly number of similar workers in various places; women who are deaconesses in all but name, and whose number might be largely increased if a systematic effort were made to accomplish this result. Your committee believes that God is in this movement, and that the church should recognize the fact and provide some simple plan for formally connecting the work of these excellent women with the church and directing their labors to the best possible results. They therefore recommend the insertion of the following paragraphs in the Discipline, immediately after ¶ 198, relating to exhorters:

DEACONESSSES.

1. The duties of the deaconesses are to minister to the poor, visit the sick, pray with the dying, care for the orphan, seek the wandering, comfort the sorrowing, save the sinning, and, relinquishing wholly all other pursuits, devote themselves in a general way to such forms of Christian labor as may be suited to their abilities.
2. No vow shall be exacted from any deaconess, and any one of their number shall be at liberty to relinquish her position as a deaconess at any time.
3. In every Annual Conference within which deaconesses may be employed, a Conference board of nine members, at least three of whom shall be women, shall be appointed by the Conference to exercise a general control of the interests of this form of work.
4. This board shall be empowered to issue certificates to duly qualified persons, authorizing them to perform the duties of deaconesses in connection with the church, provided that no person shall receive such certificate until she shall have served a probation of two years of continuous service, and shall be over twenty-five years of age.
5. No person shall be licensed by the board of deaconesses except on the recommendation of a Quarterly Conference, and said board of deaconesses shall be appointed by the Annual Conference for such term of service as the Annual Conference shall decide, and said board shall report both the names and work of such deaconesses annually, and the approval of the Annual Conference shall be necessary for the continuance of any deaconess in her work.
6. When working singly each deaconess shall be under the direction of the pastor of the church with which she is connected. When associated together in a

home, all the members of the home shall be subordinate to and directed by the superintendent placed in charge.

J. M. THOBURN, *Chairman.*

A. B. LEONARD, *Secretary.*

The adoption of this report made its contents a portion of the organic law of the Church.

The Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States has recently instituted an order of Deaconesses.

Miss Bancroft's work contains an admirable index and full references to the literature of the subject.

FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF LABOR, 1888.

Working Women in Large Cities. 8vo, pp. 632. Washington: Government Printing Office.

In this invaluable Report of the National Commissioner of Labor, the topic of "Working Women in Large Cities" is discussed with a thoroughness new to the literature of vital reform. The field examined comprehends three hundred and forty-three distinct industries now open to women. It relates to twenty-two American cities, which are here set in most instructive contrast. More than seventeen thousand working women have been interviewed, and the facts relating to their lives make up this report.

QUESTIONS TO SPECIALISTS.

REPLY BY MRS. MARY H. HUNT, NATIONAL SUPERINTENDENT OF THE WORK OF SCIENTIFIC TEMPERANCE INSTRUCTION IN THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.

71. What is the present state of scientific temperance instruction in American public schools?

Within seven years the legislatures of twenty-seven States and the National Congress have made the science of temperance a mandatory study in schools under their control. Only eleven States now remain without this legislation. Long before the next decade closes, Scientific Temperance will be a compulsory study in every public school in this republic.

The recent unsuccessful Prohibitory Amendment campaigns have been in reality attempts to focalize into law against alcohol popular sentiment that does not exist. Few of the disheartened over these results know, or probably have stopped to think, that there is now at work an almost universal force creating an intelligent conviction that is sure to reverse permanently these defeats.

The lack of a variety of suitable school manuals to teach scientific temperance seemed an insurmountable obstacle at first. To urge the exclusive adoption of the first books that met the need, and, as long as they were the only ones that did this, to oppose unworthy books, urging their revision, was an obvious though not pleasant duty that is no longer imposed, for the revision of defective books and the preparation of other good ones is the great victory for Scientific Temperance of this year.

As a result of our unflinching refusal for four years to indorse books on this topic that fell below our standards, and of the hard work of the past year, we now report as many good, well-graded temperance physiologies, bearing our indorsement because conforming to our standards, as there are school text-books on most other topics. These are issued by different publishers, and among their authors are names known to national and international fame.

We have now four series we commend, each consisting of a well-graded primary, intermediate, and high-school book. The first is the "Pathfinder Series," our first books which have been pathfinders indeed, and than which there are no better books. Let us never forget our debt of gratitude to their publishers, A. S. Barnes & Co., who published for us when no one else would.

Next to these in the order of their publication, and now commended by us, are "The Eclectic Physiology Series," published by Van Antwerp, Bragg & Co. ; "The Union Physiology Series," published by Ivison, Blake-

man & Co. (being a substitute for the Smith Physiologies); and "The Authorized Physiology Series," published by D. Appleton & Co.

In addition to these we have several individual books: an intermediate book, entitled "A Healthy Body," by Charles H. Stowell, M. D., of the State Medical University, Ann Arbor, Mich.; "Dulaney's Standard Physiology," published by W. J. C. Dulaney, Baltimore, Maryland; and a "High School Physiology," now in press, by Dr. H. Newell Martin, F. R. S., Johns Hopkins University.

The best laws and the best books are useless without interested teachers, but each year shows the teachers more ready to adopt practical methods as fast as these are developed and presented. This year teachers are reported as doing more and better work than ever before.

While it is yet hardly time to look for results from this work, reports coming from all parts of the country testify that public opinion is being influenced by what is taught in the schools; that classes of people inaccessible by other instrumentalities are being reached; that in many cases the habits of parents are being changed; and that a generation is in training for whom the saloon will have no attractions. These results are most marked where these laws are best enforced with our indorsed text-books in the hands of the pupils.

Give us time enough and good-by to the hallucination abroad in the land that there is something good in alcohol for beverage purposes; and good-by to the saloon, which cannot exist after that hallucination is dispelled.

The great events in history that we call progress have been the slow fruitage of seeds of truth sown in the human mind. A little more than five hundred years ago Wycliffe translated the Bible into English. Volumes were chained to reading desks in open churches, and the printing-press that followed gave truth a wider hearing. As surely as Luther and the Reformation were the sequel of the open Bible in the language of the people, as surely as constitutional liberty followed the Magna Charta and the printing-press, so surely will alcohol be abolished from the habits of the people who have learned through the schools of its evil nature and effects, and so surely will the overthrow of the saloon follow the enactment of these Scientific Temperance laws and the study of these temperance text-books, both of which are echoes of the primordial decree, "Let there be light."

A government of the people cannot lag long behind the popular will. Just as soon as a controlling majority of the voters of this country cease to believe in alcohol as a beverage, and therefore cease to drink it, there will be no trouble in effectually prohibiting its traffic. The first step towards a permanent suppression of the saloon and the consequent evils of intemperance is to correct the present popular fallacies in favor of alcoholic drinks, by educating the people in the proven facts of modern science against such beverages.

The State of Massachusetts has provided for such education in the law enacted in 1885 requiring that the nature and effects of alcoholic drinks and other narcotics, in connection with relative physiology, shall be taught "all pupils in all the public schools of the State."

If the people of this Commonwealth would spend one half the time, effort, and money to secure a faithful enforcement of this law that was spent last spring in the vain effort to secure prohibition of liquors that a majority of the people are not yet convinced should be prohibited, we should be much nearer the abolition of the saloon.

REPLIES BY THE REV. R. G. MCNIECE, D. D., OF SALT LAKE CITY.

72. *What do you think of the last report of the Utah Commission?*

It deserves to rank on a level with the masterly report of 1887, written by Commissioner Thomas, now governor of the Territory. This last report is like that in being comprehensive, searching, and vigorous, and in giving to the American people the inside facts they need to know concerning the strength and hostility of the anti-American priestly power that has usurped civil control over this American Territory for over forty years. Those portions of the report which refer to the imprisoned polygamists as martyrs, which discuss the consequences of statehood and the anti-American spirit of the Mormons, when defeated by the majority, and also the recommendations for further legislation, are very instructive concerning the naturally disloyal spirit of Mormonism. But I think there are far more polygamous marriages than the report gives credit for.

73. *What is your opinion of the policy and performance, so far, of the present Administration as to Mormonism?*

The reappointment of Judge Zane as Chief Justice, who is the very impersonation of the vigorous and moral side of American law and justice; the appointment of Arthur L. Thomas as governor, with his vigorous American record of ten years in Utah; and the appointment on the Utah Commission of such a high-minded lawyer, and earnest, patriotic student of governmental affairs, as Colonel Robertson of Indiana, together with ex-Senator Saunders of Nebraska, — all this would indicate that the Administration is in hearty sympathy with the most intelligent and most advanced American sentiment in Utah.

74. *What is your view of the propriety of admitting Idaho and New Mexico soon as States of the Union?*

So far as New Mexico is concerned, I am decidedly of the opinion that its admission for the present would not be wise. This opinion is based on two grounds: 1. The heterogeneous character of the population; 2. The presence in that Territory of an underhanded, anti-American, priestly power very similar to that which curses Utah. Hence it seems to me that, before it would be wise to give statehood to such a Territory, the American population ought to be far greater than it is now, in order to have thorough control over these dangerous anti-American elements.

As to Idaho, I am in doubt, and the more I talk with Americans about it, the more doubtful I am. Only last week I was talking with one of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens in Idaho on the subject, and he himself was in doubt as to the wisdom of giving statehood to Idaho at present. He voted for the Constitution, but was for some time in doubt as to whether

he ought to do so or not, on the ground that there ought to be a larger American population in Idaho to counterbalance the influence and power of the strong Mormon element there. In favor of statehood, however, are these considerations:—

1. Both Republicans and Democrats in Idaho thoroughly understand the Mormons and their unfitness for citizenship, and have agreed to their disfranchisement under the new Constitution.

2. The new Constitution seems to be a worthy document in itself, and to be generally favored by the Americans there.

3. Unless Idaho should be admitted as a State, she will be put at very great disadvantage for the future, since immigration will be attracted past her into the ample area of her neighbors Montana and Washington, recently promoted to statehood, and she will have to suffer from the diversion of millions of foreign capital needed to develop her splendid mineral resources, under the Alien Land Act of Congress, which prevents foreigners from owning or holding lands in the Territories. Besides, a Territory is much more likely to suffer from bad government than a State, unless the condition of things is as anomalous as it is here in Utah. The Americans here are thoroughly agreed that Utah should never be admitted as a State until the American population in it is so overwhelming that no doubt would be left as to the future of the new Commonwealth.

75. *What are the prospects of Gentile education, industry, and politics in Utah?*

By far the best they have ever been. Indeed, it may be said that an American era began here on the fifth of last August, when, for the first time in forty-two years, Salt Lake City gave an American majority of *forty-one* in the election for the legislature. Since then, American citizens and American capital from Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska, and Iowa have been coming in so fast that this city is already well-nigh transformed into an American city. It is very difficult to rent a house here at present. Consequently new houses and business blocks are going up very fast. The Union Pacific Railroad has recently consolidated all its numerous branch lines west of Cheyenne, and made its general Western headquarters in this city. By the first of January, the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad will have its narrow gauge converted into a broad gauge between here and Denver. The leading officials of the Central Pacific Railroad were here a month ago to look over the ground, with the view of bringing the Central Pacific directly into this city from the West, coming in south of the lake instead of going round by Ogden. This will necessitate the coming in of the Union Pacific directly from the east through Immigration Cañon, just south of Camp Douglas, according to the original plan. Two or three other great trunk lines are heading here across Colorado, so that within five years this city is likely to be the rival of Denver as a railroad centre.

But best of all, the third canvass of the city by the Liberal (or American) party since July shows a decided Liberal majority in the next municipal election on February 10. To blot out this majority, the Mormon city

government, which has been waked up very suddenly to the great need of a general system of sewerage, is importing voters from all the surrounding counties to work on the sewers. Whether enough of these colonized Scandinavians can be smuggled into the registration lists to steal the city from the Americans remains to be seen. It is quite probable, however, that enough dissatisfied Mormons will quietly vote against the priesthood ticket to counterbalance these colonized voters. So the people of the East may be prepared, on the morning of the 11th of February, to hear united American cheers rolling eastward over the Rocky Mountains to greet the wholesome waves of freedom on the Atlantic seaboard.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THERE is now no king or slave on this continent. The revolution in Brazil was precipitated by the attempt of the government to remove disaffected troops stationed at Rio Janeiro to the provinces. The revolt was confined to the military and students. The populace were passive. The only act of bloodshed was the attack upon Minister of Marine Ladario, who was shot in three places. He is recovering from the effects of his wounds. In Bahia and Pernambuco business proceeds as if nothing had happened. The Bank of Brazil addressed a letter to the chief of police advising him that a guard for the bank was no longer requisite.

General Da Fonseca, the head of the Provisional Government, in the message sent by him to Dom Pedro, on November 16, said : —

The democratic sentiments of the nation, combined with resentment at the systematic repressive measures of the government against the army and navy and the spoliation of their rights, have brought about the revolution. In the face of this situation the presence of the imperial family in the country is impossible. Yielding, therefore, to the exigences of the national voice, the Provisional Government is compelled to request you to leave Brazilian territory with your family within twenty-four hours. The government will provide at its own expense the proper means for transport, and will afford protection for the imperial family during their embarkation. The government will also continue the imperial dowry fixed by law until the constituted assembly decides thereon. The country expects that you will know how to imitate the example set by the first Emperor of Brazil on April 7, 1831.

Dom Pedro's answer, which was sent on the same day, was as follows : —

Yielding to the imperiousness of circumstances I have resolved to start with my family to-morrow for Europe, leaving this country so dear to us all, and which I have endeavored to give constant proofs of deep love during the nearly half a century in which I have discharged the office of Chief of State. While thus leaving with my whole family, I shall ever retain for Brazil the most heartfelt affection and ardent good wishes for her prosperity.

The Republican Government of Brazil issued a decree on November 15, containing eleven articles. It proclaimed a provisional federal republic. The united provinces of Brazil will form the confederation, and will elect its deliberative bodies and local governments. Until the election of new legislators, the Provisional Government will govern the country. The Federal State Governments will immediately adopt steps to secure order and the liberty of citizens of Brazil and foreign residents. Where the means to maintain order are not sufficient, the authorities can appeal to the public forces. The Federal Government being proclaimed, no other form of government will be recognized until the nation expresses its wishes by popular suffrage in this respect. The army and navy will be subject exclusively to the orders of the Provisional Government, or the provincial representatives. The civil and military officials will be subordinate to the central government. Rio Janeiro is constituted the provisional capital of the confederation. The Secretaries of State of the Provisional Government are charged with the execution of the decree. The decree is signed : General Da Fonseca, President ; Loba, Minister of the Interior ; Barboza, Minister of Finance ; Bocayura, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; Constant, Minister of War ; and Vanderholtz, Minister of Marine.

The steamer *Alagoas*, with ex-Emperor Dom Pedro, the ex-Empress, the Count and Countess d'Eu (son-in-law and daughter respectively of the ex-Emperor), the three sons of the Count and Countess, and Prince August of Saxe-Coburg, the other son-in-law of Dom Pedro, on board, arrived in the Tagus December 10. Dom Pedro was in excellent spirits, and appeared not to have suffered by the recent events in Brazil.

The ex-Emperor, in an interview, said : —

I have no desire to busy myself longer with Brazilian affairs. I had no intercourse with the Republican Government. I received a telegram at the summer palace at Petropolis, announcing that the revolution had triumphed. Upon its receipt I went to Rio Janeiro and placed myself at the disposal of the Revolutionary Government. The palace at Rio Janeiro was instantly encircled by troops, and ingress and egress was stopped. The siege lasted for thirty-two hours, during which time my family suffered much from want of food. We were then taken secretly, after midnight, between a double file of soldiers, from the palace to the arsenal and placed on board a war-

ship. The vessel upon which we were placed was the Parnahyba. As soon as we were on board she took her departure for Ilha Grande. Upon our arrival there, though the sea was rough, we were transferred in small boats to the Alagoas. The Empress was agitated and wept continually. Her hands and wrists were hurt as she was being hauled on board the Alagoas. I myself was deeply affected, and spent the time watching the coast as it gradually disappeared from view. When the shore-line dropped below the horizon I let fly a carrier pigeon bearing my farewell message to Brazil.

THE movement for the federation of Australia, in progress for some time past, is rapidly assuming definite shape. Most of the strong colonies established on its border have already given general assent to the project, New South Wales alone having refused, and pushing its dissent to the extent of declining representation in the Federal Council which, for the past three years, has acted as referee in the settlement of intercolonial disputes. Recently, however, it has changed its attitude, presumably owing to its exposed position in the event of maritime war, and its premier has publicly announced that a point has been reached at which a federal government for all Australia had become imperative and that a convention of the colonies should be called to formulate a plan. As all the colonies are agreed upon this necessity, save New Zealand, the federation project may be assumed to have carried, and within a few years a definite plan for a federal republic within the Empire will doubtless be submitted for the approval of the home government. The only thing that now seems to stand in the way is the diverse policies of the leaders and the jealousies of the colonies themselves; but it is safe to say that both difficulties will be bridged in time, if not by mutual concessions, then by the stern pressure of events. The main object of federation is to so strengthen the colonies that they may be independent of England in the matter of defense, and to do so they must create an army and a fleet, which will involve as a preliminary some sort of federal parliament and executive, with power to legislate for the union and to collect a separate revenue. Undoubtedly the colonies will be jealous of their individual rights, as the American colonies were, will differ as to ways of collecting the general taxation, and will contend fiercely on other points; but

if they accept the principle of federation, the end will be a federal republic resembling that of the United States. When the convention attempts to define the powers of the federal parliament, it will find that to work satisfactorily they must be practically those of Congress, and that a common revenue can only be had by levying customs duties, and this granted, a strong executive is inevitable. Before the work is done, then, the convention will have founded a new nation, and Australia will be a republic, probably in the Empire, though if it remains there long, it will be on condition that the Empire defends it without interfering in its domestic affairs. That it will be an aggressive republic, seeking to dominate in the Pacific, and content only with untrammelled sway, is vouched by its geographical position and the thirst for independent possessions already shown by its people. New Zealand is counted an Australian state, though it is as remote from it as London is from Constantinople, and supremacy is claimed in the New Hebrides, though they are 1,200 miles away. Removed by its isolation from fear of invasion, it will be forced by its position as an island in a great ocean highway to become a maritime power, or lie at the mercy of every passer-by, and a maritime power is always acquisitive and adventurous. The claims of European nations to isolated dependencies in the South Pacific will be lightly treated, and Australia as a republic will trade and annex and govern through the only possession yet remaining for acquisition — the Eastern Archipelago. No European power will be able to cope with it, as no resistance on the part of dependencies will be possible, and the new republic will be content with nothing but possession of the island chains from the Australian mainland to that of Asia, and will have them at whatever cost. That England will interpose no obstacle to the federation of the southern colonies is conceded in London, though there is a natural desire that Australia shall continue to be a dependency, and some foreboding lest other colonies similarly situated will follow its example.

DIPLOMATIC history furnishes no parallel to the meeting of the Congress of the Three Americas. On the continent many con-

gresses have been held, but, like those of Vienna, Paris, and Berlin, only as the result of war and to recast maps and give European sanction to the changes consequent thereon. No body like the American Congress, representing seventeen independent states reaching from Alaska to Patagonia, and met to confer in a spirit of mutual helpfulness upon common interests, has ever assembled in Europe, where even the negotiation of commercial treaties is always limited to two governments. There all alliances are essentially military, made with a view to the possibilities of war and the increase of defensive or offensive strength, and the furtherance of strictly national or dynastic aims. But while the American Congress, based solely upon the advancement of the commercial and economic interests of the governments represented in it, thus stands unique, it is not the first conference assembled with the object of uniting more closely the various governments of this continent. The first suggestion of such a congress was made by Bolivar in 1821, and, following the conclusion of a series of treaties between the Central and South American states, a conference was called to meet at Panama in 1826. In the previous year the United States was invited by the Colombian and Mexican governments to share in its deliberations, and Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State, being in sympathy with the general idea of an international league, the invitation was formally accepted. Commissioners were appointed, but owing to the unpopularity of Mr. Clay in the House and Senate, the umbrage taken by the latter at the appointment of commissioners without its advice and the opposition of the House to granting the necessary appropriations, the departure of the envoys was delayed till June, 1826. By the time they reached Panama, the congress had adjourned to meet at Tacubaya, Mexico, but owing to the disturbed condition of the South American states, a second session was never held, and the present conference is thus the first in which the United States has been represented. That the failure of the Panama congress was for the best interests of the continent there can be no doubt, its objects being essentially political, if not military, the commercial considerations upon which the present conference is grounded having small share

in the scheme. Indeed, its main purpose was the formation of a defensive league against European aggression, and particularly the attempt to reëstablish Spanish ascendancy in Central and South America; and there was a not inconsiderable party which favored aggressive action, looking to the liberation of Cuba and Porto Rico. It was the latter fact, as well as the hostility to Mr. Clay, that allied the slave-owners in the Senate against the representation of the United States in the congress, in the fear that, if carried out, it would lead to a slave rising in the Southern States. The conditions attending the meeting of the present congress are wholly different from those which led to the collapse of that of 1826, government in the Central and South American states resting on secure foundations, and the fear of European interference being so far removed that a defensive league of the republics of the western hemisphere is no longer desirable. With peace everywhere, and the Monroe doctrine, once regarded with suspicion by the Spanish-American states, now recognized as a guaranty of safety, the time is opportune for the discussion of measures of international importance and the formulation of an enlightened and comprehensive policy for the whole continent.

THE visiting delegates to the Pan-American Congress, in their itinerary through the United States, have enjoyed the hospitality of the Eastern cities, with a glimpse of Canada, and are slowly making their way to the West. The journey affords them an opportunity of learning the character and extent of a country furnishing the largest market for the commodities of the states which they represent, and the value of closer relations with it, and of inspecting the transportation systems that have contributed so much to its prosperity. That the opportunity is being made good use of, and will have a marked effect upon the deliberations of the congress, is evidenced by the interest shown by the delegates and the preparations they are making to answer intelligently the inquiries likely to be made by business men on their return home. In all the industrial centres visited they are obtaining samples and price-lists of goods made and materials used, and at the same time keeping a sharp

lookout for opportunities to introduce the produce of their own states. Under such conditions, the tour promises to have most favorable results, not only in the permanent enlargement of trade between the states represented in the congress, but in the promotion of amicable relations and of a system of friendly arbitration for the adjustment of all international difficulties. Unity of commercial aims and methods is certain to promote peace and render war improbable, close trade relations and financial interdependence placing an insuperable bar upon private and dynastic ambitions tending to disturb pacific intercourse. In this way the enlargement of trade will do more to bring the American states into friendly accord, and to keep them there, than any court of arbitration can do, though the impressions of the strength of the United States, given the delegates by their tour, must materially contribute to that end. It is not armies and armaments that now settle international disputes, but the longest purse ; and the annual increase of wealth in the United States exceeds that of England, France, and Germany combined, while the new inventions it would put into the field in any great contest would outbalance a great army. The visiting delegates, as intelligent men, will know this, and also that the United States wants no more territory, and so will be better prepared to favorably consider projects for promoting the prosperity of all American countries and bringing them into closer and permanent relations. To this end the establishment of direct and rapid communication will be one of the most important objects to be discussed by the congress, an object that can best be attained by liberal mail subsidies to American steamship lines, on the plan followed with such beneficial results by England, France, and Germany. With such a plan sanctioned by the congress, and followed by prompt encouragement on the part of the United States in the establishment of new lines, new markets will be opened to the merchants and manufacturers of this country, and trade largely expanded at a comparatively trifling expense. With the establishment of rapid communications with the countries to the south will come the question of the construction of an international railway connecting the industrial and trade centres of the continent, a

project not more visionary than our own transcontinental lines appeared a few years ago, and which is fairly certain of ultimate realization. Meantime, it is pleasant to note that the misrepresentations of the European press as to the scope and bearing of the congress, and particularly the motives of the United States in inviting it, are resented by the visiting delegates, and likely only to react upon the governments sanctioning them.

THE project for the creation of a federal union of the five Central American republics has been sanctioned by the Diet now in session in San Salvador, though the details of the plan have yet to be reported on by the various committees. The general scheme, submitted by the representative from Guatemala, is that of a unification of the states so far as respects foreign relations, by the election of an executive who, with the assistance of a council, is to direct the foreign affairs of all as if they were already a federal republic. The executive is to be chosen for one year in turn from each state, and with a council, composed of one representative from each of the assenting states, is to appoint ministers and consuls, negotiate treaties, etc., in the name of the Republic of Central America. The different states, however, are to remain supreme with respect to their own internal affairs; but trade and navigation between them are to be free, a common postal system is to be established, and the utmost liberty, and even encouragement, given to all agitation looking to the establishment of a federal union. Plans for a common legislature have not yet been submitted, but the Diet will assemble yearly, and though its functions are strictly advisory, its suggestions will doubtless carry somewhat the weight of legislation. While it may be expected that the states will be jealous of their independence, it is thought that, the principle of union once adopted, public sentiment will so favor the mergence of the republics into a single strong state that federation will be wholly accomplished within ten years. With this in view, the project includes calls for a Constituent Assembly in 1900, or before if deemed wise, for the establishment of a federal union, the executive, in the interval, to appoint a judicial commission to harmonize the existing laws of

the several republics, in readiness for that event. The plan has yet, of course, to be sanctioned by the different legislatures, and if approved, is to take effect September 15, 1890, when the first executive and council will be chosen. If any states still dissent, the remaining republics, if they constitute a majority, shall put the plan into operation for themselves, the title in that case being changed to The Greater Republic of Central America. In the lack of definite information, the prospect of the adoption of the scheme by all the states can only be conjectured, but if it is approved as a whole, the final result is measurably certain. Meantime news comes that a peaceful revolution has occurred in Brazil, and that with the deposition and exile of Dom Pedro and the formation of a provisional government, the Republic of Brazil has become an accomplished fact.

INDICATIONS of the growing impatience in Canada with existing political conditions continue to appear. The non-participation of the Dominion in the International American Congress is exciting serious thought, while the silence of the British foreign office respecting the seizures made by American revenue cutters in Behring Sea is evoking bitter expressions of resentment. Journals of both parties are using the latter as a text for the discussion of the advantages of British connection, and although a better understanding of the reasons why Canada was excluded from participation in the Pan-American Congress prevails now than when the invitations were issued, it does little to relieve discontent. The Dominion was not invited because under the resolution of Congress the questions to be considered by the conference relate solely to the interests of the independent states of this continent, and not to the commercial welfare of the British Empire, of which Canada forms a part. As the Montreal "Gazette" bluntly puts it, the Dominion was excluded on the ground of its colonial status, the incompatibility of commercial union with independent states with the maintenance of British connection, and because of its inability to acquiesce in any of the conclusions reached. Canada is a dependency, governed in matters which the congress is to consider by the parent government in Europe, and not an independent

state which may discuss customs regulations, uniformity of standards, measures and economic systems, and arbitration tribunals. Naturally this disability is not contemplated with satisfaction in the Dominion, and coupled with the resentment felt over losses and alleged outrages in Behring Sea, has materially increased the sum total of discontent felt throughout the provinces. That this discontent is rather with their own progress and prospects than with any known shortcomings on the part of Great Britain, is shown by the fact that absolutely nothing is yet known respecting the attitude of the latter toward the Behring Sea seizures, and that in condemning it out of hand the Canadian journals are arguing without premise. Moreover, there has scarcely been a time when the material benefits of imperial connection were so patent, the home government expending large subsidies on public works and Dominion steamship lines, and British capital in large amounts seeking investment in the provinces. When, therefore, Canadians assert the impracticability of permanently maintaining their present political connection, on the ground of British indifference to their interests, they discredit their intelligence, and although their only alternative for the future may be independence, British neglect does not furnish the argument. Outwardly, at least, the confederation seems to have been markedly successful, the separate provinces having been closely bound together, and under the high tariff policy introduced by Sir John Macdonald, expenditure kept fairly within receipts, and an extensive system of public works inaugurated. A transcontinental railway has been built, uniting the Pacific with the maritime provinces; docks, custom-houses, and canals have been constructed, but despite all this the Canadians are filled with discontent and discouragement. Emigration still flows to the states in a steady stream, and while the official class prospers, the provinces are not prospering as they should, and no effort seems sufficient to hold the population. Were the conditions of progress as favorable as they are on this side of the line, the imperial connection would not be condemned nor federation belittled, and even independence looked forward to with indifference and half-heartedness.

THE International Marine Conference in Washington will deal with topics of direct interest to every maritime nation, if not to every individual, on the face of the globe. Twenty-six governments are represented, including all the maritime nations of Europe, save Portugal, the Central and South American states, the Asiatic empires of China and Japan, and the Kingdom of Hawaii. The conference has for its aim to lessen the perils of ocean travel by the establishment of a common system of maritime laws, regulations, and usages, but its functions are merely advisory, since whatever action the delegates may take will require the sanction of the governments represented. But as every power is represented by experts who have long been in agreement upon the vital changes necessary in existing rules of navigation, it is all but certain that any recommendations they may make as a body will be approved by all the maritime states. The conference is to continue in daily session until January 1, and the discussions will cover a wide range, as indicated in a published programme containing some thirteen topical divisions, and framed by the American delegates. One of the most important subjects to be considered will be that of fog lights and signals, the present system being radically defective, in that it gives little information as to the direction in which vessels are steering. The rapid increase in the speed of ocean steamships has not been accompanied by a similar improvement in precautionary signals, and no light has yet been discovered capable of penetrating dense fogs to any considerable distance. With steamships approaching each other at the rate of twenty miles per hour, the existing system of lights and signals is plainly inadequate, the high speed so diminishing the interval during which precautionary signals may be perceived, that collision cannot be avoided with certainty. The number of lights must be increased, or so arranged as to indicate the direction in which an approaching vessel is steering, and fog-horns or bells must be so sounded as to leave no doubt in the densest fog of the course a ship is pursuing. An absolutely perfect system cannot, of course, be devised, but present arrangements can be improved by the conference to the limit of reasonable safety, though its work may at any time be rendered useless by the

progress of invention. Another important proposition is that of policing the great highways of the sea by dividing them among the nations, and establishing an ocean police whose duty it shall be to destroy floating wrecks and other obstructions and give warning of danger from all sources. As no single nation can adopt rules that can be applied to another, so no nation has hitherto been held responsible for the destruction of these derelicts, whose submerged frames have wrought scarcely less damage among shipping than have the rocks. The conference will also consider regulations for ascertaining the seaworthiness of vessels, appliances for saving life and property in shipwreck, and ascertaining responsibility for disasters, and the establishment of a uniform system of buoys and beacons. Further, the organization of a permanent international marine commission will be discussed, with the object of collecting and disseminating general maritime information, and enabling the nations to act under regulations of equal advantage to all. That the conference will lead to important results cannot be doubted, and in the general agreement of delegates upon all essential points, harmonious action may be confidently expected.

ENGLAND continues to annex the unappropriated portions of Africa through the medium of chartered companies. Not content with the establishment of two great corporations, — the Royal Niger and East Africa Companies, with a prospective third in the African Lakes Company, — a charter has been granted to a new organization, to be known as the British South African Company. The field of operation of the new corporation, whose methods and objects are to be identical with those of the British East Africa Company, may be roughly described as the vast region lying between the Central and Upper Zambesi on the north and the Transvaal and the Bechuanaland Crown Colony on the south. On the east the boundary is the Portuguese possessions, which nominally have an indefinite interior extension, but are really limited to the coast, while the western frontier marks the widest claim of the German at, say the 20th degree of east longitude. More briefly, the new concession will cover what is now known as Matabele-

land, North Becuanaland, and Khama's country, an area about 400,000 square miles in extent, or twice as large as France and three times as large as the United Kingdom. Over this immense region the company is to govern, under a charter which, although modified materially in many smaller details, confers in the main powers almost as extensive as those held by the old East India Company. It is authorized to acquire all rights and interests in the territories named, to develop the resources of the region and construct roads, and to govern and administer in the name and in behalf of the interests of the British Empire. It is stipulated, however, that the directorate of the company shall always be exclusively British, that three of its members shall be irremovable, and that no director shall be appointed, nor important step taken, without the approval of the Colonial Secretary. The initial charter, moreover, is to continue in force for twenty-five years only, and to be revised at the discretion of the crown, so far as it relates to matters of administration, every ten years thereafter, or to be abrogated altogether should the company abuse its privileges. As to the character of the territory over which the corporation is to rule, enough is known to warrant belief in its superiority to that intrusted to the British East Africa Company a year ago, and that under wise management it will prove one of the best bases of white colonization in Africa. At least one half of it is fitted for European colonization, with a fertile and productive soil, extensive forests, and rich mineral deposits, salubrious climate, and in the highlands, plentifully stocked with game. The main difficulty, of course, is that of access, the jealousies of the Boers and Portuguese having thus far successfully blocked the construction of railways from the coast to the interior, though with the rapid British immigration into the Transvaal, obstruction will soon be removed. In the mean time, the Zambesi, which is open to all nations, will afford access to Matabeleland, while the railway from the Cape, by way of Kimberly and Shoshong, is expected to reach, within six years at farthest, the Zambesi itself. With this difficulty overcome, however, another will still remain — the inevitable contest between the Matabeles and the new forces of occupation, which no amount of prudence

is likely to prevent. The latter were originally Zulus, number nearly 200,000, with a fighting force fashioned on the Zulu model, and having occupied the country for fifty years, are certain sooner or later to resent the encroachment of civilization. It is responsibility for such conflicts that accounts for the opposition in England to the extension of the Empire through chartered companies, in the fact that when complications arise the nation must stand back of the corporation, and so may be involved in serious trouble not of its own making. Happily, in the present instance at least, no new responsibility is assumed, the whole region covered by the charter having some years ago passed under British influence, and sovereignty so fastened definitely upon the crown.

THE European blockade of the African slave coast has been raised for a time, its purpose having been so far accomplished that an interval of rest during the hot season is deemed safe. For nearly a year British and German war vessels have been patrolling a thousand miles of the East African littoral, watching for slave dhows plying between the coast ends of the caravan routes and Madagascar, Pemba, and the Arabian ports. Over this vast stretch of territory, whence perhaps nine tenths of the slaves from the Lake regions find their way to foreign ports, the traffic is said to be wholly checked, while the summary punishment dealt out to those plying the trade will, it is believed, prevent its resumption for a long time to come. It will do so the more because of the diminishing foreign demand for slaves, Madagascar having liberated all her slaves and promised freedom to those landed hereafter, and the Comora Islands and Pemba, which imported blacks in large numbers, having been closed to the traffic through the aid of France and Great Britain. Even Turkey has joined in the crusade, having closed her Arabian ports to slave dealers and disgraced a governor for failure to enforce the prohibition ; so that for the time, at least, the export of slaves on the East African coast may be regarded as virtually ended. That it will begin anew with lessened watchfulness admits of no doubt, for although the traffic can be hampered by a European blockade from Zanzibar to the Zambesi, it cannot be suppressed without the permanent occupation and control of districts in the

interior. The continuous drain of slaves for so many years from the coast districts of Africa has created a demand in them for slaves from the interior, and so long as this demand is met, it is certain to create an export traffic. Even did it not, there is an active market in Africa itself for slaves, the coast tribes and adjacent islands using them for all sorts of work, while Abyssinia, Morocco, Tripoli, and other Mohammedan states have many open slave marts. The blockade has done excellent work, but it is only by patrolling the African lakes, blocking the entrances to the slave districts, and placing light troops across the natural highways of the country, that the evil can be eradicated. The slave-dealers follow beaten lines of travel, a few running across the Desert to the Barbary States, but the main routes finding outlet on the Portuguese coast to the west, or by way of the lakes and the Nile and Zambesi valleys, on the eastern coast. One of these lines runs from Suakim to Berber, thence up the Nile to lakes Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyassa, to find the ocean by way of Zambesi. Still another begins in the Portuguese colony of Angola, and following the line of the Congo to its great northern bend, stretches across to Lake Tanganyika, where it connects with the first line running to the north and south. Were these routes policed by light troops, and the negro slave-raiders disarmed wherever found, not only would the Arabs understand that the slave traffic was to be wholly suppressed, but the work would be expedited by commercial enterprises certain to follow the establishment of safe lines of communication. Doubtless there are difficulties in the way of such a policy, but the lack of unanimity and earnestness on the part of the civilized powers is the greatest obstacle, and so long as it remains, the slave-trade, with its accompanying horrors, will go on. It is easy to pass resolutions favoring international action for the suppression of the traffic, but the work of dealing practically with the question is one that involves great sacrifices and is engaged in at great risks.

THE opening of new routes for the commerce of the world is always a matter of interest, but no project of recent years has been attended with so much of novelty as that to connect far-away Siberia with the markets of Western Europe through the

frozen seas lying between the North Cape and the estuary of the Lena. Siberia is no longer merely a vast penal settlement, a great part of it having been colonized by people from the steppes of European Russia, and on account of the cheapness of the land, attracting a steady stream of immigration. But with the increase of population comes a corresponding increase of salable products, which even before the influx began were largely in excess of available markets, and which are now so great as to render imperative the finding of external outlets. Fish abound in the rivers, the forests yield heavy timber and valuable furs, while in the southern half generous crops are grown, and the mountains contain rich stores of iron and other useful and precious minerals. The country is traversed by vast water-ways, all running to the north, the Obi having a length of 2,700 miles, and the Yenesei still more, both navigable for the greater part of their course, and draining an immense territory. On every side there are limitless resources lying ready to the hand of industry and certain to be developed by demand; but while on nearly all the great rivers steamers carry a local traffic, there is no communication with outside markets either by sea or by land. Producers of all classes chafe at their isolation and stretch out hands toward the markets of the world; but the St. Petersburg government has not yet given them the promised railway, and they have not the liberty or capacity to build ocean vessels and pioneer new tracks to the west for themselves. In fact, they have failed even when the way has been shown them by an English navigator who for a decade or more has been a firm believer in the possibility of a route through the Arctic Sea connecting London with Siberia. The connection of Western Europe by sea with Siberia for at least three months of the year is practicable, and only the prohibition of Russia will prevent the commerce of the world from extending well up toward the Chinese frontier. Whether St. Petersburg will interpose that prohibition will be awaited with interest, the construction of river steamers capable of navigating the waters of the Yenesei gulf being feasible enough, and the repeated visit of a British vessel having shown how practicable the sea voyage is. But unless the Czar's government really wishes Siberia opened to outside trade, the project will fail, though as it has not yet found the

money for the proposed Siberian railway, there is no apparent reason why commerce by sea should be prohibited, at least until the contemplated transcontinental line is in operation.

ONE feature of the November elections is referred to with satisfaction, by order-loving citizens, irrespective of political relations. This feature was the successful trial in certain States of the Australian system of voting, or of a system closely resembling it in its essential points. The details of the original plan have been outlined hitherto; but it is in order to call attention to the fundamental merit in the American application of the plan, namely, the merit of absolute privacy for the voter. Thus, the voter approaches a polling-place and finds it entirely deserted by the old-time crowd of ticket peddlers, with their extra supplies of "slips" for "scratchers," and their suggestions as to favorite candidates. He sees, instead, the officers of elections presiding over a polling place, in which tickets officially printed are supplied, doing away with all danger of deception by means of misspelled and misplaced names. He gets a ticket which contains the names of all candidates who have been placed in nomination for the specified offices. He takes this ticket with him into a private stall, where he can indicate his choice of candidates by marking, in pencil, an X after the names of all whose election he favors. He then folds his ticket, the arrangement and make-up of which is an entire secret with himself, and drops it into the ballot-box; no human being having had any opportunity to bulldoze, coax, or confuse him. This method of voting now has been tested at state elections east of the Hudson River, south of the Ohio, and west of the Mississippi. In all these quarters it has effected the main purpose of privacy and peacefulness and quiet at the polls. In Connecticut and Massachusetts, this privacy is very precious to tens of thousands of workingmen, who now can vote according to their principles and pleasure, free from even the observation of employers and fellow-workmen. In the South, also, the desirability of this privacy will be conceded. Whatever may be its effect on this or that party in particular localities, the law is a good one which will protect the humblest voters from corruption, intimidation, and overpersuasion.

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